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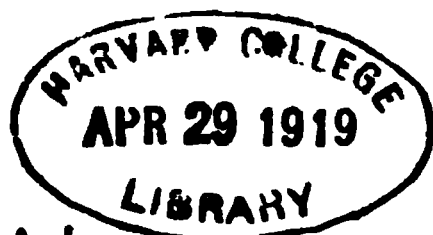
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THE
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No. XXIX.—APRIL, 1858.

VOL. VIII.

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2. *Origines de l'Imprimerie de Paris.* Par J. Chevil-
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3. *Annales Typographica.* Norimbergæ: 1793.
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ST. JOSEPH'S INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE, with special reference to its Intern class of Workhouse Orphans.

[The following most interesting and valuable communication is from the pen of an English Protestant lady; it was written for publication in an English periodical, but we think it finds a more fitting place in THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW. It possesses a peculiar interest for Irish Catholic readers, and we believe that very much of the information contained in it, will be new to but too many of our fellow-countrymen and countrywomen.—ED.]

A

GLANCE AT IRISH CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

To the Editor of The Irish Quarterly Review.

SIR,

December, 1857.

Perhaps a slight sketch of different Schools, and Charitable Institutions I have visited, during a recent tour in Ireland with some relatives, may be interesting to your readers.

Many of these Institutions, as may naturally be expected in that country, have been established by different religious orders existing among the Roman Catholics for the relief and assistance of the destitute and suffering classes of the population, the majority of whom belong to that faith.

As the constitution of these orders and the purposes for which they were founded are perhaps but little known in England, it will not be irrelevant to the subject to insert the following particulars forwarded to me through the kindness of a friend.

There are several orders of Nuns in Ireland. Some are cloistered, who never leave the precincts of their convent after having taken their vows. Among them the Carmelites are governed by rules far stricter than those in force in any other order. They never see or converse with any persons but those belonging to the convent, except through a grating. They dress entirely in serge and never use linen, not even for sleeping, except during severe illness. Until lately they only took one meal a-day, and never ate meat at all; but the present Archbishop of Dublin has released the Carmelite nuns from obedience to this rule, and now they take the regular number of meals, and eat meat three times a-week. In order to make up, as it were, for this indulgence, they have opened an additional school for 500 poor children, for they consider that if they fare better they must work harder.

*

I did not make the acquaintance of any ladies belonging to this order, but we visited a convent of cloistered nuns (the order of the Visitation) in the neighbourhood of Dublin in which we found the sisters engaged in their schools, and they appeared perfectly happy, and contented with their lot. But the nuns whose acquaintance we had chiefly the pleasure of making, belonged to the sisterhoods of Charity and Mercy, who differ from other religious orders, in being able to leave their convents whenever the objects, to which they have devoted their lives, require them to do so. They also, unlike other orders, visit the sick, and undertake the management of hospitals.

The foundation of both these orders is of comparatively recent date, the former having been organized by a Mrs.* Aikenhead, a lady of Cork (who is still alive), in 1815; and the latter by Mrs. M'Auley, in 1827. These orders have spread so rapidly that their convents have been established all over Ireland, and so far as regards the sisterhood of Mercy, in several other parts of the world. Very possibly (but of this I am not sure), the sisters of Charity may also have establishments in foreign countries.

Both these orders have the same object in view, *i. e.* the amelioration and relief of the sick and destitute, the education of the poor, and the reformation of the vicious. "Miss M'Auley," says the friend whom I have before mentioned, "resided with a wealthy gentleman and his wife in Dublin, as companion. The fidelity with which she watched over their interests, and the general sweetness of disposition she evinced, on all occasions, towards them, so won upon the hearts of this good couple, that they were induced, when dying, to bequeath her their entire property, well aware in what manner she would dispose of it, her love for, and devotion to, the poor (particularly unprotected young women) having been so evident during her residence with them."

The benevolent intentions of the two foundresses have been admirably carried into execution by both sisterhoods, who work unceasingly at their labour of love.

It must also be understood that the house work in all convents, except the very rough cleaning, is almost always performed by the sisters themselves; and that not only are

* *Mrs.* is the title given to nuns in Ireland, whether they are married or not.

these various charitable institutions, (many different ones being carried on in the same convent,) superintended, but, if I may use the expression, *worked* by the Nuns.

The first school I visited in Ireland was in the convent of St. Mary of the Isles, at Cork, belonging to the Sisters of Charity, where, besides a school for poor children, there is an asylum for destitute female orphans, in which the pupils are received, clothed, and educated. They are instructed in the duties of domestic servants, and at a proper age are placed out in situations.

In Dublin we visited several convents; one in Baggot-street, the parent house of the Sisters of Mercy, and the one in which Mrs. M'Auley commenced her charitable labours by establishing an asylum for the protection of females of good character. It now contains several institutions under its roof. Firstly, a *National School*, that is, a school in connexion with the Board of Commissioners of National Education in Ireland. Every school in that country which is either directly under the management of the Board, or which being managed by local Trustees or Patrons is inspected and assisted by the Commissioners, must be thrown open to children of every Christian denomination. Religious instruction *must* be amply provided for; but no child is obliged to be present during these lessons unless it is so desired by its parents or guardians; and in schools only assisted by the Commissioners, if the managers do not choose to admit the religious teachers of the different denominations into the school-house, which all those "vetted for the purposes of National Education" are compelled to do (of course under regulations of time and convenience), they must allow their pupils to absent themselves at reasonable times for the purpose of receiving religious instruction elsewhere. These admirable regulations, which are faithfully carried into practice, have rendered it possible for persons of any denomination to become either patrons, managers, or teachers of National Schools. The Commissioners have thus demonstrated that with judicious rules, honestly enforced, the two religions whose antagonism has so long been, aye, which still is the bane of Ireland, may exist together in harmony. Let us, therefore, hope that if the admirable example of the National Board of Education be followed generally in the country, religious

differences will in time cease to be one of the chief impediments to every social improvement. One of the Professors at the Central Model Schools, in Marlborough-street, Dublin, assured me that, during the twenty-five years he had passed in the establishment, no trouble had ever arisen from difference in religious creed.

The Marlborough-street Institution contains, besides a school for children of all ages, training colleges for the National School teachers. In the schools children receive an education for a penny a-week, which many parents who pay a hundred times as much for the instruction of their offspring might really envy. We were present at an examination of a class in mental algebra, which astonished visitors (among whom was the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Carlisle,) well qualified to form an opinion on the subject.

The professor to whom I have before alluded, Dr. Sullivan, was so kind as to examine a class in geography, in our presence, in the girls' school, and the answers given by the pupils evinced not only an accurate knowledge of the different continents and islands, oceans and rivers, but of their relative position on the globe. One little girl required scarcely a moment's examination to point out a spot on the map fixed upon while her eyes were blindfolded, and of which she was only told the latitude and longitude.

Dr. Sullivan also shewed us the manner in which the pupils were accustomed to exercise themselves in orthography. He desired a class of the girls each to choose in turn words to be spelt by a class-fellow, every one trying, of course, to puzzle her opponent. She who failed in spelling the word given to her lost her place in the class, and was sent to the bottom. This lesson, or game, for it might be called either, was kept up in a spirited manner, and appeared to create much amusement.

We visited the house in which the young women in training for teachers live during their residence in Marlborough-street. Besides elementary instruction they receive a training in domestic economy; they assist in the housework and cooking. There is also a "cottage kitchen," suggested I believe by Archbishop Whately, in which the fire-places and cooking appliances are on a par with those in the cottages of the Irish peasantry. In this kitchen the two students, whose turn of duty it is to cook for the day,

prepare, out of the remains of yesterday's dinner, a repast for themselves and a companion whom they are permitted to invite.

The National Schools are spread all over Ireland, and it was very pleasant, as we drove through villages consisting of little more than a few clusters of cabins and remote from any town, to see a neat stone building with "National School" painted in large letters over the door.

The School in the Baggot-street convent where we were very politely received by the nuns, who took much trouble in shewing us over the whole of their establishment, is in connexion with the National Board. The ladies led us first through the school-rooms, which were large and well supplied with all requisites; the low small desks, with their respective benches, excited our especial admiration. The school-rooms, however, (scrupulously clean) were all we could see, for our visit was paid on a Saturday, which is a holiday in Baggot Street.

We were next shewn the schools for a higher class of girls in training for teachers, and who, I understand, act as monitors to the pupils in the former department. These girls are boarders and live entirely in the convent. We saw a class to whom one of the sisters was giving a lesson on the globes. We were much struck by the beautiful and intelligent expression in the countenances of many of these girls. The sister kindly desired her pupils to sing for us, and their performance was very pleasing.

These indefatigable Sisters of Mercy next led us through their asylum for destitute females of good character, whom they train to become servants. They have a large washing establishment, the labour of which is performed by these women; the receipts, of course, helping to pay for their support. If the washing and ironing here is equal to that at a convent we were permitted to inspect at Cork, belonging to the Sisters of Charity, the public must consider it a privilege to be able to send their clothes to such a place. I may mention that that part of the Cork Institution in which the washing is conducted is self-supporting, the first charity I have met with which has achieved that object.

Not content with these various institutions, the sisters have what we should call a Register Office, to which female servants seeking for places may come and stay during cer-

tain hours of the day, and where they can see employers in want of servants. The women are not left to themselves while they are waiting; a sister remains in the room, maintaining by her presence order and propriety.

Yet another Institution remains. When we visited the convent in August last a contiguous house was pointed out to us, which the sisters of this community had, I believe, bought, and which they intended to turn into a training school for young women when they leave the poorhouses. Training, such as the young girls require, one would naturally imagine might be most advantageously carried on in the workhouse itself; but, alas! workhouses both in England and Ireland are, with few exceptions, a disgrace to our country. Many young women leave the Irish Unions ignorant of the means of earning a subsistence. It must, therefore, be matter for congratulation that some of these poor creatures will now have a training school, in which, under the admirable superintendence of the Sisters of Mercy, they may learn a way of earning a respectable livelihood. It is, I now hear, in operation.

The Institutions I have endeavoured to describe are, with the exception of the last, in action within the walls of the convent. There is another, of which some of the sisters have undertaken the management, at a short distance from Dublin, that I purpose describing in a future letter.

We also paid a visit to a convent in Gardiner-street, belonging to the Sisters of Charity, who have a large school for girls of all ages. 700 children are educated at this convent; 300 are in the Infant Department, through which we were first conducted by the sisters. Here we found the pupils in a spacious schoolroom busily engaged in their classes, and I believe boys as well as girls are received, though the former are not retained after they pass the age fitted for the infant school. Each class of these little ones had its diminutive monitor, and when the children were desired by one of the sisters to sing for us those lines so well known in most infant schools, beginning "Horizontal, Perpendicular," the small monitors took their places in face of their classes, and brandishing two light and gaily-painted sticks given to them by the teacher, placed them in the positions indicated by the words which the chil-

then, (who at the same time imitated with their hands the movements of the monitors' sticks), were singing—an admirable mode of practically illustrating the meaning of the words the little pupils were repeating by rote. We had often seen the teacher followed by the children make these movements with the hands, but this more complete method, by means of the sticks and the monitors, was new to us. On expressing my admiration of it to one of the sisters, and saying that I should much like to introduce it into a school with which I was acquainted in England, she kindly gave me a pair of the sticks.

In a second large room elder girls were studying; a third contained knitters; this art the pupils I believe learn previously to that of sewing, I suppose because it is considered the easier of the two. In a fourth the pupils were learning needlework, which must be very well taught, if we may judge by the specimens executed by some of the girls, and which the sisters informed us the pupils were expected to accomplish before they are considered competent needlewomen. This school, which appeared to us admirable in all its parts, is under the entire management of the nuns, who, I believe, are the sole teachers. When I enquired of one of the sisters if it were connected with the National Board she replied, "No, they had not placed the Institution under its inspection, for it had been in full operation before the establishment of that body." This school we heard is entirely free, the nuns receiving no remuneration from the pupils, though these do not belong to the destitute class, but apparently are children of decent working people.

The Christian Brothers, a religious society of men founded by a Mr. Edmund Rice of Waterford, and devoted to good works, especially I believe to the education of poor boys, have large schools on the same principle; those in Dublin we had the pleasure of visiting; they contain I think as many as 700 pupils, who appeared to be receiving a thoroughly good education. The superior, who very politely shewed us over the Institution, was so kind as to have a class examined in our presence, in ancient Roman history. and the answers of the pupils evinced a clear knowledge of the subject. The boys also sang very well. The pupils in this school were much of the same class as the girls in Gardiner-street, and I think the question may very fairly

be asked, whether it is altogether wise to *give* entirely what parents ought at least in part to pay for. Still, if anything be given, education is certainly the best boon to confer, and the pupils in both these schools had no appearance of considering this gift of little value because they obtained it so easily, but seemed to appreciate properly the pains and trouble bestowed upon them by these devoted men and women.

We also visited St. Joseph's Industrial Institute, founded and chiefly superintended by two ladies in Dublin, for the purpose of enabling the very poorest girls, those so destitute as to be on the brink of ruin, to acquire a means of supporting themselves. The Institution was at first divided into two departments; a laundry, where girls were taught to wash and iron, and a school for younger children. The former was opened in September, 1855, and the latter in April, 1856. The girls in the laundry were lodged as soon as a house large enough could be secured. The younger children were day scholars. An interesting account of this Institution is given in *THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW* for March, 1857, from which I have taken the following extracts:—

“ There are eight girls in the laundry, varying in age from 16 to 22 years. On entering they are at once put under wages. Some earn 4s., others 6s. a week. A matron (whose two children attend the school) is paid 5s. per week and supports the three upon this sum, the trifling earnings of the children and a trade in blacking, which she manufactures in ‘after hours.’ All these, in addition, are lodged in the house, and have use of coals and candles. In the school are twenty-six children, including the matron's two; the greater number from 8 to 15 years of age. They have all been earning, even without the aid of a work-mistress, from 6d. to 3s. 6d. per week. On my inquiring how long it was usual for girls to remain in the establishment, I was informed, the principle of the school and the laundry being voluntary attendance, the length of time for their remaining could not be prescribed, but depended in a great measure, indeed wholly, upon the girls themselves. However, it was gratifying to learn that since the commencement, five girls have been provided for, and, as yet, but one who left the laundry has returned in search of employment, and she, as there was no vacancy in that department, took work in the school ”

“ The children receive no food, as there is no fund for the purpose of supplying it; neither are they clothed, except in occasional instances when old clothes are contributed by friends.

The *interns* have their wages paid in full, and provide their own meals. This system they like best themselves, and it has been found

they can supply themselves with greater economy (often depriving themselves of milk and other additions to their meals, for the purpose of saving 1s. or 1s. 6d. a-week), than it was possible for the management to do. Meat is never supplied except when provided by benefactors."

At the end of the Report the histories of a few of the pupils are given, of which I subjoin the following:—

"*Eliza Boylan* was sent out, when the school first opened, by a lady acquainted with her wretched condition; she arrived shoeless and literally in rags, a dejected, haggard-looking girl of sixteen. She sat down patiently to work, conducted herself well, and, after a few weeks, began to lay by a few pence at a time for clothes. Her appearance brightened, and as she showed signs of intelligence she was entrusted with the execution of some work not strictly of the school routine.

Being found one day in great affliction, she was induced to tell the cause, and it was found that her father, who a drunkard by profession, had lately restrained himself, had 'broken out' again. The furniture of the little room had gone to the pawn office; the clothes of the family were going the same road, and as has been well said—'no hope remained for the drunkard's family.' It was at once resolved to save the girl; she was taken into the laundry, lodged and paid like the rest, and at the present day it is with difficulty the lean stupified, ragged girl, can be recognised in the stout, intelligent, neatly dressed, member of the Institute. This girl has been recently provided with a place, as servant, in a family, and promises soon to become, by her docility and perseverance, as successful in her new as she was in her former position."

When we visited the school in September last, we found that the laundry, though self-supporting, had been recently closed. The lady-superintendents had been compelled to take this course, because their house was too small to enable them to carry on both school and laundry, and to lodge the girls employed in the latter, with a due regard to their health, and unhappily the funds necessary to command a more convenient dwelling were not forthcoming.

The school, just before the period of our visit, had been placed under the inspection of the National Board, and we saw, in the room appropriated to elementary instruction, one of their trained teachers, giving a lesson to the younger children, several of whom were, at the same time, busily engaged in working crotchet collars, an art which seems to be peculiarly adapted to Irish fingers. "A crotchet collar," says the Report before quoted, "is made up of various little 'stars' and 'bits' done by several children; these are joined

together by quite different hands, and the collar is then washed, bleached, and made up in salcable style." Crochet work of good quality has met with a ready sale, especially for the American market, but the recent failures in that country have, I regret to say, much checked the sale for the present. But the benevolent managers of this school have sought other occupations for their pupils, and a friend tells me that the most profitable employment just now, at St. Joseph's Institute, is the fastening of black bugles to lace, &c. We may heartily congratulate the benevolent foundresses on the success they have already attained, with the limited means at their disposal, and we trust that more ample funds may soon enable them to render their institution as useful and beneficial as they desire it to be.*

At the Cabra convent near Dublin, belonging to the sisters of St. Dominick, which we also visited, the nuns devote themselves to the education of deaf and dumb girls. In the large school-room at this institution we saw the sisters busily engaged in giving instruction to their pupils which they effected by means of writing on black boards, We were asked to write any questions we chose for the pupils to answer, and on acceding to the request we found they could reply to our various queries with promptitude and accuracy. These sisters informed us that the girls, who notwithstanding their great deprivation, looked happy and cheerful, were generally intended for domestic servants. They are accordingly trained in every branch of household

* Since writing the above I have received a copy of an advertisement, which recently appeared in the "Freeman's Journal," from which I extract the following paragraph:

"In consequence of the failures in America, the Manufacturers are not able at present to take the work from the School, and some time must elapse ere they will be in a position to give fresh orders. It has, therefore, become necessary for the Managers to call on the Public to aid, by subscription, the maintenance of this most useful school. No doubt of its ultimate success is entertained. Already large private orders have been given. But these orders will require some time to execute, and the children must be paid for the work from week to week long previous to their completion. Hence the necessity for Subscriptions to be promptly given.

"The following particulars will serve to show what has been done in the twenty months the Institution has been in existence:—Subscriptions to the amount of £95 have been received; Rent, £50 has been paid, and £425 has been expended almost entirely in wages!"

economy. The nuns pointed out to us a new building, nearly finished, which was about to be opened as a deaf and dumb asylum for boys. It has since been inaugurated with much ceremony, and placed under the management of the Christian Brothers. I have lately heard from Ireland that some members of this society have consented to undertake the superintendence of the new Reformatory School for boys, shortly to be opened at Cork.

The only school I visited in Ireland which gave me no pleasure was one in Dublin for very destitute boys, belonging, I believe, to the Irish Church Missions, a society whose object is "to promote the glory of God in the salvation of souls of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects in Ireland, through the instrumentality of the established church of England and Ireland."* The school I have mentioned is one among many established by the society for the purpose of proselytism. The order and attention in the school appeared very good, and the pupils well instructed. They are partly fed; indeed it is this food which is a great inducement to them to attend. There is a Roman Catholic school near, established as I heard for the purpose of re-converting those whose faith the Protestants had succeeded in shaking. This latter institute also bestows food, and we were told that the boys often alternate between the two, attending I suppose most regularly where they obtain the largest rations.

The Irish Church Missions spend £30,000 a-year in the work of conversion. The greater part of this money is collected in England, and doubtless the contributors in many cases deprive themselves, not merely of luxuries, but perhaps of comforts, in order that they may aid, as they imagine, in releasing the poor Irish from an ignorant superstition and in giving them a purer religion. But, however we may differ from Roman Catholics in matters of creed, yet can we justly call that religion an ignorant superstition, under whose auspices the institutions which I have attempted to describe have arisen? However, setting that question aside, what are the results of this expenditure, especially of that portion of it devoted to the conversion of the poor, the destitute and the starving? These unfortunate creatures

* Report of the Irish Church Missions.

are fed to induce them to become Protestants ; they are fed to bring them back to the faith of their fathers. Will not they be likely to vibrate between the two religions, a Romanist at breakfast, a Protestant at dinner, and are they not almost certain to become neither before evening ? Do not the efforts to convert these poor creatures result in making, as an Irish Protestant agreed with me in thinking, more hypocrites than true converts ? Would it not, therefore, be as well to consider whether the money collected for this purpose might not be better spent on our heathens at home than in vainly trying to turn Irish Roman Catholics into Protestants ? Let us remember the words of Gamaliel, " And now I say unto you, refrain from these men and, let them alone : for if this counsel or this work be of men it will come to nought : But if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it ; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God." I would earnestly recommend all who entertain a horror of Catholicism in Ireland to visit the convents of the nuns or the houses of the Christian Brothers, access to which is readily obtained, and just see for themselves what that religion is, and what it does. They must cease to regard it as so very terrible after they have conversed with those men and women who devote themselves, heart and soul, to the labour of relieving the poor, nursing the sick, teaching the young, and reforming the vicious. Let them visit those hospitals, completely served by nuns ; one could almost wish to be ill in order to be tended by them, at least in the event of illness one would wish to secure such nurses as I saw both at Dublin and Cork.

And let us remember that with those ladies and gentlemen the work is never intermitted ; they do not, in the intervals of their charitable labours, seek recreation and amusement by means of social intercourse with their friends ; having once set their hand to the plough they never look back. Such devotion, we must confess, is rare among us Protestants. The labour, however, brings its reward. Perhaps the pleasantest objects which met our eyes in all the convents we visited were the countenances of the sisters ; more healthy or more happy faces one could never wish to behold : notwithstanding their constant and arduous labours the faces of those nuns betokened the highest bodily health, and minds at peace with the world and themselves.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,
R.

INDUSTRIAL AND REFORMATORY SCHOOLS FOR IRELAND.

To the Editor of the Irish Quarterly Review.

My dear Sir,

So you must have another letter! You now ask me to give you simply my idea of a plan for the formation of Reformatories. Notwithstanding the apparent presumption of accepting your invitation, I feel I have no right to refuse. The present is a time when all who know the wants of the poor, and really care to relieve them, should give their mite, whatever it may be, of light and help to the ardent and sincere friends of the helpless, who are now about to plead their cause with the legislators of the land. I shall try to forget the enlightened and thinking individuals I am about to address through you, (for I must own I should otherwise shrink into *my own* insignificance) and shall fix my mind steadily on the *and* condition of my poor sisters, deprived, it may be, without *fault* of theirs, of the blessings which Almighty God in His mercy has bestowed on me. I shall only strive to remember the obligations which acknowledged favors imply, and relieve myself, in some degree, of responsibility by giving freely my thoughts, and any information I possess, on the subject you desire to discuss.

My plan for the Reformation of Catholic female convicts is to give them in charge of a religious community, such as that of Golden Bridge, as soon as they are supposed worthy to leave the prison, believing that nuns alone can best develope and nourish the germ of good remaining, in so many cases, in each poor prisoner, even though crusted over with crime and ignorance. They should be at once put to serious labour while in the good disposition to accept the authority and guidance of their newly found friends. From the starting point they should be made to work for their support, and the only exception to this rule should be a girl's ignorance of any species of useful employment: but this should be indeed a very exceptional case, since no doubt the time is not far distant when prison discipline shall be so perfected as to render it almost impossible that any one shall be permitted to leave without being fully prepared to be

drafted with advantage into other asylums. I think it well that all should pass through Golden Bridge Reformatory in the first instance. I take it for granted that that establishment is the most perfectly adapted to their requirements when first leaving prison. The kindness there received affords them the best chance of having all that is good in their character revealed and fostered. The religious ladies of that most admirable institution have already acquired a vast amount of experience in the treatment necessary; and above all by having an organised system prepared to meet the prisoner at every step of this first stage on the road to reformation, they are most likely to succeed in restoring the poor girls really useful members to society. It is not every Reformatory Institution, perhaps not even every religious community, which may be found in every respect qualified for the guardianship of these women in this their great, all-important trial; therefore it will be necessary to concentrate the great strength of intelligence, firmness and love in the first stage, where, if the work of reformation be well commenced, it can more easily and securely be followed up by less experienced though all-devoted hearts and heads.

Another reason why I suggest gradations to be prepared, is that my short experience of the four girls I took charge of from the Reformatory, made me aware of many points where change of system was necessary, yet dangerous to attempt in that institution, lest the all-important object of softening the heart and preparing it to accept with docility the teaching of the self-elected mothers, might be at all checked by endeavouring to insist at the same time on the secondary, yet necessary efforts of the penitent to relieve the community of the burden of her support, by work, or forcing her to bear the hardship consequent on her indolence. Here lies the great difficulty! and it is here precisely where so much judgment is necessary, in order not to destroy the work of months, by an injudicious word or act, which might throw back the good feeling, freeze up the sluices just trickling, and chill irrevocably the heart, by permitting it to resist at the moment when life was beginning to manifest itself. Here it is we must wait patiently. We have only to bestow half the thought and culture on our fellow beings that we give to our plants. I was strnck with this thought this morning, while tending some geraniums. I had neglected them in the season, and when I brought them in, they were dried up, and without much appearance of health. However, care and attention

dragged them into life, and they have now thrown out stalks and leaves, sickly coloured, to be sure, yet exhibiting signs of coming vigour. The sun was shining brightly, and I thought I would bring them all into the garden, and water them well. I did so, and left them out a few hours that the water might drain off. When about to put them again into their place of shelter, I found that while some looked all fresh and bright, many drooped under the influence of the cold and wind, as their life was weakly, and they were unfit for such hard treatment. Surely I said, we should have still more wisdom in our treatment of those who are now pre-occupying my thoughts; we should class them more judiciously, and take care not to expect that one rule applied in every instance, will invigorate, and develope all. Another reason for having one home for the first reception is, that it would give facility for the proper classification of the women, before drafting into other institutions, as the subjects would have some time there to exhibit, not alone character, but health and capabilities, and consequently be easily removed to whichever branch was found most suitable to the individual. I take it for granted that many reformatories shall be commenced, each undertaking an *Eastern Industrial School*. Later I shall refer to this point, now I mention it, as necessary to explain the object of centralisation. I would have no fixed time for a sojourn at Golden Bridge. It should entirely depend on the judgment of its superiress, and the inspector jointly; a young girl may arrive, and in a few weeks give proof of its being necessary to remove her where she might have companions, and work suitable to a delicate constitution and naturally docile disposition. To keep her in a house, always receiving new and difficult characters, might injure her. Washing, (the principal occupation of the inmates,) might never be available to her; therefore she should be drafted to a house where she might acquire some branch of industry, to enable her to support herself without hard labor. Another may show an aptitude for domestic service; she should be sent to the house specially devoted to that branch.

But I need not detail all the arrangements comprised in this classification; large and diversified as it appears, it can be simplified exceedingly. All that is necessary is organization, and great devotedness and care on the part of the inspectors in seeing that each home fulfils its self-imposed responsibility. It may be found that some establishments will offer facilities for several classes: under such circumstances, there can

be no opposition to sending subjects to them. But as it has been judged more advisable in these institutions to have smaller *families*, I should hope the extensive ones may be the minority. The greater the number of homes, if well worked, the greater amount of benefit to be conferred on all, innocent as well as guilty; since I would make it, as I said before, *obligatory* with all to have an Industrial School attached, into which any poor child may be received, and for the necessary support of which money and help must be generously given. I consider these schools the crowning point of the whole. They secure certain employment for the discharged convict; they make the neglected girl independent of the world, while regaining the esteem of friends and neighbours. They give her an opportunity of social intercourse of which she might otherwise be deprived; they also bring her in contact with kind and independent patronesses, who may by their countenance and friendship obtain her a toleration, if not an equal footing, amongst her companions, and support her tottering resolutions in moments of temptation and weakness. Surely I need not add all that naturally presents itself to the thoughts of any one who chooses to enter into the difficulties and dangers lying in the path of the poor restored prisoner!

Industrial Schools established by aid of the funds of Reformatories, or rather gaol-grants, must naturally become the economical branch of this hitherto swamping and sweeping prison expenditure. Look at the table of charges for each prisoner convicted and reconvicted, and then see what one quarter of the sum so lavished would have produced of blessing and comfort to thousands if this system had been in operation those many years. Is it not simple and easy? what risk can there be in attempting it? Surely it carries blessings even when it fails, for it cannot be in existence ever so short a time without sowing the seed of industry, hope, self-dependence, and exertion. In addition, the Industrial School combines the important object of preservatory institutions. It meets the great difficulty, the prejudice and fears of those unwilling to credit, and almost incapable of believing in, the reformation of the convict. It tests the prisoner herself thoroughly. It keeps her more under surveillance than if watched by a whole company of police, while it secures to her a longer care, and consequently a more certain support in her good resolutions, by

enabling her to keep near the friends, who, under God, have saved her. If I have dwelt too long on this part of the subject, excuse me, as it is because I feel it to be the all important completion of the good aimed at. Otherwise, how meet the continual and overwhelming numbers that will accumulate? It is not for a present evil you are going to legislate, but for an ever recurring misfortune. And here I would suggest that the work should not be too quickly developed. Much must be learned by experience, and unity of action is all important. Let the trust of direction be confided to very few, until the system has been tried, and errors remedied.

Thus, with God's blessing, the work must progress, multiplying with the wants, and still more in proportion to the benefits accruing, as many charitable institutions will become in a manner affiliated to the fundamental Reformatory.

An industrial school properly worked, acts on the poor in its neighbourhood, as a railway does on an isolated and inland country town. Trade follows; friends arrive; sickness becomes known and succoured; a tie is established between the parents and the bread givers of their children. All the good insured of religious training, is reflected on the homes. The noted improvidence of our people is at least checked in the children. A small fact will prove this. When in the Cork school, at one period of our most prosperous demand for nets, many of the children used to complain to me, that they would have earned much more in the week, had they not unfortunately given all their earnings on Saturday to their mothers, who having spent them early in the week, had not the means of procuring candles towards the close. But this did not last long, for after a while I remarked that before going home on Saturday, many a child turned into a chandler's shop, and supplied herself with candles for the week. How much this fact may suggest.

In speaking of the necessity of experience before developing the work, I have been made to feel its importance by a few of the difficulties I found with the girls who came to me from the Reformatory. Not that I want to criticize, or would permit myself to disapprove of the good sisters' system. I do believe they adopted the best, indeed the only one suitable to the subjects presented. But this does not prevent me from stating the defects, as we are all concerned in coming to the truth, in order that we may secure the most perfect method

for carrying out the Reformation hoped for. It is exactly because I believe that any change in their mode of treatment of the *patients*, as I may call them, would be injurious, that I think it equally evident, that a change should be gradually effected by removing the class after a certain time.

We found those reformed girls whom we received into our Industrial establishment very unfit for the struggle of life, having been apparently unaccustomed to a reprimand. The first fault found by our matron, was considered harsh and unreasonable. The girls were unused to real hard work, and our Industrial girls who were of the poorest class, but irreproachable in conduct, and who seldom deserved a rebuke, complained that the others did not by any means take a fair share of the common labor of the laundry. Then the reformed girls murmured at not being able to buy meat which they had been accustomed to, while at the same time, they were unwilling to exert themselves to earn even a sufficiency of the ordinary food of our poor. There was no getting them up in the morning; they made many excuses of weariness or illness, which we were generally obliged to accept, being always fettered by the one great fear that the girls would leave us, and so find themselves without means of employment or support. Here again the necessity of an Industrial Extern school. Had those girls been simply allowed to go lodge separately in poor families, and present themselves like other girls to get work, they should have at once learned that they must struggle even more than the rest.

Once thoroughly convinced of their entire dependance on their own exertions, and knowing how little they could expect from the families with whom they lodged, they would not have attempted to assume illness. But the case was different, where we were having them lodged together with care taken of their comfort. They knew we could not let them want, they had begun to feel as a matter of course that they were privileged, and yet they were far from being content. While many a poor respectable girl left our door in sorrow, that we could not take her in, and give her work, those reformed ones were constantly threatening to go away, saying that certainly in a few weeks they would leave, if we did not secure elsewhere some situation for them. I believe they began to hate the thought of each other's society, and felt always that an imprudent word might expose them to be known in the School.

This I believe to have been the chief cause of their uneasiness in their position, and it is proved by the fact that when all had left, but one, she brightened up so as to be no longer the same downcast, though docile girl. She was the best of the four that we took from the Reformatory, and is now comfortably placed where her master and mistress are quite pleased with her. We did not tell her secret, as we were not asked, and supposed it was taken for granted, that she had been always as good as her companions. This was the success of our trial to amalgamate the reformed with the innocent girls. I have no doubt those four would have gone on admirably, had they been previously inured to more hardship. The proof of this is the letter I received from one of them, who emigrated to Canada. She speaks of the happy days she spent in our laundry. She now feels by contrast that she had been only asked to do her due share of work; but the easier life of the Reformatory had made it appear too difficult. She had been seven years in a poor-house, from whence she had been sent direct to Prison for two years, then eight months at Golden Bridge. She remained four months with us, and when she left us was about twenty-three years of age. She could only do coarse washing, and therefore had no hope of being placed soon, and when she emigrated found it very hard to get employment. She regrets that she had not been better prepared, and begs of me to tell her companions not to come, unless they have learned to be at least thorough servants. The kind patron who gave her the means of emigrating would have been very glad had she consented to remain longer with us, but the term of her ticket-of-leave had expired, and she was free. We had no time to repair the early neglect, as we could do nothing to detain her.

While in our institution the matron complained one day that this girl seemed to give herself up entirely to despondency, and had that morning sulkily refused to do any work. I directed that she should be sent to my house, and there we sat together for about two hours. Of course I spoke gently to her and reasoned on her conduct. At first her answers were short and stiff; but after a little while, when I reminded her what pain her misconduct would give her patron and benefactor Mr.—, who had given her a further trial after she had lost by ill temper their privilege of being sent to service, she burst into tears and then poured out her history of the past. She

told how she had sorrowed long and hopelessly in the poor-house, often wishing that some one would teach her something by which she could earn a subsistence, for though she had been employed in coarse work while in the union, she had never advanced farther; and when she came to us she could not be trusted even to wash stockings. She read very well and wrote a fair hand. At first I thought of having her trained for teaching, but remembering how unfit she was for the charge of children, her temper being uncertain and moody, I considered it would be unwise to do so. Who indeed would employ her when aware of her antecedents? She was intelligent, and fully understood her position; and this it was no doubt which sometimes made her irritable to the last degree. In the course of the conversation I referred to, she complained bitterly of her hard fate. I tried to give her hope, and prayed her to have patience, at the same time representing how impossible it was that I could keep her in our house if she continued to disregard the matron, and give such bad example to the other inmates. "Oh!" said the girl, "I know my fate. I am doomed I see!" I asked, how? "Why, ma'am, I know I cannot earn my bread honestly—I won't go back to the union, but I will to prison." I asked how she was to return there? "I cannot tell you," she replied, "but once in again I will make up my mind to remain; I shall be *a good prisoner*." It was in vain I tried to remind her that she could only re-enter by infringing God's law. She would not, nor could she apparently be brought to think herself culpable by the very thought, she could only tell me of the misery of the poor-house, and the comfort of the prison contrasted with it. However, when I promised that if she conducted herself well for a few weeks, I should ask her kind benefactor to help her to emigrate, she began to cheer up, and said at once, "you shall see that I shall keep my word." She did so, fulfilling every duty that was required. Moreover she determined to contribute something towards the expense of her voyage, and for this purpose denied herself almost necessary food, until we were obliged to remonstrate with her on the danger to her health if she continued to eat so sparingly. It was too late to commence teaching her any trade, and I was afraid to give her on trial to any one for domestic service, for her threat gave me serious uneasiness. I could not tell by what act of violence she might qualify herself again for prison. I have delayed thus long on

this girl's history, because it illustrates the defects of both the establishments in which she had lived so long at the expense of the public, and from whence she was sent forth after all in danger of being forced to deserve recomital while unable to earn her bread honestly.

These girls constantly spoke to me of the good food they got in prison, and of the just manner in which their work was allotted to them; above all they dwelt on the advantage of being able to earn while there. They all seemed most grateful to the lady matron, whom they told me was ever kind and watchful over them. They mentioned her care in coming to taste the milk, and see that the bread was also faultless. What a pity that while giving them all this, nothing was attempted to enable them to gain a livelihood. Surely it was not to be expected that domestic servants were to be entirely supplied from the prisons. I should think such situations most unfit for discharged prisoners, most likely of all others to bring danger to themselves, and cause discontent on the part of mistresses. Where would those poor girls be more likely to get habits of luxury, and to find occasions tempting them to betray trust. Employment at home or with those of their own rank would I think be far safer, as giving them more help to sustain their good resolutions, and more interest to regain the esteem and trust of the neighbours about them. No doubt exceptions will occur, and some excellent servants may be trained from a prison. But there will be far greater help for the many, by securing them in the Industrial School the knowledge of some means of support independent of the hazards of service.

While speaking of the reformed girls I should tell you that although we lodged them in our Institution and gave them work, we thought it better to pay them their wages weekly and let them spend the money as they pleased. By so doing we gave them the power and the habit of self dependence and self restraint. Each procured her own food, and it was only required that it should be taken at a fixed time, and in company with the rest. It was pleasant to see them all sitting cheerfully and socially together at table, the discharged convict and the innocent respectable girl side by side. One would have tea and hot cake : her neighbour nothing but dry potatoes, preferring to save, and purchase some article of dress badly needed. Another would give herself the indulgence of a salt herring and butter with her potatoes, while her companion would have fried

bacon. No one seemed to think it a grievance that she could not enjoy the luxury within view, and thus moral training went on. They used to take it as a great favour when I looked and chatted with them while they were at dinner, and she from whose store I accepted a potatoe deemed herself quite a favoured individual. Oh if the prosperous and gentle of our sex only remembered and were aware of all the joy they could give by the small sympathy of a cordial look or word to the poor, how much they might do to raise and comfort them.

I will now add my plan of the Industrial School to be attached to each Reformatory.

Religious instruction and training must be the first and last object. All rules and regulations to be made in reference to this essence of their vitality.

Next, such teaching as may prepare each child to take her place as a useful member and loveable addition to the poor man's fireside.

Every effort to be made to correct, if not eradicate, the habits of disorder and improvidence, added to the general ignorance of household work, which unfortunately characterize our people wherever they are domesticated. This real regeneration may be secured by earnest and unwearied efforts, while the children are under the subjection of those entrusted with the management of the Industrial Homes.

Every school must have a class of plain work into which each child must pass as she enters, and there remain until able to make a shirt creditably. Special premiums to be given yearly to such as distinguish themselves in patching and every other kind of reparation of clothes, darning stockings, &c. &c.

A class should also be formed for the house-work, washing rooms, cleaning grates, making up dormitories, &c.

A class for learning to cook. Great care should be taken to provide a clever head for this department. She alone should be permanent in it, her helpers being drawn from the classes, and left with her long enough to be made to understand the business thoroughly.

A class for the laundry. When made good washers of the plain clothes of the house, it will be easy to add the knowledge and practice necessary to make up shirts.

The literary classes to be distinct from the training organization. It may be optional with each establishment to accept the aid of the National System for the four hours required by the Board ; but

only so far as it is no hindrance to the religious training. It could not possibly be accepted if its ordinary rules were required to be kept. Special exemption from certain regulations should be conceded, otherwise, in aiming at intellectual culture for our children, their hearts and souls might be lost, as sincere and earnest piety must be inculcated at every step both by word and deed, otherwise the very title of reformatory must become a mockery.

Every school must secure to each child the certainty of learning to read, and write, and a fair knowledge of arithmetic, sufficient at least for the details of house-keeping. A special inspector should be charged with this literary supervision, and be required to visit the schools constantly.

The distribution of the school hours to be entirely optional with the Managers of the Home, as they should depend on the kind of labor adapted for the employment and future support of the children. As it would be essential to the success of the Industrial and Preservatory Schools that well conducted children should attend them, it would be well that part of the pecuniary profit arising from the work of the interns should be devoted to giving one meal to the extern children. A certain sum also should be laid aside as a reserve fund for the wants of the intern child when leaving the Home.

In conclusion, when I propose to give the Catholic Convicts into the care of nuns in the first instance, it is not by any means my wish or intention to exclude from the glorious work of reforming the poor prisoners any ladies who may be willing and capable of accepting this responsibility, on the approval of those appointed to examine their qualifications for this all important trust. It may be a completion of the work, if seculars, endowed with the necessary requirements, undertake it, but much circumspection and a searching scrutiny should be used before their election. The charge is so onerous, and requires such entire devotedness, that no persons, unless separated from worldly ties, or at least worldly pleasures, can be deemed worthy of the trust. But I have no doubt some such will present themselves and they should be accepted cordially. Their help would be most important, as classes may be confided to them with the certainty that their worldly experience would enable them to bring additional and valuable help to the efforts of the communities.

The above sketch of a regulation for Reformatories is of course very imperfect. It would be impossible to give a rule applicable to each individual home. Special details must be left to the Lady-Inspector, fulfilling an office which I deem indispensable to the successful working of the entire system. Much must depend in the first instance on the class of prisoners selected for admission, and in the second place on the kind of occupation chosen for them. To those who fear the experiment of encouraging respectable children to frequent the Industrial classes, it is only necessary to say that such admixture can never be attempted, except in cases where the strictest watchfulness is exercised by the manager with regard to the stage of Reformation arrived at by the class most needing supervision, and also with respect to the conduct of the external children attending. The latter class are in reality far less exposed to danger under the roof of an Industrial School than they are by remaining at home, where perhaps in their own lane, or lodging, they are hourly coming in contact with the unconvicted rogue. Be it also remembered that all Industrial Schools need not be Reformatory Institutions, or even classified preservatory establishments. Many classes of industry may be attached to ordinary schools, by benevolent individuals, and these will find their advantage in the fact that commercial travellers will come to the larger market. The greater the number of these Schools, the better for each, the more work done, and the greater the variety, the more chance of large orders. It was so in Cork. We were often able to give help to Schools whose workers were not so far advanced as our own, and being certain of such supplementary aid, we were able to take large orders including various kinds of work. The beginners were given such portions as they could undertake, and the entire was completed by the trained hands.

Again, we must not suppose that these girls are to remain always at the Industrial School. In that event how should room be made for the new comers? I should anticipate a similar result to that experienced in the South. The girls after a time were enabled to set up on their own account. In Mr. Maguire's account of the National Exhibition 1852, it is mentioned that I found one of our best hands on one occasion in her humble home surrounded by twenty children whom she had selected to enable her to finish an order she had obtained for herself from one of the monster establishments. She had

been a most attentive, well-conducted girl, and when I missed her from School, I feared she was ill. She seemed quite alarmed when I entered, but was quickly reassured by the evident satisfaction it gave me to see her success. This girl had been reduced to a state of the deepest distress, and had come to the School from the Fever Hospital. Another supposed truant, whom I accosted one day in the street, informed me that she was then herself paying £2 10s 0d weekly wages. The same thing occurred with the shirt trade. Agents came from England and cut out shirts, which they gave at the counter to those who had been trained at our Schools, and thus prepared to take work on their own responsibility. Without the operation of Industrial Schools they could never have acquired so much knowledge; they were brought to it gradually, and we were all the while enabled to pay the learner at every stage, in consequence of the immense quantity of work to be executed.

After a few days, a child could *hem*, and was perfected so far; her mother often accompanied her, and was taught to finish; while a third or fourth of the same family was taught the other parts—the advantages of centralisation and unity becoming manifest. A child who had perhaps given up embroidery or *sewed muslin* work, hopeless of being able to remain long enough at it to make it really productive, was easily brought to apply the knowledge she had acquired to the button hole work of a shirt, while the good *veiner* became at once a good finisher of fronts. I have already proved to you that one manufacture produced another. The same embroidery enabled us to accept an order for cloth waistcoats, by which our children continued for several months to earn from six to eight shillings a week. The very designs from which the patterns were formed, were also of home manufacture. I got them done by the pupils of the Christian Brothers' drawing schools.

Why do I detail all these particulars? just to encourage those who listen to my pleadings for the establishment of these schools. If so much was actually accomplished in the midst of innumerable obstacles arising from want of money, of knowledge, and of sufficient help, what might not be hoped if Reformatory Establishments dotted all over the country were given the means of causing the blessings of industry to be spread throughout the land.

But I have exceeded all bounds in the length of this *abridge-*

ment. Be thankful that you have at last come to the end. Tempt me no more to write letters. You might cause me to become what I so much deprecate—a mere theorist. We have a struggling school to mind just at this moment. As a consequence of the late American failures, the work is wretchedly paid; and at such a crisis there is nothing left for us to do but to put on a higher pressure of kindness and sympathy by visiting our children more frequently, talking over their hopes and concerns, and looking after the truants. In this way alone can we endeavour to keep the school together until some help shall be providentially sent us. If you think these details too long, select what may be useful, and cut away the rest. I know nothing of the art of writing, and may only weary the reader I would fain interest. Use therefore your own discretion on the matter, and be sure that whatever you decide on will satisfy

Yours, dear Sir,

Very sincerely

E. W.

Richmond,

March 6th, 1858.

This letter, from the pen of a lady whose former communications to THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW have attracted the notice of the most influential portion of the English and Irish Press, and which have loaded our table with private letters, in approval of, or requesting further information from the writer, appears to us of the vastest importance. It would be important at any period, but just at this particular time, when a Reformatory Schools' Bill for Ireland is on the point of being laid before the Legislature, its importance and value are a hundred fold increased.

Reformatory Schools are good things, and are needed, most pressing required, in Ireland, but it must also be recollected that there is a vast mass of floating, undeveloped crime, that crime which always lurks under want, and which the Industrial School, rather than the Reformatory, is calculated, to meet. It must always be kept clearly in mind that the little, idle, wandering, workless, ignorant "loafing" child of to-day may become the predatory "city arab," the "home heathen," of to-morrow. All who are acquainted with the philosophy of the Reformatory question know this, and thus it comes to pass, that they who do know the question most thoroughly are those who desire most ardently to see Industrial Schools established on safe and sure principles throughout every portion of these kingdoms. It is a Christian and a wise desire, because it is founded on that unquestionable truth which the Aberdeen Industrial Schools take for their motto—**PREVENTION IS BETTER THAN CURE.**

We are ardently anxious for a Reformatory Schools' act for this country, but if that act be unaccompanied by an extension of *Dunlop's Act*, modified to suit the peculiar requirements of Ireland, the work will be, in our mind, but half accomplished,

We have, doubtless, numbers of juvenile criminals, but we have a still more numerous body of juvenile idlers. Our Poor Houses *train* up girls who must live idle in the Poor House, and starve in the world, or become criminal to obtain a gaol maintenance, or sinful to flaunt in the wretched tawdriness of the prostitute. They are helpless to obtain an honest living, they are a disgrace to the legislation which legalizes a system as unnatural in management as it is unchristian and unwise in design.

Thus are the Poor-House-reared girls: change the sex, and every evil is but more strongly, and more dangerously, and more patently developed.

If, however, a sound, well designed, and carefully carried out

system of industrial training were adopted, a system teaching self-reliance, and self-respect, this coupled with Reformatory Schools, would make our now "famishing and dangerous" classes of juveniles one of, as Mary Carpenter tenderly and thoughtfully calls them, "*little sinners*," and something more like the little ones amongst whom our Saviour sat, and whom he said we should resemble if we hoped to be his friends.

THE
IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART I.—ODD PHASES IN LITERATURE.

SIXTH PAPER.*

1. *Typographia, or the Printers' Instructor, including an account of the origin of Printing, with Biographical Notices of the Printers of England from Caxton to the close of the Sixteenth Century.* By J. Johnson, Printer. London: Longman and Co., 1824.
2. *Origines de l'Imprimerie de Paris.* Par J. Chevillier, Paris, 1694.
3. *Annales Typographica.* Norimbergæ: 1793.
4. *Essai sur les Livres dans l'Antiquité.* Par H. Gérard. Paris: 1840.

PRICES OF BOOKS IN ANCIENT TIMES AND IN THE MIDDLE AGES.—“The ancients apprise us, according to Aulus-Gellius, that Plato, though possessed of a very moderate patrimony, purchased for 10,000 deniers (£400) the three books of the Pythagorean Philolaus, and from which Plato is said to have derived the greater part of his *Timæus*. Some authors assert that this sum was given him by his friend Dionysius of Syracuse. It is also related that Aristotle, after the death of Speusippus, paid three attic talents (£659) for some books composed by this philosopher. This sum, according to the value of the Roman money, was about 72,000 sesterces. Timon, in his three books of satires, gives vent to his malignity; apostrophizes Plato, whom he tells us was very poor, in consequence of hav-

*For the other papers of this series see IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. VI., No. 23, p. 439. No. 24, p. 647. Vol. VII., No. 25, p. 1. No. 26, p. 267. No. 27 p. 629.

ing purchased at a very high rate a treatise on Pythagorean philosophy, from which he obtained some plagiarisms for his famous dialogue. The following are Timon's lines on the subject:—"And thou also Plato, thou hast been seized with the desire of improving thyself, and purchased with so much money a little book, by the aid of which thou wilt be enabled to write thyself."*

We have here the most ancient mention of the prices given for books by the writers of antiquity, but few evidences have been afforded us on this subject. Martial, however, furnishes us with a few.

"Near the Forum of Cæsar," wrote he in the hundred and eighteenth epigram of his second book, "may be seen a shop, the entire front of which is covered with titles of works, where with the glance of an eye you can read the names of all the poets. Entering there and addressing yourself to Atrectus, the name of the shopkeeper, you ask for my book. He takes from the first or second shelf a Martial well bound and ornamented with purple, which he sells to you for five deniers" (about 3s.)

The work alluded to here is the first book of Martial's *Epigrams*, composed of seven hundred lines. Besides, speaking of his thirteenth book, composed of a hundred and twenty-seven very brief title pages, and of two hundred and seventy-four lines, the same poet wrote (*Ep.* 3): "Everybody sought to procure this little book, which sold so dear, four sesterces (about nine pence) four! too much. If the bookseller Tryphon had sold it for two, he would still have had profit." If this *Epigram* might be taken literally, it followed that Martial's bookseller in selling the thirteenth book of the poet for four sesterces gained more than cent per cent profit on each copy.

The following are some particulars of the prices given in the middle ages, which will complete those which we have already inserted.

In 690 Benedict Biscop, monk and founder of the monastery of Wearmouth, sold to Egfride, King, of Northumberland, a manuscript on cosmography for eight hundred acres of arable land.

* *Attic Nights*, book III., ch. 17, Collection Dubochil. See also Diogenes Laërtius, *Life of Plato*.

In 1174, Walter, prior of Saint Swithin, at Winchester, purchased the *Homilies* of Bède and the *Psalter* of Saint Austin, for twelve measures of barley, and a pallium, on which was represented, in embroidery, the history of Saint Berinus converting a Saxon king.*

W. de Howton sold to the Abbot of Croxton, in 1276, a Bible expounded, for 50 marks of silver, about thirty-four pounds, whilst the construction of two arches of the Bridge of London, at this period cost only twenty-five pounds. In the registry of the Priory of Bolton, in the year 1805, may be found this note : Pro quodam libro Sententiarum empt. XXXS. It was the book of Sentences of the famous Peter Lombard. They would have got two fat oxen for the same price.

In a deed of 1332, Geoffroy de Saint Liger, one of the clerks of the library of Paris, acknowledged and confessed having sold and surrendered, under mortgage of all his goods and guarantee of his body, a book entitled, *Speculum historiale in consuetudines Parisienses*, divided and bound in four volumes, covered in red leather, to a nobleman, Girard de Montagu, Advocate to the King in Parliament, for the moderate sum of forty Paris livres

The book of Pierre Comestor, *Scolastica Historia*, taken at the battle of Poitiers, was afterwards bought for 100 marks of silver, (about 66 livres sterling), by the Count of Salisbury.

Petrarch (who died in 1374), relates in a letter addressed to his friend Penna, that Tuscan, his master of grammar and rhetoric, being a great libertine, was obliged, in order to pay his debts to pawn two small volumes of Cicero.

A very old document of the same period, (1393), the truth of which is unimpeachable, relates that Alazacie de Blevis, a lady of Romolles, wife to Boniface the Magnificent of Castellane, Baron of Germany, in making her will, bequeathed to a young lady, her daughter, a certain number of books in which were inserted all the body of laws, formed and designed on parchment in the most elegant hand-writing ; she enjoined her that in case she was about to marry, she should select a gentleman of the long robe, a jurisconsult, and that at her death she

* Timperly relates that in 1120, Martin, a monk selected by the Convent of St. Edmond's Bury to transcribe a copy of the Bible, could not obtain parchment in England for this object.

would bequeath to him this rich and most valuable treasure, as being a portion of her dowry. We may here observe that the Art of Printing was not at the time in use, or even discovered, Guttenberg being the originator. Gentlemen of Germany, and such of the noble houses of Provence as possessed such volumes, esteemed them a great treasure and considered themselves endowed with a vast and important inheritance; because libraries containing such works usually cost a very large sum, and they could not be copied or transcribed for even a very high price; and the men of letters were so scarce, so very difficult to be met with, and held in such high esteem and veneration, that those who could possessed themselves of those treasured volumes, studied them eagerly night and day, and preserved them carefully.*

In 1394, Louis d'Orleans bought of Oliver Lempire, a Breviary, in a single volume, for 40 crowns in gold. Another Breviary used in Paris, in two large volumes, covered in white leather, was purchased by the same prince, the 18th of February 1397, for 200 golden francs.

In 1396, Jacques Johan, grocer and burgher of Paris, sold to Louis, duke of Orleans, for the sum of 60 crowns, two books, "in which were contained, the *Livre du Tresor*, the *Livre des Rois*, the *Secret des Secrez*, and the *Livre de Estrille Fauveau*, all in one volume, illuminated and emblazoned with the arms of the old Duke of Lancaster; and in the other the *Romant de la Rose*, the *Testament de maistre Jean de Meun*, and the *Livre des Eschez moralisé*, illuminated with azure and gold, and containing likenesses.†

In 1400 a copy of the *Romance of the Rose*,‡ was sold at Paris, before the Palace gates, for about thirty-three pounds.

* L'Histoire et Chronique de Provence, de Cæsar de Nostradamus, Lyon, 1614, in folio p. 516.

† See the Bibliothèque de Charles d'Orleans, à son Château de Blois, by Le Roux de Lincy, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes, vol 5. We would be able to extract from this Catalogue the price of a very great number of books, but these volumes were almost all ornamented with such gorgeousness, that it would be impossible to give a just idea of the relative value of such work.

‡ For an account of this book see IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. 24, p. 673.

Les Heures which Charles the VI. gave, in 1412, to the Duchess of Burgundy, cost 600 crowns.

An ancient scroll at the abbey of St Stephen at Caen, recorded that in 1431 they purchased for seven francs the works of Peter Lombard. This year they might have had, for the same sum, seventy bushels of corn.

The 2nd of November, 1447, Lantimer de Gisors made a bargain with Guillaume Tuleu, proctor to the Hotel Dieu at Paris by which he obtained entrance into the hospital and permission to dwell there on condition of his bestowing a manuscript entitled *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, written about the year 1358, by Guilleville, a Bernardine religious of Chaales; in order and Lantimer "to obtain pardon of his sins, and that our Holy Father the Pope would grant in his Bulls to the Hotel Dieu the power of maintaining him for that sum, and an intention also through God's mercy for himself, his wife, children, father, mother, friends, and benefactors, both living and dead, and especially his master Nicole Ducar, surgeon to King Charles, whom may God absolve for having given him this book, and may he participate with him in obtaining pardon of his sins."

About the middle of the fifteenth century, Cardinal James Piccolomini having requested the Florentine, Acciaïoli to purchase for him a Josephus, Acciaïoli not daring to buy this work in consequences of its very high price offered to the Cardinal, three volumes of Plutarch for 8 crowns of Gold, and the *Epistles* of Seneca for 16 crowns.

We find in the fifth book of the *Epistles* of Antonio Panormita, a letter addressed by this savant to the King of Naples, Alphonso V. the enlightened supporter of literature, (who died in 1458). The following is a translation:—

"Having been apprised that the works of Livy, in good type are selling in Florence for 120 golden crowns, I request your Majesty to purchase in my name, and send to me the works of this historian, that we have been in the habit of designating the *King of Books*. In a short time I hope to be enabled to procure money to reimburse you for this purchase. I desire, however, very much to know who has acted a wiser part, Poggio or me. He, in order to purchase a villa at Florence, sold a Livy that had been magnificently transcribed in his own hand whilst I have sold an estate to buy a Livy."

We read in the twentieth epistle of Gaguin á Fichet, that,

having been commissioned by one of his Italian friends to purchase at Paris, a concordance of the Bible, he could only find one very well written copy, which the bookseller Paschassius would sell for 100 golden crowns.

Louis XI having learned that the Faculty of Medicine were in possession of a manuscript of Rasès, a celebrated Arabic Physician of the tenth century, demanded a loan of it from the Faculty for the purpose of transcribing it. We have here the reply addressed to him by the body.

"Our Sovereign Lord, whilst in our humility we recommend ourselves to your favour, and desire to inform you, our Sovereign Lord, that the president, Messire Jean de la Driesche, has commissioned us to say that you can have the rescript for which you have sent, *Totum continens Rasis*, in order to transcribe it; but as we possess but one copy, we require a guerdon for its security, Sire, being the most valuable and rare treasure in our faculty, and not to be procured elsewhere. Nevertheless, desiring with all our hearts to comply with your request, we will forward the book for transcription, provided you deposit certain vessels of silver and other securities to bail us as to its safety: this, according to the statutes of our faculty, must be complied with, having sworn on the Holy Gospel to guard and preserve it, which, without such observance could never have been accomplished. Praying to God, Sire, &c. This 29 November, 1471." Farther on it has been recorded that the security required by the faculty had been fixed to 12 marcs of silver and 20 sterlings, and that beside Malingre should go security for a hundred golden crowns.*

As might be supposed the discovery of printing pulled down rapidly the price of manuscripts. "What acts of thanks!" wrote Jean André Bishop of Aleria to Pope Paul II., "should not the Christian and literary world render to you for having introduced printing into Rome. Is it not a great glory and honor for your Holiness to have procured for so many of your poor people the facility of forming a library at comparatively trifling expense, and of purchasing for 20 crowns correct volumes which some time since could scarcely be obtained for 100 crowns, though filled with the errors of the copyists? At

* "Historia Universitatis Parisiensis," by Du Boulay, vol. v. p. 885.

present we can buy a volume cheaper than formerly we would pay for binding."*

To conclude all we have written on the price and value of books before the discovery of printing, we do not consider it irrelevant to shew by the following catalogue that in 1521 a small classic library could be formed at but trifling expense. We copy it textually from an unpublished inventory taken at Paris the 22nd of March, 1523, after the death of M. Pot, who whilst living had been the king's councillor, president of inquiry, treasurer and canon of La Sainte Chapelle of the Palace :—

	Sols.	Deniers
	Turnois	
Aulus Gellius	6	"
Ariani prefacio de res gestas (sic)		
Alexandri	8	"
Cicero de officiis cum commento. 1 vol. ...	12	"
—de Natura Deorum, textus avec Sallus-		
tus cum commento	12	"
Tusculanes Ciceronis cum Commento ..	6	"
Rhetorica Ciceronis cum Commento ...	6	"
Plura Ciceronis	2	"
Commentaria Cesarii (sic), Venize ...	6	"
Diogenes Laercius	2	"
Opera Dyonisii	12	"
Herodiani historie	16	"
Isidoris sinonima, escript à la main		
en parchemin	"	6
Titus Livius, 3 vol.	17	"
Lucianus cum interpretatione Erasmi	4	"
Philostratus de vita Apoloni (Apollonii)	"	12
Opera Platonis	18	"
Plinius, 2 vols.	16	"
Priscianus cum Commento ..	3	"
Sallustius, impression d'Alde	2	"
Opera Senesce, 1 vol.	20	"
Suetonius cum commento, impression		
de Venise.	18	"
Cornelius Tacitus	6	"
Thucides (Thucydides) de Bello	6	"
Pelomponessaaco (Peloponesiaco) ...	6	"

* Dedication of the "Epistles and Treatises of Saint Jérôme."

The manuscript from which we have extracted these details forms a volume in quarto on parchment, and belongs to the archives of Bourges. We are indebted for this communication to an enterprising and learned antiquary, M. le Baron de Girardot Prefect at Bourges. Chevillier's *Origenes de l'Imprimerie de Paris*, quarto, 1694, p. 319, may also be consulted.

Our remarks have hitherto applied to the monastic scribes alone; however, it is necessary here to speak of the secular copyists, who were an important class during the middle ages, and supplied the functions of the bibliopole of the ancients. But the transcribing trade numbered three or four distinct branches. There were the *Librarii Antiquarii*, *Notarii*, and the *Illuminators*—occasionally these professions were all united in one—where perserverance or talent had acquired a knowledge of these various arts. There appears to have been considerable competition between these contending bodies. The *notarii* were jealous of the *librarii*, and the *librarii* in their turn were envious of the *antiquarii*, who devoted their ingenuity to the transcription and repairing of old books especially, rewriting such parts as were defective or erased, and restoring the dilapidations of the binding. Being learned in old writings they corrected and revised the copies of ancient codices; of this class we find mention as far back as the time of Cassiodorus and Isidore.* “They deprived,” says Astle, “the poor *librarii*, or common *scriptores*, of great part of their business, so that they found it difficult to gain a subsistence for themselves and their families. This put them about finding out more expeditious methods of transcribing books. They formed the letter smaller, and made use of more conjugations and abbreviations than had been usual. They proceeded in this manner till the letters became exceedingly small and extremely difficult to be read.”† The fact of there existing a class of men, whose fixed employment or profession was solely confined to the transcription of ancient writings and to the repairing of tattered copies, in contradistinction to the common scribes, and depending entirely upon the exercise of their art as a means of obtaining a subsistence, leads us to the conclusion that ancient manuscripts were

* Muratori Dissert. *Quadragesima tertia*, vol. iii. column 849.

† Astle's *Origin of Writing*, p. 193.—See also Montfaucon *Palæographia Græca*, lib. iv. p. 263 et 319.

by no means so very scarce in those days ; for how absurd and useless it would have been for men to qualify themselves for transcribing these antiquated and venerable codices, if there had been no probability of obtaining them to transcribe. The fact too of its becoming the subject of so much competition proves how great was the demand for their labour.*

We are unable, with any positive result, to discover the exact origin of the secular scribes, though their existence may probably be referred to a very remote period. The monks seem to have monopolized for some ages the "*Commercium Librorum*,"† and sold and bartered copies to a considerable extent among each other. We may with some reasonable grounds, however, conjecture that the profession was flourishing in Saxon times ; for we find several eminent names in the seventh and eighth centuries who, in their epistolary correspondence, beg their friends to procure transcripts for them. Benedict, Biscop of Wearmouth, purchased most of his book treasures at Rome, which was even at that early period probably a famous mart for such luxuries, as he appears to have journied there for that express purpose. Some of the books which he collected were presents from his foreign friends ; but most of them, as Bede tells us, were *bought* by himself, or in accordance with his instructions, by his friends.‡ Boniface, the Saxon missionary, continually writes for books to his associates in all parts of Europe. At a subsequent period the extent and importance of the profession grew amazingly ; and in Italy its followers were particularly numerous in the tenth century, as we learn from the letters of Gerbert, afterwards Silvester II., who constantly writes, with the cravings of a bibliomane, to his friends for books, and begs them to get the scribes, who, he adds, in one of his letters, may be found in all parts of Italy, both in town and in the country, to make transcripts of certain books for

* In the year 1300 the pay of a common scribe was about one half-penny a-day, see Stevenson's Supple. to Bentham's Hist. of the Church of Ely, p. 31.

† In some orders the monks were not allowed to sell their books without the express permission of their superiors. According to a statute of the year 1264 the Dominicans were strictly prohibited from selling their books or the rules of their order.—*Martene Thesaur. Nov. Anecd.* tom. iv. col. 1741, et col. 1918.

‡ Vita Abbat. Wear. Ed. Ware, p. 26. His fine copy of the Cosmographers he bought at Rome.—*Roma Benedictus emerat.*

him, and he promises to reimburse his correspondent all that he expends for the same.*

These public scribes derived their principal employment from the monks and the lawyers; from the former in transcribing their manuscripts, and by the latter in drawing up their legal instruments. They carried on their avocation at their own homes, like other artizans; but sometimes when employed by the monks executed their transcripts within the cloister, where they were boarded, lodged, and received their wages till their work was done. This was especially the case when some great book was to be copied, of rarity and price; thus we read of Paulinus, of St. Albans, sending into distant parts to obtain proficient workmen, who were paid so much per diem for their labour; their wages were generously supplied by the Lord of Redburn.†

The increase of knowledge and the foundation of the universities, gave birth to the booksellers. Their occupation as a distinct trade originated at a period coeval with the foundation of these public seminaries, although the first mention that we are aware of is made by Peter of Blois, about the year 1170. We shall have occasion to speak more hereafter of this celebrated scholar, but we may be excused for giving the anecdote here, as it is so applicable to our subject. It appears, then, that whilst remaining in Paris to transact some important matter for the King of England, he entered the shop "of a public dealer in books"—for, be it known that the archdeacon was always on the search, and seldom missed an opportunity of adding to his library—the bookseller, Peter tells us, offered him a tempting collection on Jurisprudence; but although his knowledge of such matters was so great that he did not require them for his own use, he thought they might be serviceable to his nephew, and after bargaining a little about the price he counted down the money agreed upon, and left the stall; but no sooner was his back turned than the Provost of Sexeburgh came in, to look over the literary stores of the stationer, and his eye meeting the recently sold volume, he became inspired with a wish to possess it; nor could he, on hearing that it was

* *Nosti quot Scriptores in Urbibus aut in Agris Italiæ passim habeantur.*—Ep. cxxx. See also Ep. xlv. where he speaks of having purchased books in Italy, Germany and Belgium, at considerable cost. It is the most interesting Bibliomaniacal letter in the whole collection.

† Cottonian MS. in the Brit. Mus.—*Claudius*, E. iv. fo. 105, b.

bought and paid for by another. suppress his anxiety to obtain the treasure ; but offering more money, actually took the volume away by force. As may be supposed, Archdeacon Peter was sorely annoyed at this behaviour ; and " To his dearest companion and friend Master Arnold of Blois, Peter of Blois Archdeacon of Bath sent greeting" a long and learned letter, displaying his great knowledge of civil law, and maintaining the illegality of the provost's conduct.* The casual way in which this is mentioned makes it evident that the "*publico mangone Librorum*" was no unusual personage in those days, but belonged to a common and recognized profession.

The vast number of students who, by the foundation of universities, were congregated together, generated of course a proportionate demand for books, which necessity or luxury prompted them eagerly to purchase : but there were poor as well as rich students educated in these great seminaries of learning, whose pecuniary means debarred them from the acquisition of such costly luxuries ; and for this and other cogent reasons the universities deemed it advantageous, and perhaps expedient, to frame a code of laws and regulations to provide alike for the literary wants of all classes and degrees. To effect this they obtained royal sanction to take the trade entirely under their protection, and eventually monopolized a sole legislative power over the *Librarii*.

In the college of Navarre a great quantity of ancient documents are preserved, many of which relate to this curious subject. They were deposited there by M. Jean Aubert in 1623, accompanied by an inventory of them, divided into four parts by the first four letters of the alphabet. In the fourth, under D. 18, there is a chapter entitled " Des Libraires, Appretiateurs, Jurez et Enlumineurs," which contains much interesting matter relating to the early history of bookselling.† These ancient statutes, collected and printed by the University in the year

* Epist. lxxi. p. 124, Edit. 4to. His words are—" Cum Dominus Rex Anglorum me nuper ad Dominum Regum Francorum nuntium destinasset, libri Legum venales Parisius oblatis sunt mihi ab illo B. publico mangone librorum : qui cum ad opus cujusdam mei nepotis idoneo viderentur conveni cum eo de pretio et eos abud venditorem dismissens, ei pretium numeravi ; superveniente vero C. Sexburgensi Præposito sicut audini, plus oblulit et licitatione vincens libros de domo venditorie per violentiam absportavit."

† Chevillier Origines de l'Imprimerie de Paris, 4to. 1694, p. 301.

1652,* made at various times, and ranging between the years 1275 and 1403, give us a clear insight into the matter.

The nature of a bookseller's business in those days required no ordinary capacity, and no shallow store of critical acumen ; the purchasing of manuscripts, the work of transcription, the careful revisal, the preparation of materials, the tasteful illuminations, and the process of binding, were each employments requiring some talent and discrimination, and we are not surprised, therefore, that the avocation of a dealer, and fabricator of these treasures, should be highly regarded, and dignified into a profession, whose followers were invested with all the privileges, freedoms and exemptions, which the masters and students of the university enjoyed.† But it required these conciliations to render the restrictive and somewhat severe measures, which she imposed on the bookselling trade, to be received with any degree of favour or submission. For whilst the University of Paris, by whom these statutes were framed, encouraged and elevated the profession of the librarii, she required, on the other hand, a guarantee of their wealth and mental capacity, to maintain and to appreciate these important concessions ; the bookseller was expected indeed to be well versed in all branches of science, and to be thoroughly imbued with a knowledge of those subjects and works of which he undertook to produce transcripts.‡ She moreover required of him, testimonials to his good character, an efficient security, ratified by a solemn oath of allegiance,§ and a promise to observe and submit to all the present and future laws and regulations of the university. In some cases, it appears that she restricted the number of librarii, though this fell into disuse as the wants of

* " Actes concernants le pouvoir et la direction de l'Université de Paris sur les Ecrivains de Livres et les Imprimeurs qui leurs ont succédé comme aussi sur les Libraires Relieurs et Enlumineurs," 4 to 1652, p. 44. It is very rare ; a copy was in Biblioth. Teller, No. 132. p. 428. A statute of 1275 is given by Lambecii Comment. de August. Biblioth. Cæsarea Vindobon, vol. ii. pp. 252—267. The booksellers are called " Stationarii or Librarii ;" *de Stationariis, sive Librariis ut Stationarius, qui vulgo appellantur, &c.* See also *Du Cange*, vol. vi. col. 716.

† Chevillier, p. 301, to whom we are deeply indebted in this branch of our inquiry.

‡ Hisi. Lit. de la France, tom. ix. p. 84. Chevillier, p. 302.

§ The form of oath is given in full in the statute of 1323, and in that of 1342, Chevillier.

the students increased. Twenty-four seems to have been the original number,* which is sufficiently great to lead to the conclusion that bookselling was a flourishing trade in those old days. By the statutes of the university, the bookseller was not allowed to expose his transcripts for sale, without first submitting them to the inspection of certain officers appointed by the university, and if an error was discovered, the copies were ordered to be burnt or a fine levied on them, proportionate to their inaccuracy. Harsh and stringent as this may appear at first sight, we shall modify our opinion, on recollecting that the student was in a great degree dependent upon the care of the transcribers for the fidelity of his copies, which rendered a rule of this nature almost indispensable: nor should we forget the great service it bestowed in maintaining the primitive accuracy of ancient writers, and in transmitting them to us through those ages in their original purity.†

In these times of free trade and unrestrained commercial policy, we shall regard less favourably a regulation which they enforced at Paris, depriving the bookseller of the power of fixing a price upon his own goods. Four booksellers were appointed and sworn in to superintend this department, and when a new transcript was finished, it was brought by the bookseller, and they discussed its merits and fixed its value, which formed the amount the bookseller was compelled to ask for it; if he demanded of his customer a larger sum, it was deemed a fraudulent imposition, and punishable as such. Moreover, as an advantage to the students, the bookseller was expected to make a considerable reduction in his profits in supplying them with books; by one of the laws of the university, his profit on each volume was confined to four deniers to a student, and six deniers to a common purchaser. The librarii were still further restricted in the economy of their trade, by a rule which forbade any one of them to dispose of his entire stock of books without the consent of the university; but this we suspect, implied the disposal of the stock and trade together, and was intended to intimate that the introduction of the purchaser would not be allowed, without the cognizance and sanction of the university.‡ Nor was the bookseller able to purchase

* Du Breul *Le Thetre des Antiq. de Paris*, 4to. 1612, p. 608.

† *Idid.* *Hist. Lit. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 84

‡ Chevillier, p. 303.

books without her consent, lest they should be of an immoral or heretical tendency ; and they were absolutely forbidden to buy any of the students, without the permission of the rector.

But restricted as they thus were, the book merchants nevertheless grew opulent, and transacted an important and extensive trade ; sometimes they purchased parts and sometimes they had whole libraries, to sell.* Their dealings were conducted with unusual care, and when a volume of peculiar rarity or interest was to be sold, a deed of conveyance was drawn up with legal precision, in the presence of authorized witnesses.

In those days of high prices and book scarcity, the poor student was sorely impeded in his progress ; to provide against these disadvantages, they framed a law in 1342, at Paris, compelling all public booksellers to keep books to lend out on hire. The reader will be surprised at the idea of a circulating library in the middle ages ! but there can be no doubt of the fact ; they were established at Paris, Toulouse, Vienna, and Bologna. These public librarians too, were obliged to write out regular catalogues of their books and hang them up in their shops, with the prices affixed, so that the student might know beforehand what he had to pay for reading them. We are tempted to give a few extracts from these lists.

“ St. Gregory's Commentaries upon Job, for reading 100 pages, 8 sous.

“ St. Gregory's Book of Homilies, 28 pages for 12 deniers.

“ Isidore's De Summa bona, 24 pages, 12 deniers.

“ Anselm's De Veritate de Libertate Arbitrii, 40 pages, 2 sous.

“ Peter Lombard's Book of Sentences, 3 sous.

“ Scholastic History, 3 sous.

“ Augustine's Confessions, 21 pages, 4 deniers.

“ Gloss on Matthew, by brother Thomas Aquinas, 57 pages, 3 sous.

“ Bible Concordance, 9 sous.

“ A Bible, 10 sous†.”

This rate of charge was also fixed by the university, and the students borrowing these books were privileged to transcribe them if they chose ; if any of them proved imperfect or faulty, they were denounced by the university, and a fine imposed upon the bookseller who had lent out the volume.

This potent influence exercised by the universities over book-

* Martene Anecd. tom. i. p. 502. Hist. Lit. de la France, ix. p. 142.

† Chevillier 319, who gives a long list, printed from an old register of the University.

sellere, became, in time, much abused, and in addition to these commercial restraints, they assumed a still less warrantable power over the original productions of authors; and became virtually the public censors of books, and had the power of burning or prohibiting any work of questionable orthodoxy. In the time of Henry the Second, a book was published by being read over for two or three successive days, before one of the universities, and if they approved of its doctrines and bestowed upon it their approbation, it was allowed to be copied extensively for sale.

Stringent as the university rules were, as regards the book-selling trade, they were, nevertheless, sometimes disregarded or infringed; some ventured to take more for a book than the sum allowed, and, by prevarication and secret contracts, eluded the vigilance of the laws.* Some were still bolder, and openly practised the art of a scribe and the profession of a bookseller, without knowledge or sanction of the university. This gave rise to much jealousy, and in the University of Oxford, in the year 1373, they made a decree, forbidding any person exposing books for sale without her licence.†

Now, considering all these usages of early bookselling, their numbers, their opulence, and above all, the circulating libraries which the librarii established, can we still retain the opinion that books were so inaccessible in those anteprinting days, when we know that for a few sous the book-lover could obtain good and authenticated copies to peruse, or transcribe? It may be advanced that these facts solely relate to universities, and were intended merely to insure a supply of the necessary books in constant requisition by the students, but such was not the case; the librarii were essentially public *Librorum Venditores*, and were glad to dispose of their goods to any who could pay for them. Indeed, the early bibliomaniacs usually flocked to these book marts to rummage over the stalls, and to collect their choice volumes. Richard de Bury obtained many in this way, both at Paris and at Rome.

Of the exact pecuniary value of books during the middle ages, we have no means of judging. The few instances that have accidentally been recorded, are totally inadequate to enable us to form an opinion. The extravagant estimate given by

* Chevillier, 303.

† Vet. Stat. Universit. Oxoniæ, D. fol. 75. Archiv. Bodl.

some, as to the value of books in those days, is merely conjectural, as it necessarily must be, when we remember that the price was guided by the accuracy of the transcription, the splendour of the binding, which was often gorgeous to excess, and by the beauty and richness of the illuminations.* Many of the manuscripts of the middle ages are magnificent in the extreme. Sometimes they inscribed the gospels and the venerated writings of the fathers with liquid gold, on parchment of the richest purple,† and adorned its brilliant pages with illuminations of exquisite workmanship.

The first specimens we have of an attempt to embellish manuscripts are Egyptian. It was a common practice among them at first to colour the initial letter of each chapter or division of their work, and afterwards to introduce objects of various kinds into the body of the manuscript. The splendour of the ancient calligraphical productions of Greece,* and the still later ones of Rome, bear repeated testimony that the practice of this art had spread during the sixth century, if not earlier, to these powerful empires. England was not tardy in embracing this elegant art. We have many relics of remote antiquity and exquisite workmanship existing now, which prove the talent and assiduity of our early Saxon forefathers.

In Ireland the illuminating art was profusely practised at a period as early as the commencement of the seventh century, and in the eighth we find it holding forth eminent claims to our respect by the beauty of their workmanship, and the chastity of their designs. Those well versed in the study of these ancient manuscripts, have been enabled, by extensive but minute observation, to point out their different characteristics in

* The Church of Norwich paid £22 9s. for illuminating a Graduale and Consuetudinary in 1374.

† Isidore Orig., cap. ii —Jerome, in his preface to Job. writes, "*Habeant qui volunt veteres libros, vel in membranis purpureis auro argentique colore purpuros aurum liquiscit in literis.*" Eddius Stephanus in his Life of St. Wilfrid, cap. xvi., speaks of "*Quatour Evangelise de auro purissimo in membranis de purpuratis coloratis pro animæ suæ remedis scribere jussit.*" Du Cange, vol. iv. p. 654. See also Mabillon Act. Sanct., tom. v. p. 110, who is of opinion that these purple MSS. were only designed for princes; see Nouveau Traite de Diplomatique; and Montfaucon Palæog. Græc., pp. 45, 218, 226 for more on this subject.

* See a Fragment in the Brit. Mus. engraved in Shaw's Illuminated Ornaments, plate 1.

various ages, and even to decide upon the school in which a particular manuscript was produced.

These illuminations, which render the early manuscripts of the monkish ages so attractive, generally exemplify the rude ideas and tastes of the time. In perspective they are woefully deficient, and manifest but little idea of the picturesque or sublime; but here and there we find quite a gem of art, and, it must be owned, we are seldom tired by monotony of colouring or paucity of invention. A study of these parchment illustrations afford considerable instruction. Not only do they indicate the state of the pictorial art in the middle ages, but also give us a comprehensive insight into the scriptural ideas entertained in those times; and the bible student may learn much from pondering on these glittering pages; to the historical student, and to the lover of antiquities, they offer a verdant field of research, and he may obtain in this way many a glimpse of the manners and customs of those old times which the pages of the monkish chroniclers have failed to record.

But all this prodigal decoration greatly enhanced the price of books, and enabled them to produce a sum, which now to us sounds enormously extravagant. Moreover, it is supposed that the scarcity of parchment limited the number of books materially, and prevented their increase to any extent; but we are prone to doubt this assertion, for our own observations do *not* help to prove it. Mr. Hallam says, that in consequence of this, "an unfortunate practice gained ground of erasing a manuscript in order to substitute another on the same skin. This occasioned, probably, the loss of many ancient authors who have made way for the legends of saints, or other ecclesiastical rubbish."* But we may reasonably question this opinion, when we consider the value of books in the middle ages, and with what esteem the monks regarded, in spite of all their paganism, those "heathen dogs" of the ancient world. A doubt has often forced itself upon our mind, when turning over the "crackling leaves" of many ancient MSS., whether the peculiarity mentioned by Montfaucon, and described as parchment from which former writing had been erased, may not be owing, in many cases, to its mode of preparation. It is true, a great

* Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 437. Mr. Maitland, in his "Dark Ages," enters into a consideration of this matter with much critical learning and ingenuity.

proportion of the membrane on which the writings of the middle ages are inscribed, appear rough and uneven, but we could not detect, through many manuscripts of a hundred folios—all of which evinced this roughness—the unobliterated remains of a single letter. And when we have met with instances, they appear to have been short writings—perhaps epistles; for the monks were great correspondents, and, we suspect, kept economy in view, and often carried on an epistolary intercourse, for a considerable time, with a very limited amount of parchment, by erasing the letter to make room for the answer. This, probably, was usual where the matter of their correspondence was of no especial importance; so that, what our modern critics, being emboldened by these faint traces of former writing, have declared to possess the classic appearance of hoary antiquity, may be nothing more than a complimentary note, or the worthless accounts of some monastic expenditure. But, careful as they were, what would these monks have thought of “paper-sparing Pope,” who wrote his *Iliad* on small pieces of refuse paper? One of the finest passages in that translation, which describes the parting of Hector and Andromache, is written on part of a letter which Addison had franked, and is now preserved in the British Museum. Surely he could afford, these old monks would have said, to expend some few shillings for paper, on which to inscribe that, for which he was to receive his thousand pounds.

But far from the monastic manuscripts displaying a scantiness of parchment, we almost invariably find an abundant margin, and a space between each line almost amounting to prodigality; and to say that the “vellum was considered more precious than the genius of the author,”* is absurd, when we know that, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a dozen skins of parchment could be bought for sixpence; whilst that quantity written upon, if the subject possessed any interest at all, would fetch considerably more, there always being a demand and ready sale for books.† The supposition, therefore, that

* D’Israeli *Amenities of Lit.*, vol. i. p. 358.

† The Precentor’s accounts of the Church of Norwich contain the following items:—1300, 5 dozen parchment, 2s. 6d., 40lbs. of ink 4s. 4d., 1 gallon of vindi decrili, 3s., 4lbs. of coporase, 4lbs. of galls, 2lbs. of gum arab, 3s. 4d., to make ink. We dismiss these facts with the simple question they naturally excite. That if parchment was so *very scarce*, what on earth did the monk want with all this ink?

the monastic scribes erased *classical* manuscripts, for the sake of the material, seems altogether improbable, and certainly destitute of proof. It is true, many of the classics, as we have them now, are but mere fragments of the original work. For this, however, we have not to blame the monks, but barbarous invaders, ravaging flames, and the petty animosities of civil and religious warfare, for the loss of many valuable works of the classics. By these means, one hundred and five books of Livy have been lost to us, probably for ever. For the thirty which have been preserved, our thanks are certainly due to the monks. It was from their unpretending and long-forgotten libraries that many such treasures were brought forth at the revival of learning, in the fifteenth century, to receive the admiration of the curious, and the study of the erudite scholar. In this way Poggio Bracciolini discovered many inestimable manuscripts. Leonardo Aretino writes in rapturous terms on Poggio's discovery of a perfect copy of Quintillian. "What a precious acquisition!" he exclaims, "what unthought of pleasure to behold Quintillian perfect and entire!"* In the same letter we learn that Poggio had discovered Asconius and Flaccus in the monastery of St. Gall, whose inhabitants regarded them without much esteem. In the monastery of Langres, his researches were rewarded by a copy of Cicero's Oration for Cæcina. With the assistance of Bartolomeo di Montepulciano, he discovered Silius Italicus, Lactantius, Vegetius, Nonius Marcellus, Ammainus Marcellus, Lucretius, and Columella, and he found in a monastery at Rome a complete copy of Tertullian.† In the fine old monastery of Casino, so renowned for its classical library in former days, he met with Julius Frontinus and Firmicus, and transcribed them with his own hand. At Cologne he obtained a copy of Petronius Arbiter. But to these we may add Calpurnius's Bucolic,‡ Manilius, Lucius Septimus, Coper, Euty chius, and Probus. He had anxious hopes of adding a perfect Livy to the list, which he had been told then existed, in a Cistercian Monastery in Hungary, but, unfortunately, he did not prosecute his researches in this instance with his usual energy. The scholar has equally to re-

* Leonardi Aretini Epist. l. iv. eb. v.

† Mehi Præfatio ad vit Ambrosii Traversarii, p. xxxix.

‡ Mehi Præf., pp. xlviii.—xlix.

gret the loss of a perfect Tacitus, which Poggio had expectations of from the hands of a German monk. We may still more deplore this, as there is every probability that the monks actually possessed the precious volume.* Nicholas of Treves, a contemporary and friend of Poggio's, and who was infected, though in a slight degree, with the same passionate ardour for collecting ancient manuscripts, discovered, whilst exploring the German monasteries, twelve comedies of Plautus, and a fragment of Aulus Gellius.† Had it not been for the timely aid of these great men, many would have been irretrievably lost in the many revolutions and contentions that followed; and, had such been the case, the monks, of course, would have received the odium, and on their heads the spleen of the disappointed student would have been prodigally showered.

ORIGIN OF PRINTING.—It was about the year 1398 or 1400 that Jean Gutenberg was born at Mayence.‡

In 1420 he was forced to exile himself in consequence of an insurrection which broke out in the city. We are ignorant what become of him during the fourteen following years, but know positively that in 1434 he resided at Strasbourg, where, two years later, he worked polishing mirrors and carving precious stones.

In 1436, he formed, with a certain Jean Riffe, for the achievement of some secret design, a society, which was afterwards joined by André Dritzehen and his brother Anton Heilmann. In the deed which was registered in writing we perceive that the interests of the society were divided into four parts; Gutenberg, who was the soul and spirit of this undertaking, reserved for himself two, having moreover allowed to his two latter associates the sum of 160 florins. Ere long Dritzehen perceiving that Gutenberg occupied himself secretly

* A MS. containing five books of Tacitus which had been deemed lost, was found in Germany during the pontificate of Leo X., and deposited in the Laurentian library at Florence.—*Mehi Præf.* p. xlvii. See Shepard's Life of Poggio, p. 104, to whom we are much indebted for these curious facts.

† Shepard's Life of Poggio, p. 101.

‡ His father, of the noble family of Gensfleisch, bore the surname of Friele. He married Else de Gutenberg, and gave this latter name to his son Henne Gensfleisch Zum Gutenberg. The name of Gutenberg has been sometimes written Gudinberg, sometimes Gutenberger, and at other times Gudenburch.

with an invention, with the construction of which they were kept in total ignorance, obtained admission with André Heilmann to enter a new association by paying 250 florins. This invention, with which the Mayengais occupied himself so mysteriously, was printing.

André having died in 1438, his two brothers George and Claus, re-claimed from Gutenberg, either their admission into the society, or the payment of a sum of 100 florins, which the associates had reserved for the successors of those who died amongst them. A lawsuit was the result of this demand, when, after having heard a great number of witnesses, the tribunal acknowledged that Gutenberg was not bound to pay the inheritors more than 15 florins. It was in the depositions of the witnesses that mention was for the first time made of printing by means of moveable type, and this fact, of such paramount interest, remained undiscovered up to the year 1745, when the keeper of records, Schœpffin, found the deeds in an old tower of Strasbourg, the *Pfennigthurm*. These documents written in German, the authority of which is incontestible, were published by Schœpffin, in his *Vindiciæ Typographicæ*. M. Léon de Laborde has recently made an accurate copy of them, to which he has joined a translation and the facsimile of several passages.*

As their text has been the subject of various important discussions we think it well to give the following extracts. The first part thus commences

“*Item*, Barbel de Zabern, deposes that he had one night a conversation with Andres Dritzehen on various matters, that amongst others, having said to him : ‘ Will you not retire to rest at length ? ’ he replied : ‘ I must finish this before I do so. ’ Then the witness spoke thus : ‘ But God preserve me, what a vast sum of money you must have expended ? Why that must have cost at least 10 florins. ’ In reply he said ; ‘ thou art a fool, if thou thinkest that that has cost me but 10 florins ? Hearken, know, that this has already cost me more than 300 florins, a sum more than sufficient for thy whole life, aye, it has cost me at least 500 florins. And that will be no-

* See *Débuts de l'imprimerie à Strasbourg*, Paris, 1840 in octavo. The original parts of the documents are preserved with great care in a cabinet at the library of the university of Strasbourg.

thing if it does not cost me still more, it is for this purpose that I have pledged my goods and my inheritance.' 'But,' said this witness, 'holy dolors, if it should not succeed what would you do then?' To which he replied; 'That is impossible, it must succeed; before another year revolves we will have recovered our capital, and we shall all be happy unless it be God's will to subdue us.'

"*Item*, the woman Ennel, wife of Hanns Schultheiss, timber merchant, deposes that Lorenzo Beildeck came at one time to the house of Claus Dritzehen her cousin, and said to him. 'Dear Claus Dritzehen, Andrés Dritzehen had iiij pieces concealed in a press, and, Gutenberg requests you will take them from the press, and that you will separate them one from another, in order that they might be unintelligible, as he did not wish any one to understand them:' this witness also deposed that, when at the house of her cousin Andres Dritzehen she assisted in this work night and day.

"Lorenzo Beildeck deposes that Jean Gutenberg sent him on one occasion to the house of Claus Dritzehen after the death of Andres his brother to tell Claus Dritzehen not to show any one the press he had under his care. He told me moreover, that by going to the press and taking the trouble of opening it with two screws, that then the pieces would become detached one from the other. He was then to place these pieces in the press or on the press, and no one after that could understand for what they were intended.

"*Item*, Hanns Dunne, goldsmith, deposes that he had, three years before, gotten from Gutenberg nearly 100 florins, for matters belonging to printing alone."

The text, sometimes very vague, of these proces-verbaux have been examined and commented on in a hundred different ways by those who occupy themselves in studying the origin of printing, each seeking to draw from it a text for the system which they have adopted.

There are four questions raised about the type: were they moveable or fixed? Schœpffin sustained the former opinion and Fournier the latter. Were they metallic or xylographic; Schœpffin maintained that they were lead, Fournier and Meerman that they were of wood.

Does the word *pressen* which is very often used, imply the same meaning as we give to the term *press* at that present day? This question has been resolved as the preceding, affirmatively

by some, negatively by others. It appears nevertheless certain that Gutenberg, according to the report of his cotemporaries, invented at Strasbourg a new species of writing carved on wood with moveable type. It is doubtful for which of his type he employed metal, whether in engraving or in cast fount. "Besides, it is probable," wrote M. de Laborde, "that he composed in moveable letters some leaves of works of which he had the manuscripts beside him; he had undoubtedly re-printed some volume of great importance, and when he offered his device to his associates, they could then undertake works of greatest importance, a bible, for example. We can easily conceive that these four men reunited had undertaken what was altogether above their strength, the impression of a bible in folio, in double columns; and this supposition has been confirmed by the evidence that the productions of the association ought to have found a quick and enormous sale at Aix-la-Chapelle during the grand reunion of pilgrims in 1440; and that another year of assiduous labour was requisite to produce something beside a bible, or a *catholicon*, they should also be voluminous and worthy by their title to receive a good price." *

Gutenberg remained at Strasbourg for several years and returned in 1445 or 1446 to Mayence, where, from 1448, he had rented the house called *Zum Jungen*, in which he established at a later period his first presses.

The considerable expense he had to undergo in order to accomplish this attempt, had completely cramped his resources. Fortunately he met with powerful support from his fellow-citizen, Jean Fust or Faust, with whom he became associated in 1450 by a deed, the copy of which has been preserved. Fust engaged to advance to Gutenberg the sum of 800 florins in gold at 6 per cent interest, for the formation of the implements and instruments necessary for printing, and which were to be pledged to Fust; he, besides, giving 300 golden florins for what we would call at the present day general expenses, such as hiring domestics, rent, fuel, purchasing parchment, paper, ink, &c., the emoluments to be divided equally between the two associates. In case the society should be dissolved, it was agreed that Gutenberg should release his tools and reimburse Faust his 800 florins.

* See Biographie Michaud, t. XLVIII. . p. 446.

In the earlier period of their association, Gutenberg and Fust do not appear to have made much advance. It seems even, according to a passage of an author of the time, that they did not at first make use of the moveable type that Gutenberg had employed at Strasbourg; it was necessary for them to have as many separate blocks as they had pages to print, and the leaves could only be printed on one side. They had probably been disheartened by the enormous expense entailed in engraving moveable type on wood,* as also by the difficulty of giving to these letters and their tails equal dimensions, and of disposing of them in such a manner as that they would not be broken or put out of order whilst in press. Meerman, in his *Origines typographicæ*, maintains, however, that the tails, which were of box and separated in the centre, could very easily be reunited by a little cord or brass wire. The ancient printers of Mayence preserved, it is said, some of these letters of wood in their workshops, and it was customary to give one to each apprentice who was admitted as freeman in their corporation.

After having printed on the fixed blocks of wood, a small vocabulary and a *Donatus Minor*,† Gutenberg and Fust detached from these blocks the type which they carved separately to render them moveable; there are a few specimens of this edition in xylography.

About the years 1452 or 1453 they discovered a method of casting the figures of the Latin alphabet, which they called matrices, and in these matrices they formed new type in brass or pewter.

Notwithstanding this very positive testimony the honor of having invented the casting of the type was attributed exclusively to Pierre Schœffer a workman of Fust ‡ who was more likely to have improved on the invention of Gutenberg and his associate. We have here an explanation on this point from Jean Frédéric Faust d'Aschaffembourg, an extract from his

* Camus carved letters in wood, which, polished and arranged in proper order, brought him a profit of ten sous each. According to M. de Laborde, a letter in wood at the present day would be only value for three sous.

† The Bibliothèque Royale is in possession of two of these blocks, see *Chronicon urbis Coloniae*, 1433, folio.

‡ According to the incorrect custom of this period, the name of Schœffer (Shepherd) was to be found translated in latin by *Opilio* among the historians of the time.

family papers, and translated in Latin in the *Monumenta typographica* of Wolf (vol. 1, p. 468):

"Pierre Schœffer of Gernsheim, having conceived the project of his master Fust, and filled with taste for his art, discovered by divine inspiration the manner of engraving the type which they have called *matrices*; and of casting by this means other type, by which they were enabled to increase them and give them the same form without being obliged to do each separately. He made without the privity of his master, a *matrice* in alphabetical order, and shewed it to Jean Fust with the type which he had cast by these means. His master was so delightful that in a transport of joy he at once promised his only daughter to Pierre, who espoused her shortly after. But they encountered as many difficulties in this species of type, as they did heretofore in the type engraven on wood, for the substance was too weak to resist the pressure. At length by the amalgamation of several other metals they discovered a substance which sustained the weight of the press."

There is great uncertainty regarding the first works printed by means of the process invented by Schœffer. However, without entering into any of the discussions, we will limit ourselves to the mention of the Letters of Indulgence granted by Pope Nicholas V. in 1454 to the faithful who, by their alms, aided the King of Cyprus, John II, to make war against the Turks: these were most likely printed in this type; the bible of three quaternions* of eight hundred and seventy sheets, and attributed to Gutenberg and Fust never existed; but the edition of the bible in six hundred and forty sheets has been acknowledged as the most ancient, having been printed at Mayence between 1453 and 1455 with the type invented by Schœffer.

The royal library possesses four sheets of a *Donat* printed on parchment with the imprint of Mayence by Pierre Schœffer. These sheets found in Germany covering some books were collected by an inhabitant of Trèves who bestowed them on the library in 1803. Lambinet has given a circumstantial description of them. At the back of the fourth and last leaf, may be read at the top of the page the following inscription in red ink: *Explicit Donatus, arte nova imprimendi seu caracterizandi,*

* The ancient printers gave the name *quaternion* to a collection of four leaves forming 16 pages in folio.

per Petrum de Gernsheym, in urbe moguntina cum suis capitalibus absque calami exaratione effigatus.

Gutenberg was as unfortunate at Mayence as he had been at Strasbourg. He had to sustain, in this city, a new lawsuit, and on this occasion lost it altogether. The following is the translation of the original German deed relative to this affair.

“Fust summoned Gutenberg to recover the sum of 2,020 golden florins, accruing from the 800 florins he had advanced to Gutenberg, in accordance with the contract they had entered into: also 800 more florins, given at the demand of Gutenberg, to finish the work, besides 36 florins expenses and interest, which he had neglected to pay, not having sufficient funds. Gutenberg replied, that the first 800 florins, had, according to their letter of contract, been all at once employed in preparations for their work; that he had offered to render an account of the last 800 florins, but that he had no idea he was to pay either interest or usury. The Judge tendered the oath to Fust, whether he had lent him the money, and he having taken it, Gutenberg lost his cause, and was condemned to pay the interest, and that part of the capital which he had employed for his own particular use. Fust then demanded and obtained a decree from the notary, Helmasperger, dated the 6th of November, 1455.”

This lawsuit caused a dissolution of the partnership, and Gutenberg finding it impossible to satisfy his creditor, was obliged to resign to him all his printing implements. Nevertheless, he found another person willing to advance funds, in Doctor Conrad Humery, syndic of Mayence, and succeeded in establishing a new printing establishment in the same city; but the only typographical memorial that we can attribute to them is a large work in folio, known under the name of *Catholicon*, bearing the date 1460, and entitled: *Summa quæ vocatur Catholicon, edita a Joanne de Janua*.

The latter years of Gutenberg were spent very happily. He was, in 1465, received amongst the gentlemen in waiting on the Elector of Mayence, Adolphus II., who granted him a pension; he died, however, in 1468.

We have not noted, in this biographical sketch, two writings cited in all the accounts given of printing. The first is a letter addressed from Strasbourg, in March, 1421, by Gutenberg to his sister Bertha, a religious in a convent at Mayence; the second is a deed executed in 1459, between

Gutenberg, his brothers, and his sister, by which he undertakes to bestow to the library of the convent where his sister dwelt, the books he had printed, and should print in future. A *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, published about twenty years since, by M. Schaaber, has proved in the clearest manner that the keeper of the archives at Mayence, Bodmann, who was assumed to have discovered these writings, had simply fabricated them, in order to relieve himself from the importunities of Oberlin, Fischer, and other bibliographers, who tormented him unceasingly to obtain for them some souvenirs of Gutenberg.*

After the separation from Gutenberg, Fust and Schœffer preserved their workshop, and began to print anew. The first book known up to the present day as indicating a precise date of the name and residence of the publishers, is the Psalter of Mayence, which issued from their press in 1457. This book in large folio, regarded as a chef-d'œuvre of its kind, was an epoch in the history of printing.

In what sort of type was it printed? This question was a matter of dispute amongst the savants; Van Praet thought they employed moveable type in wood, the number being so considerable, as to oblige them to have 640 for one page and 2,560 for a sheet.

The volume is composed of 75 sheets; it is embellished with 288 ornamented capitals, engraven in wood, with surpassing delicacy, traced in red when the ornaments are blue; and in blue when the ornaments are in red; the largest capital letter is on the first page. It is printed in three colors, blue, red and purple, comprising ornaments 92 millimetres high, and 108 wide. It represents a B encircled by arabesques of foliage and flowers; in one of the bends of the letter may be discerned a hare chasing a flying partridge.

The following inscription may be seen printed in red characters on the back of the last leaf:—

Presens Spalorum (for Psalmorum) Codex Venustate capitalium decoratus rubricationibus que sufficienter distinctus, ad inventionem artificiosa imprimendi ac characterizandi. Absque calami ulla exaratione sic effigiatus, et ad eusebiam. Dei industrie est consummatus, per Johannem Fust, civem Maguntinum. Et Petrum Schœffer de Gernszheim. Anno Domini millesimo CCCCLVII in vigilia Assumptionis.

* Lambinet has given the translation of these writings.

There are but six copies of this edition extant, and each varies. Two years later, Fust and Schœffer published another work with the same type as the former, and comprising 136 sheets. There are eight copies of it to be found at the present day in the Royal Library.

The Psalter was re-printed in 1490 and 1502 by P. Schœffer alone, and in 1516 by J. Schœffer son to Peter.

We have here the detail of the works printed by Fust and Schœffer.

1459. *Guilelmi Durandi rationale divinorum officiorum. Moguntiae, Joannes Fust et Petrus de Gernshezm, 1459, large folio.*

This edition, looked on as a chef-d'œuvre of typography, is probably the first work printed in moveable type bearing date and the name of the two printers.

1460. *Constitutiones Clementis Papæ V. Una cum apparatu Joannis Andreæ. Moguntiae, Joannes Fust et Petrus Schoiffer 1460, large folio.*

1462. *Biblia latina vulgatæ editionis, ex translatione et cum præfationibus S. Hieronymi. Moguntiae, Joannes Fust et Petrus Schoiffer. 1462. 2 vols. large folio.*

This latter Bible, the first printed with a date, is famous as the Mayence Bible. There are various copies in vellum and paper. A copy which belonged to Coustard, Minister of the Parliament at Paris, and which perhaps is lost at the present day, contained a deed of sale in Latin of which the following is a translation. "I, Herman of Germany, factor to the honest and prudent Jean Guymier accredited librarian to the University of Paris, acknowledge to have sold to the illustrious and learned master Guillaume de Tourneville, Archpriest and Canon of Angers, my lord and very respected master, a Mayence Bible in two volumes for the sum of forty crowns, which I have substantially received; a sale, which I promise to ratify in the following manner:—guaranteeing to my lord the indisputed possession of this Bible, against any claimant who may seek to dispossess him of it. In testimony of which I affix my seal this fifth day of April, the year of our Lord MCCCCLXX."

1465. *Liber sextus Decretalium Domini Bonifacii Papæ VIII. cum glossa, 1465 in folio.*

Cicero de Officiis. Moguntiae, 1465, in quarto.

1466. *Grammatica vetus rhythmica. Moguntiae, 1466, small folio.*

At the end of this work which contains but eleven sheets, may be found the following four lines which are rather obscure.

Artis ter deni jubilaminis octo bis annis.
 Moguncia reni me condit et imprimit annis
 Hinc nazareni sonet oda per ora Johannis.
 Namque sereni luminis est scaturigo pereunis.

Various explanations have been given of this quatrain; the best, however, is that of George Bathon, Canon of Saint Bartholomew at Frankfort. *Jubilamen*, designating a Jubilee of fifty years. Twenty nine jubilees make fourteen hundred and fifty years. If twice eight years (octo bis) be added of the thirtieth (ter deni) the current jubilee would take place at the date of 1466.

The two last lines indicate Mayence as the place where it was printed, and Jean Fust as printer.

Fust and Schœffer did not limit themselves, in the sale of their books, to the towns where they were published; it is unquestionable that they established depots in Germany, Italy, France, and in the most celebrated Universities. Naudé even gave sanction to a fable, which has been repeated by several writers. He maintains that Fust having brought a great number of copies of the Bible of 1462, to Paris, sold them at first as manuscripts at sixty crowns, and afterwards for twenty crowns only; the fraud having been discovered, he was prosecuted by the purchasers, and obliged to fly. This story which is not substantiated by any authority, has been refuted by several critics, who have sought in vain amongst the parliamentary registers of Paris, for any trace of the prosecution against the printer of Mayence.

Be that as it may, it is fact that Fust came to Paris in 1466. It is even conjectured that he died there of the plague, which desolated the city in the months of April and September of that year.

After the death of his associate, Pierre Schœffer continued to print alone at Mayence, up to the year 1503, and had repositories for the sale of his books in several towns in France. He had for factor at Paris a German, named Herman de Statboen. He having died there, the Royal Commissary in virtue of his right of escheat, seized and sold all the books and effects which were found on the premises; Schœffer and his associate Conrart Hanequis or Henlif, took active measures to obtain from Louis XI., an indemnity or restitution of the books which belonged to them. Their demand, supported by the King of the Romans, Frederick III., and the Elector of Mayence, was most succesful, and in the month of April, 1475,

the King issued the following decree, a portion only of which we give, as a detailed account would be quite uninteresting.

“ Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France, to our trusty and beloved councillors, ordained by us comptrollers of finance, greeting in all affection, on behalf of our dear and well beloved Conrart Hanequis and Pierre Schœffer, merchants and citizens of Mayence in Germany, who have been represented to us as devoting the greater portion of their time to the invention of the art of printing, by which means they have with much care and diligence succeeded in making several beautiful books of rare and exquisite workmanship, in which history and the different sciences have been portrayed ; some of those have been sent to various parts of our kingdom and even to our City of Paris, and its eminent university ; that in order to dispose of those books, a commission was given to a certain man employed by them for that purpose ; that with this man Herman de Stathoen, native of the diocese of Munster in Germany, they had contracted for the sale of a certain quantity of books, which they had sent to him and for which he was held responsible by Conrart Hanequis and Pierre Schœffer ; Stathoen dying, according to the universal law of our kingdom his goods and effects were escheated, as no alien dying in our City of Paris was empowered to make a testament or dispose of any property in his possession. In this manner the books belonging to those men were seized by the commissary and the other officers of our kingdom, and in requittal for this loss, they demand from us either the books or restitution to the amount of the value of those books, which they estimate as being worth the sum of two thousand four hundred and twenty-five golden crowns and three solstournois : Now, in consideration of the most high and very powerful prince our very dear and best beloved brother, cousin and ally the King of Romans, having written to us on this matter, and also, as we understand that Hanequis and Schœffer are subjects to, and from the same country as our very dear and truly beloved cousin the Archbishop of Mayence who is our father, friend, confederate and ally, and who has also written to us on their behalf, for the love and affection we bear to them, as well as in requittal for the services rendered by Conrart Hanequis and Pierre Schœffer to science, and the public advantage which their invention has bestowed in the increase of literature, we are willing to make restitution to the amount of the sum claimed of two thousand four hundred and twenty-five

golden crowns and three sols tournois and therefore agree to grant out of our finances the sum of eight hundred livres yearly, to commence the first day of next October, and to continue annually until the entire sum be paid. We therefore expressly command and enjoin our friend and leal Counsellor, Jean Briçonnet, comptroller general of our finances, to pay and deliver to the said Conrart Hanequis, and Pierre Schœffer or to their agent the sum specified, commencing the first day of October, and continuing annually till the entire sum of two thousand four hundred and twenty-five golden crowns and three sols tournois be liquidated; signed this day by our hand and with our royal seal in discharge of our recognizances to Conrart Hanequis and Pierre Schœffer.

Given at Paris the XXI day of April, year of Grace MCCCCLXXV and the XIV of our reign. Signed Louis, King. The Bishop of Eyreux and several others present.—Le Gouzy.*

Origin of Printing, Type Founding, Block, or Stereotype, Printing.

These subjects perhaps ought to have been noticed in an earlier portion of our pages, but as it was not intended to go into any regular or systematic details or elaborate discussion, we shall introduce a few remarks from *Ames's* Typographical Antiquities, or an Historical account of the origin and progress of Printing in Great Britain and Ireland, being by far the most extensive work on the subject, and which has from time to time, been considerably enlarged by Mr. Herbert and Mr. Dibdin; added to these, there are other admirable histories of the art, by Meerman, Bowyer, Nichols, Watson, Palmer, Luckombe, Le Moine, Hansard, Stower, &c.—But as it would be impossible to do ample justice to them all, we shall advert to the leading features of a few of the Printers, and their Biographers.

Joseph Ames, the historian of British Topography, was born at Yarmouth, 1688-9, and apprenticed by his father, the master of a Yarmouth trading vessel, to a plane-maker in London. After serving out his time, he became a ship-chandler in Wapping, which business, notwithstanding his antiquarian pursuits, he carried on until his death. He early discovered a taste for English history and antiquities; and in 1730, the composition of a history of printing in England

* See *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. XIV. p. 243.

being suggested to him, after a labour of twenty-five years, he brought out in one vol. 4to, 1749, *Typographical Antiquities, being an historical account of Printing in England, with some memoirs of our ancient Printers, and a register of the books printed by them from 1471 to 1600; with an appendix concerning Printing in Scotland and Ireland to the same time.* He inscribed his work to lord chancellor Hardwicke, and was at the same time fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, being chosen secretary to the last of them. Sir Hans Sloane in particular showed him very great countenance, and left him trustee to his will. Mr. Ames died in 1739, much esteemed. Besides his great work, he wrote *1. A Catalogue of English Printers from 1471 to 1700, 4to; 2. An Index to Lord Pembroke's Coins; 3. A Catalogue of English Heads; or an account of 2000 English prints, describing what is peculiar to each; 4. Parentalia, or Memoirs of the family of Wren, 1750, folio.* An enlarged edition of the *Typographical Antiquities* was published by the late Mr. W. Herbert, vol. 1, 1785, vol. 2, 1786, and vol. 3, 1790. A new and splendid edition of Ames and Herbert has since been presented to the world by the Rev. T. F. Dibdin.

It is somewhat extraordinary that Mr. Cole, a celebrated Antiquary and collector, who was on friendly terms and corresponded with Ames, should have drawn the following severe character of him, and which appears under the head "*Biographiana*" in the 24th Number of Sir Egerton Brydges's *Restituta*, in article 3.—After copying the full title page of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* he says,

"I have written as follows on the back, of the title-page—The author, Mr. Ames, I was well acquainted with, having been several times to see him, in order to look over his curious prints, of which he had no small collection, especially of English heads; many of which at different times I purchased of him to add to my collection of the same sort. He lived in a strange alley or lane in Wapping: was a patten-maker, an Anabaptist, with a spice of Deism mixed with it. I have often thought it no small reproach and disgrace to the Antiquarian Society, to have so very illiterate a person to be their Secretary; he could not spell, much more write, English: I have several letters of his by me at this time which prove it. It was by no means proper to have such a person in that station, which required reading aloud at the meetings of the Society, several papers in various languages often, of which he was used to make miserable work; more especially when strangers and foreigners happen to be there, which was often the case.

"He was a little, friendly, good-tempered man; a person of vast

application and industry in collecting curious old printed books, prints, and other curiosities both natural and artificial. It is to this must be attributed his office of Secretary to the Society: but surely, a Secretary who could neither read nor write, was an odd appointment for a learned Society! He must have procured some one to have perused his book for him, which yet is full of blunders, and prove my assertion in an hundred places: the printers would correct the false English and spelling.

"What is singular, Mr. Stephen Wren employed Mr. Ames, an Independent, and Deist professed, to usher into the world the *Parentis, or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens* in 1750, which throughout is a most orthodox book, full of reflections upon the fanatics of King Charles's time."

"The origin of Printing, by multiplying letters, is intitled to the first place after the invention of letters themselves (though it gives light to all other arts) remains itself in obscurity. It has been the subject of repeated discussions.—Mr. Meerman is the last who has written upon it, and he has endeavored to reconcile some difficulties on this head in his "*Origines Typographicae*," printed in 1765; and translated and abridged by Mr. Bowyer, in his two Essays on the Origin of Printing, 1784.

"The more we reflect on the accidental discovery by Laurentius, of the effect produced by concave wooden types, the more we wonder that the mechanics of antiquity should never have applied the concavity of their metal inscriptions to the same use as those of their intaglios, and their liquid colours to an use similar to that which they made in wax.—But we are not here to extend our views beyond our own country. Whether Laurentius of Haerlem, Geinsflech, of Mentz, or Guttenburg, at Strasburgh, invented single wooden types, much certainly may be concluded, that the invention took place rather before the middle of the fifteenth century in Holland or Germany. We have a fact established beyond controversy, that WILLIAM CAXTON first introduced the Art of Printing with fusile types into England; and some suppose that Frederic Corsellis, or some foreigner, used wooden types a few years before him. Be this as it may, Caxton (an eminent mercer and negotiator) within a few years of the discovery of printing, is thought to have printed a French romance at Cologne in 1464."

"William Caxton an Englishman, memorable for having first introduced the art of printing into his native country, was born in Kent about 1410, and served an apprenticeship to Robert Large, a London mercer, who in 1439 was Lord Mayor. On the death of his master, Caxton went to the Netherlands, as agent for the Mercers' company, in which situation he continued about twenty-three years. His reputation for probity and abilities occasioned his being employed, in conjunction with Richard Whitchill, to conclude a treaty of commerce between Edward IV. and Phillip duke of Burgundy. He appears subsequently to have held some office in the household of duke Charles, the son of Phillip, whose wife, the lady Margaret of York, distinguished herself as the patroness of Caxton. Whilst abroad he became acquainted with the then newly discovered invention of printing, by JOHN FUST. At the request of the duchess, his

mistress, he translated from the French, a work, which he entitled "The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye, by Raoul le Feure," which he printed at Cologne, 1471, in folio. This book, considered as the earliest specimen of Typography in the English Language, is reckoned very valuable. At the famous sale of the Duke of Roxburgh's library in 1812, a copy was purchased by the Duke of Devonshire for 1060*l.* 10*s.*, which originally belonged to Elizabeth Gray, Queen of Edward the Fourth. A copy sold in West's Sale 1773, for 32*l.* 11*s.*, an imperfect copy sold at Lloyd's Sale in 1816, for 126*l.* After this he printed other works abroad, chiefly translations from the French; at length having provided himself with the means of practising the art in England, he returned thither, and in 1474 had a press at Westminster abbey, where he printed the "Game and Playe of the Chesse," generally admitted to be the first typographical work executed in England. Caxton continued to exercise his art for nearly twenty years, during which space he produced between fifty and sixty volumes, most of which were composed or translated by himself. Among his most distinguished patrons were John Islip, abbot of Westminster, and those two learned noblemen John Tiptot, earl of Worcester, and Anthony Wydeville, earl Rivers. Caxton died about 1492, and was buried according to some accounts at Campden in Gloucestershire; though others state his interment as having taken place at St. Margaret's, Westminster. The following lines from his epitaph are characteristic of the age.

"Moder of merci, shyld he him from th' orribul fynd,
And bring him lyff eternal, that never hath ynd."

Ames devotes 116 quarto pages to an account of Caxton, and of the Works that passed through his press; to Wynken de Worde, the second Printer of note, he has bestowed 120 pages, and to Richard Pinson, 84 pages. He has also given portraits of the above personages, with one or two others, which I insert as fac-similes of the rude wood block devices, characteristic of the time.

John Lettou and *William Machlinia*, or *Macklyn*, were cotemporaries of Caxton, as well as Wynken de Worde. "*Lyttletons Tenures*," is supposed by Sir William Dugdale, to have been Printed by them in the reign of Henry VIII., and Dr. Middleton, in his discourse on Printing, supposes the above book to have been put to press by the Author, Littleton, who died 1481. It contains 108 leaves folio.

Mr. Ames has placed *John Lettou* with *William Machlinia* between *Caxton* and *Wynken de Worde* which authorizes the supposition of Sir Win Dugdale, and of Middleton.

"*Wynken de Worde*. This famous printer was a foreigner, born in the dukedom of Lorrain, as appears by the patent-roll in the chapel of the Rolls. Our first printer, Caxton, when resident abroad, might probably meet with him there, and engage him to come over to England for a servant or assistant, like as John Faust at Mentz had his lad, or servant, Peter Sheoffer, whom they chose for their ingenuity and promising parts; and their after works shew they were not mistaken in their choice. However this be, he continued in some capacity with Caxton till his death, 1491; and printed at his house in Westminster afterwards.

If he was married or not, or had relations that came over with

him does not appear by his will ; yet we find in the church-wardens accounts for St. Margarets Westminster, an entry made in the year 1498. "Item for the knell of Elizabeth de Worde vi pence, Item, For iii torches, with the grete belle for her, v. iii." Again, in the year 1500,—item for the knell Julian de Worde, with the grete bell, vi. pence."

"By his connection with Mr. Caxton, and on account of this new art, he occasionally fell into the company and acquaintance of the learned and noble of this kingdom ; and at length was appointed printer to Margaret mother of king Hen. VII. and grandame to Henry the VIII., as he styles himself in 1509 ; which is the first year of thus describidge himself.

"After the death of Mr. Caxton, he printed, in his house as aforesaid ; primarily it may be supposed with his types, sometimes using his cypher only, without the printer's name ; sometimes adding "in Caxton's house;" and at other times, probably the latter part of his dwelling there, adding thereto his own name also. By his colophons we learn that he continued at Westminster until the year 1500, or very likely 1501 ; in which year we find in Mr. Ames, an account of only one book, 'Mons perfectionis,' without any account where it was printed ; but Palmer's continuator has added "ibid," which must refer to Westminster preceding ; and he does not mention any book printed by him at the Sun in Fleet-street before 1503 : however I find "The ordynarye of crysten men" was printed there in 1502. We do not find any sign mentioned by him while at Westminster. It has been supposed that Caxton's cypher might have been exhibited as a sign, but we find no imitation of this by either Caxton or himself."

He printed *Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum*.—The first book printed on paper made in England.

At the Duke of Roxburgh's in 1812, a copy sold for 70*l.* 7*s.* An imperfect copy at the Sale of Stanesby Alchorne, Esq. in 1813, sold to the Duke of Devonshire for 13*l.* 13*s.*

Rowe Mores was of opinion that Wynken de Worde was his own Letter Founder, a circumstance that shews the rapid progress of the Art in England at so early a period ; in fact, the circumstance cannot be doubted, for it appears that Caxton had him employed with Fust's servant's, at Cologne ;—amongst whom were also said to be, Pynson, Rood, Macklin, and Letton.

The great advancement and improvements in this beautiful Art, during the whole of the last and present centuries, has been truly astonishing ; aided by the taste and talents of the Caslons, Baskerville, Fry, Figgins, Thorowgood, and others, as *Type Founders*.

"Richard Pynson, Esq., was born in Normandy in France, as appears by king Henry's patent of naturalization, wherein he is styled "Richardus Pynson, in partibus Normand, oriund." However there were of the same name in England, as may be seen in the church-warden's account for St. Margaret's Westminster, in the year 1504 ; "Item, received of Robert Pynson for four tapers iiii d." Perhaps some relation of his. There was one also Philip Pinson an Englishman, who died of the plague, the 2d of December, 1503 ; three days after he had been nominated to the archbishoprick of Tuam, in Ireland."

"Whether this artist was apprentice to Mr. Caxton, as intimated by Mr. Lewis, is rather uncertain; nor can I see any reason for such a supposition of him any more than of W. de Worde, whom he styles his foreman or journeyman: perhaps these characters may be equally true of them both, at different periods of time. However this be, Pynson himself in his first edition of Chaucer, calls Caxton his worshipful master—"whiche boke diligently ouirsen & duely examined by his pollitike reason and ouirsight of my worshipful master William Caxton," &c."

Mr. Ames intimates that our artist was in such esteem with the lady Margaret, King Hen. VII's mother, and other great personages, that he printed for them all his days; but this does not particularly appear.

He printed "*The life of a Virgyn cally'd Petronylla, whom Erle Elaccus desired to his Wyf.*" 18mo.

"A very rare Poetical Tract, consisting only of *three* leaves, 18mo., and which at Townley's Sale in 1814, was sold for the very moderate sum of *six guineas*, or two guineas per leaf, to Messrs. Longman and Co."

Mr. Heber bought a copy at Horne Tooke's Sale in 1813, for the sum of *six pounds*, two shillings, and sixpence.

"Pynson was the first who introduced Roman letters to this country, and he was eminently successful in his publications, which consist chiefly of law books. He is supposed to have died about 1529.

Psalmannaazaar intimates that this printer lived in the utmost familiarity and friendship with W. de Worde, and quite undisturbed by any mutual emulation or rivalry in trade; the contrary rather appears by their works, for they are found frequently printing different editions of the same books, at or near the same time; not as partners, or the one's name taken out, and the other's inserted to a certain number of the same edition. He tells us indeed that they printed several year books together: perhaps they might be joined in the same privilege or licence for printing them.

Reynold Woolfe, Esq., King's Printer, "He was a man of eminence, a good antiquary, great promoter of the reformation, and in favour with king Henry VIII. lord Cromwell, archbishop Cranmer, &c. John Leland was of his acquaintance. Our learned Kentish antiquary John Twine calls him a German by nation, good man, and well learned, and a very faithful friend of his, whose kindness he had experienced in prosperity and adversity, and who, when he was set at liberty from his imprisonment in the Tower, took him into his house, situ squaloreque obsitum, and entertained him there till he could return to Canterbury, to his own house and family. John Stowe observes of him, that in the year 1549, the bones of the dead, in the Charnel house of St. Paul's, amounting to more than 1000 cart loads, were carried to Finsbury field, and the expence paid by him. He spent 25 years in collecting materials for an universal cosmography of all nations, which though at his death he left undigested, he thereby laid the foundation of those chronicles, which afterwards were compiled by Ralph Holinshead, who frankly acknowledged so much in his dedication to lord Burghleigh. Those chronicles were published in 1577 by John Harrison his son in law; and

again with large additions, in 1587, by the said John Harrison, and others. We are further informed by Edmund Howes, the continuer of Stowe's Annals, that if Stowe had lived but one year longer, he proposed to have put in print Reyne Woolfes chronicle, which he began and finished at the request of Dr. Whitgift, late archbishop of Canterbury; but being prevented by death, left the same in his study, orderly written, ready for the press; but it came to nothing."

"He settled his printing-office in Paul's Church-yard, and set up the sign of the Brazen Serpent, which device he used to most of his books, though he sometimes used that of the tree of charity; his rebus you will see in the frontispiece."

The house, says Stowe, as I guess, he built from the ground, out of the old chapel, which he purchased of the king at the dissolution of monasteries, where on the same ground he had several other tenements, and afterwards purchased several leases of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's. He followed his business of printing with great reputation for many years, and printed for archbishop Cranmer most of his pieces, and for others of great note Henry Binneuan was servant to him, who afterwards proved a good printer, and used the same device of the Brazen Serpent; as also did John Shepperde, another of his apprentices.

"He was the first who had a patent for being a printer to the king in Latin, Greek and Hebrew; by which he was authorized to be his bookseller and stationer, and to print and publish all sorts of books in the said languages, as also Greek and Latin Grammars, although mixed with English; and likewise charts, maps, and such other things, which might be at any time useful and necessary." He printed,

"James Servingham Yates's, Castell of Courtesie, whereunto is adjoyned the Holde of Humilitie, with the Chariot of Chastitie, thereunto annexed, 1582."

A Copy sold at the Sale of G. Steeven's, 1800, for £2 10s. And another at Saunders's Sale Room, 1818 for £23 10s.

John Day, Daye, or Daie, was born in St. Peter's parish, Dunwich in Suffolk, to which he left a gift; as appears by the papers of the late Thomas Martin, Esq.; of Paulsgrave, from Mr. Le Neve. He is supposed to have been descended from a good family, buried at Bradley-Parva, in that county. He bore for his arms, ermin, on a fess indented, two eaglets displayed; his crest, out of a ducal coronet, a demi eagle with wings expanded ermin. He first began printing a little above Holborn conduit; and about 1549 removed into Aldersgate, where he printed, and, for his greater convenience, according to Stowe, built much on the wall of the city, towards St. Ann's church; he kept also, at the same time, several shops in different parts of the town, where his books were sold. He had a licence in September, 1552, to print the Catechism, which K. Edw. vi had caused to be set forth, both in Latin and in English: but as Raynold Wolfe had a former privilege for all Latin books, he seems to have applied for redress; accordingly among Cecil's papers, published by the Rev. Mr. Hains in 1740, page 128, is this memorandum:—"Item, that were one Day, hath a priviledge for the catechisme, and one Reyne Wolfe, who hath a former priviledge for

Latyn Books they may joyne in printing of the sayd catechisme." However, it appears to have been determined that Wolfe should print it in Latin, and Day in English, for thus we find it printed; and Day in another license, dated 25 March, 1553, had privilege to print it only in English, with a brief of an A B C, thereunto annexed: Also, for the printing and reprinting all such works and books, devised and compiled by John (Ponet) now bishop of Winton, or by Tho. Beacon, professor of divinity; so that no such book, be in any wise repugnant to the holy scriptures, or proceedings in religion, and the laws of the realm."

He printed "*The Whole Psalter translated into English Metre, which containeth an hundred and fifty Psalms.*"

It is so scarce, that Mr. Strype tells us he could never get sight of it; and Warton, in his "*History of English Poetry,*" points it out as a great rarity, adding "*It certainly would be deemed a fortunate acquisition to those capricious Students, who labor to collect a library of rarities.*"

"Its rarity is conjectured to arise from the circumstance of only a few copies having been given away to the nobility, by the Archbishop's wife Margaret, to whom Fuller, in his "*Church History,*" has given a very high character."

Mr. Ames then continues to give a full account of all the eminent Printers from Julian Notary in 1498, and William Faques in 1500, down to William Aspley, and John Bailie, in 1600, with a general history of Printing from its origin to that period; this elaborate Work, with Mr. Herbert's additions, form 1875 quarto pages, and Mr. Dibden's edition still enlarges it.

Mr. Herbert, after his labours in correcting and enlarging Ames's Typography, from a single volume, to three extensive ones, concludes his history of Printers, and Printing in England at page 1467, and in the following one, thus commences his history of

PRINTING IN SCOTLAND.

Since an account has been given of printing in England, I shall now proceed to offer a few hints, relating to the rise and progress of the art in Scotland, which may be of use to such as would pursue this subject further, in that formerly antient kingdom.

The late ingenious JAMES WATSON, who with Freebairn obtained a patent from Q. Anne, for printing in Scotland and was afterwards one of his majesty's printers there in the time of K. George the first, did in the year 1713, publish a short history of the art of printing, containing an account of its invention and progress in Europe; to which he added a preface, wherein he mentions three or four books, and as many printers of Scotland within my assigned time; that is, from the introduction of the art there, to the year 1600, which I shall take notice of in their proper place. He indeed supposes they had the art of printing early from their having a constant trade with the Low Countries; from their cases and presses being all of the Dutch make, till of late years; from their manner of working, in distributing the letter on hand with the face from us and the nick downwards; and their making ink, as the printers there do at this day; but that the books may be lost, being either lives of saints

and legendary miracles, or of devotions then in vogue, carried away by the priests, who fled beyond the sea, or destroyed by the zeal of the reformers. His further account of the Scotch printers are later than my time."

"The first book I have found mentioned by any, is, A breviary of the church of Aberdeen, printed at Edinburgh 1509, thirty-five years after the introduction of this art by William Caxton. The account Mr. Ames had of this, is in a letter directed to his good friend, Dr. John Mitchell, from Mr. Charles Mackey, professor of history in the university of Edinburgh. "The art with us is as early as 1509. I imagine, though I am not certain, that I have found Mr. Ames's voucher for it. Mr. John Ker, late humanity professor here, gave into the lawyers library an old breviary in octavo, for the use of Aberdeen, but the title page, and some sheets at the end are wanting."

In 1510, another Breviary, was printed at Edinburgh, and Mr. Herbert remarks that they evince that Mr. Watson's conjectures were well founded.

During the succeeding space of forty years, to the middle of the 15th century, about twelve books only were printed in Scotland.

Mr. Herbert, after devoting upwards of fifty pages in describing Printing in Scotland, from 1509 to the close of 1600; proceeds to the following account of

PRINTING IN IRELAND.

Ireland was one of the last European states into which the art of printing was introduced. Mr. Ames used his best endeavours to form thence an account of its rise and progress in that kingdom before 1600; but all the information he received was the following:

Extract of a Letter from Doctor RUTTY, of Dublin, dated June 28, 1744, to Dr. WILLIAM CLARK, of London.

Thy commission for furnishing a catalogue of books printed in Ireland before the year 1600, I think I have had pretty good opportunities of executing, and have accordingly made use of them. First, I had an acquaintance with a learned antiquary, who has made things of this sort his particular study for many years, who is able to furnish me with but one book, which he can assure me to have been printed within that period, which is this:

"The book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other ceremonies of the church of England. Dublinæ in officina Humphredi Poweli. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, anno Domini 1551." In black letter, a large quarto.

Next, I had recourse to the large library of Dr. Worth, a late eminent physician here, who was eminently curious in collecting ancient pieces, but there I found but one printed here so early as 1633. Lastly, on perusing the catalogue of the college library, I found within the period by thee limited, but that one individual book, as above recited. The truth is, printing is but of a very late date in Ireland. Here were indeed some few authors within that period, but their works were printed abroad as in England, France, Flanders, Italy, &c. Even down to 1700 very few books were printed here, but whatever was written here, was generally printed in London;

even now the printing trade here consists chiefly in reprinting books printed in London, and they that value their reputation, commonly send their writings to England to be printed. And this is all the satisfaction in my power to give thy friend, on this account.

"The following books purporting to have been printed at Waterford, are thought to have been printed in England, having no assurance of any press being set up so early at Waterford; besides it must have been as dangerous printing these books openly there during queen Mary's reign as in England; therefore they more properly belong to our General History: however we have given them a place here; one of them bearing the superscription; and the other having the same types, on the authority of Maunsell."

"Warranted tidings from Ireland," was the first newspaper printed here, which was in 1641."

In noticing Printing in England, at the commencement of the 17th century, I alluded to the Elder *Bowyer*, and referred to the works that passed through, or were connected with his press to the year 1732, which with Mr. Nichols's mass of Literary information, occupies a volume of 700 pages.

In 1712-13, the elder Bowyer, after having for thirteen years pursued business with unremitted industry and unsullied reputation, was, in one fatal night, reduced to absolute want, by a calamitous fire. Every one who knew the respectable sufferer was instant and anxious, either to relieve, or to sympathize in his great affliction; and Mr. Bowyer on this occasion, received from Dean Stanhope one of the most excellent and affecting letters that so melancholy an event could be supposed to suggest. It was written in haste the very day after; and speaks indubitably, the language of the heart.

The younger Bowyer never forgot this striking testimony of regard for his parent.

A similar accident occurred in the Office of Mr. Nichols, in 1808, nearly a century afterwards.—In both instances Literary property to a vast amount was destroyed.

Of the second Wm. Bowyer, (born 1699, died 1777,) son of the preceding—Mr. Nichols gives a voluminous account, and of the annals of his Press from 1732 to 1777. Mr. N. entered into partnership with him in 1766.

I shall now select the following abridged account of him, which appears in GORTON, from the Gentleman's Magazine. "WILLIAM BOWYER an English printer and classical scholar of eminence in the last century," was a native of London, where his father, also a printer, carried on business. The son acquired the rudiments of learning under Ambrose Bonwicke, a nonjuring clergyman, and was afterwards admitted a sizar of St. John's College, Cambridge, but left the university without a degree in 1722, and became an associate in trade with his father. In 1729 he obtained the office of printer, of the votes of the house of commons, which he held nearly 50 years. He was subsequently appointed printer to the Society of Antiquarians, of which learned body he was admitted a member; and on the death of Samuel Richardson in 1761, the interest of Lord Macclesfield procured him the appointment of printer to the Royal Society. In 1768 he was nominated printer of the journals of the house of Lords

and the rolls of Parliament. He died in 1777, aged 78, and was interred in the church of Low Layton in Essex. By his will he bequeathed a considerable sum of money, in trust to the Stationers' Company, for the relief of decayed printers or compositors. His principal literary production was an edition of the New Testament in Greek, with critical notes and emendations. He also published several philological tracts, and added notes and observations to some of the learned works that issued from his press. About ten years previous to his decease, he entered into partnership with Mr. John Nichols, who shortly after that event published a small volume of biographical anecdotes of Bowyer and his learned cotemporaries, which formed the basis of his "*Literary anecdotes of the 18th Century*," 9 vols. 8vo., a work containing a vast mass of indigested materials for a history of English literature during the period to which it relates."

It is highly creditable to Bowyer and to Nichols, in having maintained the highest respect from the first rate Literary characters for more than a century, and it is no less remarkable, that they have printed the Votes of Parliament not only during that period, than it must be gratifying, that they are now printed by J. B. Nichols, Esq., Son and successor to as extraordinary a man, as an author and printer, as the last century has produced.

Mr. Nichols does not appear to have been ambitious of printing, what is called *fine work*, hot pressing, &c. He left that to *Bensley*, *Bubner*, *Davison*, *Whittingham* and others, who were particularly laid out for the *fine*, or *superior* style of Printing—in fact Mr. N— from the very nature and extent of his avocations and occupation, could not attend to the minutiae of that branch of the trade, so peculiar to itself. I have before observed that from this voluminous Writer, having not only Printed all his *own Works*, (exceeding upwards of one hundred Volumes,) but also *Edited* and *Printed* the most extensive Monthly Periodical the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and the *Votes of the House of Commons*, besides general work, for more than half a century, the tedious process of fine Work, pressing, and hot-pressing, &c., could not be contemplated or expected. The *Gentleman's Magazine* alone may almost be considered a closely printed Monthly Volume.

Mr. John Bowyer Nichols is following similar noble pursuits to those of his late amiable Father, who states, that his son was enjoined by the great antiquarian Gough, to assist his executors in transmitting his Library to Oxford; and Owen Manning acknowledges his great obligations to him, for his indefatigable attention in correcting his History of Surrey.—Mr. J. B. Nichols also edited the last edition of the *Life and Errors of John Duntón*, has displayed considerable literary taste, and been an ornament to his profession as a printer.

TYPE FOUNDING.

Of the improvement in Type Founding from the time of our predecessors, down to the commencement of the 18th century, *Cuslon* appears the first, and the family ever since have continued to maintain its pre-eminence.

Mr. Nichols gives a long and interesting account of him in different parts of his Work. I can only select the following :

Mr. William Caslon, born in that part of the town of Hales Owen which is situated in Shropshire, in 1692, and who is justly styled by *Mr. Rowe Mores* the "Coryphæus of Letter-founders," was not trained to that business ; " which is a handy work, so concealed among the artificer of it," that *Mr. Moxon*, in his indefatigable researches on that subject, " could not discover that any one had taught it any other ; but every one that had used it, learnt it of his own genuine inclination."

Mr. Caslon's first residence was in Vine-street in the Minories, where one considerable branch of his employment was to make tools for the book-binders and for the chasing of silver plate. Whilst he was engaged in this employment, the elder *Mr. Bowyer* accidentally saw in the shop of *Mr. Daniel Browne*, bookseller, near Temple Bar, the lettering of a book uncommonly neat ; and enquiring who the Artist was by whom the letters were made, *Mr. Caslon* was introduced to his acquaintance, and was taken by him to *Mr. James's Foundry* in Bartholomew close. *Caslon* had never before that time seen any part of the business ; and being asked by his friend if he thought he could undertake to cut types, he requested a single day to consider of the matter, and then replied he had no doubt but he could. From this answer *Mr. Bowyer* lent him 200*l.* *Mr. Bettenham* lent him the same sum, and *Watts* 100*l.* ; and by that assistance our ingenious Artist applied himself assiduously to his new pursuit, and was eminently successful —The three printers above mentioned were of course his constant customers.

In the *Universal Magazine* for June 1750, is a good view of *Mr. Caslon's* workshop in Chiswell-street, with portraits of six of his workmen. *Mr. Caslon* was three times married. The name of his second wife was Longman ; of the third Waters, and with each of these ladies he had a good fortune. The abilities of his son William appeared to great advantage in a specimen of types of the learned languages in 1748—His younger son, *Mr. Thomas Caslon*, was Master of the Stationers' Company in 1782 ; and died March 29, 1783.

Mr. William Caslon died in 1778, leaving a Widow who conducted the business with extraordinary ability, until her death, on the 23rd of October, 1795—Aged about 70. After the death of the mother, there were still two very large foundries carried on ; one of them by a third *William Caslon*, who having quitted Moorfields, had become the purchaser of the *Jackson* foundry in Dorset-street ; since given up to his son, a fourth *William Caslon*, a young man of considerable abilities, to whom I cannot recommend a better model than his great grand-father, who was universally esteemed as a first-rate artist, a tender master, and an honest, friendly, and benevolent man.—The original foundry in Chiswell-street was purchased by *Mr. Charles Catherwood*, a distant relation, who died June 7, 1809, æt. 45 ; and is now carried on by *Mr. Henry Caslon* (another great-grandson of the first William) under the firm of *Caslon and Livermore*.

Jackson and Cottrell, were eminent in their day. *Mr. Jackson* had acquired some considerable property, the bulk of which, having left

so child, he directed to be equally divided between fourteen nephews and nieces. On his only apprentice, Mr. Vincent Figgins, the mantle of his predecessor has fallen. With an ample portion of his late instructor's reputation he inherits a considerable share of his talents and his industry; and has distinguished himself by the many beautiful specimens he has produced, and particularly of Oriental types.

Figgins and Thorougood, have always stood high in the estimation of first rate judges; they are succeeding in all the beauties, chasteness, and improvements of the Art.

The Frys have also been eminent in this beautiful art, particularly Edmund, whom Watt in his *Bibliotheca Brit.* thus designates.

"*Edmund Fry*, M.D., produced specimens of Printing Types, 1765-98. also *Pantographia*; containing copies of all the known Alphabets in the world, and specimens of all well authenticated languages, in a large octavo volume, price 2 guineas; this interesting and laborious Work, is executed with great neatness."

Mr. JOHN BASKERVILLE.

I cannot slightly pass by this extraordinary Letter Founder, Printer, Paper maker, Ink maker, &c.—In my "History and Topography of Warwickshire," I devoted, with the aid of his Biographers, about a dozen pages to him, of which I here present a small portion. Mr. Hutton says, "he was in succession—a stone cutter, a schoolmaster, a japanner, and lastly an eminent type founder and printer; he gave his name to the first, and his establishment and fame to that of the other. The pen of the historian rejoices in the actions of the great; the fame of the deserving, like an oak tree, is of sluggish growth, the present generation becomes debtor to him who excels, but the future will repay that debt with more than simple interest. The still voice of fame may warble in his ears towards the close of life, but her trumpet seldom sounds in full clarion, till those ears are stopped by the finger of death."

Of Mr. John Baskerville, Mr. Nichols, who appears like myself to have been indebted to Mr. Hutton, states that "this celebrated printer was born at Wolverly, in the county of Worcester, in 1706, heir to the paternal estate of £60 per annum, which in fifty years after, while in his own possession, had increased to £90, and this estate, with an exemplary filial piety and generosity, he allowed to his parents until their deaths, which happened at an advanced age." Mr. Nichols says that he was brought up to no occupation, but Mr. Hutton asserts that he was trained to that of a stone cutter, but they agree as to his becoming a schoolmaster in 1726, and that in about ten years after he taught school in Birmingham, and wrote an excellent hand. Both circumstances account for his subsequent skill and talent in the formation of letters. It appears that he was not even confined to his early predilections, for previously to his attempt at printing, he found that painting accorded with his taste, and in despite of the odium cast upon, what is termed "tea board painting," he entered into that lucrative branch at his then residence, No. 22, in Moor-street. His biographer, Hutton, observes that, in 1745, "he took a building lease of about eight acres north west of the town, to

which he gave the name of Easy hill, converted it into a little Eden, and built a house in the centre ; but the town, as if conscious of his merit, followed his retreat, and surrounded it with buildings. Here he continued the business of a japanner for life ; his carriage, (each pannel of which was a distinct picture, and might be considered as the *pattern card of his trade*,) was drawn by a beautiful pair of cream coloured horses. His inclination for letters induced him in 1750, to turn his thoughts to the press. He spent many years in the uncertain pursuit, sank £600 before he could produce one letter to please himself, and some thousands before the shallow stream of profit began to flow. His first attempt, in 1756, was a quarto edition of Virgil,—price one guinea, now worth several." This according to Nichols, he reprinted in 1758, and was employed by the University of Oxford upon an entirely new-faced Greek type.

The talents of Mr. Baskerville were now very generally appreciated; the celebrated Mr. Derrick, in a letter to the Earl of Cork, July 15, 1760, containing a description of Birmingham, says, "I need not remind your Lordship, that Baskerville, one of the best printers in the world, resides near this town. His house stands at about half-a-mile's distance, on an eminence that commands a fine prospect. I paid him a visit and was received with great politeness, though an entire stranger. His apartments are elegant ; his staircase is particularly curious ; and the room in which he dines, and calls a smoking room, is very handsome. The grate and furniture belonging to it are, I think, of bright wrought iron, and cost him a good round sum. He has just completed an elegant octavo common prayer book ; has a scheme for publishing a folio edition of the Bible ; and will soon finish a beautiful collection of fables, by the ingenious Mr. Dodsley. He manufactures his own paper, types and ink ; and they are remarkably good. This ingenious artist carries on a great trade in the japan way, in which he shewed several useful articles such as candlesticks, stands, salvers, waiters, bread baskets, tea boards, &c., elegantly designed and highly finished. Baskerville is a great cherisher of genius, which he loses no opportunity of cultivating."

In 1764, Mr. Baskerville received the following curious letter from the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Franklin.

" Craven-street, London, 1764."

" Dear Sir,

" Let me give you a pleasant instance of the prejudice some have entertained against your work. Soon after I returned, discoursing with a gentleman respecting the artists of Birmingham, he said, "you would be the means of blinding all the people in the nation, for the strokes of your letters, being too thin and narrow, hurt the eye, and he never could read a line of them without pain." "I thought (said I) you were going to complain of the gloss on the paper some object to." "No, no, (says he) I have heard that mentioned, but it is not that, it is in the natural and easy proportion between the height and thickness of the stroke, which makes the common printing so much more comfortable to the eye." You see this gentleman was a connoisseur. In vain I endeavoured to support your character against the charge ; he knew what he felt, and could see the reason

of it, and several other gentlemen among his friends had made the same observations, &c. Yesterday he called to visit me, when mischievously bent to try his judgment, I stepped into my closet, tore off the top of Mr. Caslon's specimen, and produced it to him as yours, brought with me from Birmingham, saying, "I had been examining it since he spoke to me, and could not for my life perceive the disproportion he mentioned, desiring him to point it out to me." He readily undertook it, and went over the several founts, shewing me everywhere what he thought instances of that disproportion, and declared, "that he could not then read the specimen without feeling very strongly the pain he had mentioned to me." I spared him that time the confusion of being told, that these were the types he had been reading all his life, with so much ease to his eyes; the types his adored Newton is printed with, on which he has pored not a little; nay, the very types his own book is printed with, for he is himself an author, and yet never discovered this painful disproportion in them, till he thought they were yours."

"I am, &c."

"B. FRANKLIN."

In 1765, he applied to Dr. Franklin, then at Paris, and afterwards ambassador from America, to sound the Literati, respecting the purchase of his types; but received for answer, "That the French reduced by the war in 1756, were so far from pursuing schemes of taste, that they were unable to repair the public buildings, but suffered the scaffolding to rot before them." After this we hear nothing of Mr. Baskerville as a printer. He died without issue, in Jan. 8, 1775: but it is painful to observe, that in the last solemn act of his life, he seriously avowed his total disbelief of christianity.

I have a copy of his Will, but some parts of it are objectionable, which the following inscription on his tomb would imply:—

"Stranger,

"Beneath this stone, in *unconsecrated* ground, a friend to the liberties of mankind directed his body to be inurned."

"May his example contribute to emancipate thy mind—from the idle fears of *Superstition* and the wicked arts of Priesthood."

The principal part of his fortune, amounting to about £12,000, he left to his widow; who sold the stock, and retired to the house which her husband had built.

Many efforts were used after his death to dispose of the types; but no purchaser could be found in the whole commonwealth of letters. The universities rejected the offer. (Hutton says coldly) "The London booksellers (Mr. Nichols says) preferred the sterling types of Caslon and his apprentice, Jackson." Hutton says, "they understand no science like that of profit. The valuable property, therefore, lay a dead weight, till purchased by a literary society at Paris, in 1779, for £3700. Invention seldom pays the inventor. If you ask what fortune Baskerville ought to have been rewarded with? The most that can be comprised in five figures. If you further ask what he possessed?—the least; but none of it squeezed from the press. What will the shade of this great man think, if capable of

thinking, that he has spent a fortune of opulence, and a life of genius, in carrying to perfection the greatest of all human inventions, and that his productions, slighted by his country, were hawked over Europe in quest of a bidder." Mrs. Baskerville died in March, 1788.

"We must admire, if we do not imitate, the taste and economy of the French nation, who, brought by the British arms, 1762, to the verge of ruin, rising above distress, were able in seventeen years to purchase Baskerville's elegant types, refused by his own country, and to expend an hundred thousand pounds in poisoning the principles of mankind, by printing with them the works of Voltaire."

Near his residence a conic urn was placed to the memory of Mr. Baskerville, but was lost in the ruins, or destroyed by the riots of 1791, a remarkable circumstance has, however, recently occurred in determining the spot where he was entombed; In levelling the ground for the formation of wharfs, his coffin, standing in an upright position, and in an entire state, was dug up; upon opening it, the body was not decomposed, and the teeth had the appearance of being perfectly sound, although he died at the age of 60, and had been interred for nearly half a century. I have by me a small piece of the Shroud with which he was surrounded! It has been asserted, that, a little before his death, he jocularly said he should "again appear upon a white horse," which saying, connected with his extraordinary exhumation, has met with believers in the credulity of some connected with the manufactory established on this spot.

Baskerville's ambition to excel caused him to spare no expence; he even went to that of casting some founts of type in Silver, instead of the usual metals, and their agents; and certainly the face and form of his letter was extremely beautiful and chaste. Dr. Franklin speaks of its lean and sharp strokes being too fine, but it is the plan of the French to this day, who have by far exceeded Baskerville in the length and sharpness of their letters, and although they appear (as most of our modern types do, in one way or other,) a sort of caricature, still they are very beautiful.

BLOCK PRINTING.

William Ged.—In 1781, Mr. Nichols printed and published Biographical Memoirs of William Ged, including a particular account of his progress in the art of *Block Printing*, on which the Monthly Review, spoke favorably.

It appears that Ged gave a narrative of his scheme for Block-printing, in 1730, and stated that "he had eclipsed his competitors in the art of Letter-founding, but found more difficulty than he apprehended in an attempt to make plates for Block-printing." Mr. N—— gives the following interesting narrative of him:—

"WILLIAM GED, an ingenious artist, was a goldsmith in Edinburgh and made his improvement in the art of printing in 1725. The invention was simply this. From any types of Greek, Roman, or any other character, he formed a plate for every page or sheet of a book, from which he printed, instead of using a type for every letter, as is done in the common way. This was the first practised, but on blocks of wood, by the Chinese and Japanese, and pursued in the first essays of Coster, Guttenberg, and Faust, the European invent-

ers of the present art. "This improvement," says James Ged, "is principally considerable in four most important articles; viz. expense, correctness, beauty, and uniformity." But these improvements were controverted by Mr. Mores and others. In July, 1729, William Ged entered into partnership with William Fenner, a London Stationer, who was to have half the profits, in consideration of his advancing all the money requisite. To supply this, Mr. John James, then an Architect at Greenwich (who built Sir Gregory Page's house, Bloomsbury Church, &c.,) was taken into the scheme; and afterwards his brother, Mr. Thomas James, a founder, and James Ged, the inventor's son. In 1730, these partners applied to the University of Cambridge for printing Bibles and Common Prayer-books by blocks instead of single types, and, in consequence, a lease was sealed to them April 23, 1731. In their attempt, they sunk a large sum of money, and finished only two Prayer-books; so that it was forced to be relinquished, and the lease was given up in 1738. Ged imputed his disappointment to the villainy of the pressmen and the ill-treatment of his partners; (which he specifies at large,) particularly Fenner, whom John James and he were advised to prosecute, but declined it. He returned to Scotland in 1738, and had no redress. He there, however, set about Sallust, which he printed at Edinburgh in 1736, 12 mo. Fenner died insolvent in or before the year 1735; and his widow married Mr. Waugh, an Apothecary, who carried on the printing-business with her, and whom she survived. Her printing materials were sold in 1768. James Ged, wearied with disappointments, engaged in the Rebellion of 1745, in Captain Perth's regiment; and, being taken at Carlisle, was condemned, but, on his father's account, by Dr. Smith's interest with the Duke of Newcastle, was pardoned, and released in 1748. He afterwards worked for some time, as a journeyman, with Mr. Bettenham, and then commenced master; but being unsuccessful, he went privately to Jamaica, where his younger brother William was settled as a reputable Printer. His tools, &c., he left to be shipped by a false friend, who most ungenerously detained them to try his skill himself. James Ged died the year after he left England; as did his brother in 1767. In the above pursuit Mr. Thomas James, who died in 1738, expended much of his fortune, and suffered in his proper business; "for the Printers," says Mr. Mores, "would not employ him, because the block-printing, had it succeeded, would have been prejudicial to theirs." Mr. William Ged died in very indifferent circumstances, Oct. 19, 1749, after his utensils were sent for to Leith to be shipped for London, to have joined with his son James as a printer there. Thus ended his life and project: which, ingenious as it seemed, "must," says Mr. Mores, "had it succeeded have soon sunk under its own burthen," for reasons needless here to recapitulate. It is but justice, however, to add, that, since that period, the plan has been revived, first by my friend Mr. Alexander Tilloch, the learned Editor of "The Philosophical Magazine," who, without having known of Ged's plan, obtained a patent for a similar invention, which he afterwards relinquished. But the exertions of Mr. Andrew Wilson have been more successful; as he has been able to accomplish several very considerable *Stereotype* Editions."

It will be recollected that Stereotype-printing was practised in Paris, ere it was generally adopted in England, and numerous beautiful Editions of the classics were printed there from Stereotype plates. A work on the Christian Religion, said to be translated from the German,* by the late Queen Charlotte, was the first book Stereotyped and Printed in England, executed by Andrew Wilson, and published by Harding of Pall-mall. This mode of printing being now so general and so well known, and ample descriptions being given in the various Encyclopædias, render it unnecessary here.

The *Logographic* mode of Printing was invented about 50. years ago by an ingenious Irish gentleman of the name of Johnston:—this system was arranged by the casting of whole words upon one piece of Metal, and arranging those more generally in use, in the most convenient position to the Compositor, in a similar way to single types as now placed in the Cases.—

The only person that took up this mode of Printing was the late *John Walter, Esq.*, the original proprietor of the *Times* Newspaper. At this time he printed for a few Authors, and one or two Booksellers—among the former was the celebrated Rev. Dr. Trusler, among the latter the late Mr. Owen of Piccadilly; but this mode of Printing was soon found not to answer—in fact a very unlucky accident occurred at its commencement, which was as follows. An elegant edition of *Robinson Crusoe* was printed in 2 handsome volumes in octavo; it was intended to have been dedicated to his Majesty, but unfortunately the Letter *M* broke from the rest, and a large portion of the impression went into circulation, (before the accident was discovered) dedicated to his *ajesty!* this created an unfavourable impression in the trade, and the *Logographic* Art of Printing fell to the ground.

Engraving on Stone, Engraving on Copper, Drawing upon Stone, or Lithography; Drawing upon Zinc, or Zincography.

Engraving on Stone rested with the ancients for a length of time; but was lost in the middle ages, nor was it revived or practiced with any success in Britain, until about the middle of the 18th Century. Soon after which, Mr. Tassie produced a catalogue of his extraordinary performances. The following very interesting account of this talented man is given in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

“This truly ingenious Modeller, whose history is intimately connected with a branch of the Fine Arts in Britain, was born in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, of obscure parents; and began his life as a country stone mason, without the expectation of ever rising higher. Going to Glasgow on a fair-day, to enjoy himself with his companions, at the time when the Foulis's were attempting to establish an Academy for the Fine Arts in that city, he saw their collection of paintings, and felt an irresistible impulse to become a Painter. He removed to Glasgow; and in the Academy acquired a knowledge of

* John Anastatius Freylinghausen's abstract of the whole doctrine of the Christian Religion, London, 1804, was the first book stereotyped on a new process.

drawing, which unfolded and improved his natural taste—He was frugal, industrious, and persevering; but he was poor, and was under the necessity of devoting himself to stone-cutting for his support; not without the hopes that he might one day be a Statuary if he could not be a Painter. Resorting to Dublin for employment he became known to Dr. Quin, who was amusing himself in his leisure hours with endeavouring to imitate the precious stones in coloured paste, and take accurate impressions of the engravings that were on them. That art was known to the Antients; many specimens from them are now in the cabinets of the curious. It seems to have been lost in the Middle Ages; was revived in Italy under Leo X. and the Medici Family at Florence; became more perfect in France under the Regency of the Duke of Orleans, by his labours and those of Homberg. By those whom they instructed as Assistants in the Laboratory it continued to be practised in Paris, and was carried to Rome. Their art was kept a secret, and their Collections were small. It was owing to Quin and to Tassie that it has been carried to such perfection in Britain, and attracted the attention of Europe. Dr. Quin, in looking out for an Assistant, soon discovered Tassie to be one in whom he could place perfect confidence. He was endowed with fine taste: he was modest and unassuming; he was patient; and possessed the highest integrity. The Doctor committed his laboratory and experiments to his care. The associates were fully successful; and found themselves able to imitate all the gems, and take accurate impressions of the engravings. As the Doctor had followed the subject only for his amusement, when the Discovery was completed he encouraged Mr. Tassie to repair to London, and to devote himself to the preparation and sale of those pastes as his profession. In 1766 he arrived in the Capital. But he was diffident and modest to excess; very unfit to introduce himself to the attention of persons of rank and affluence: besides the number of engraved Gems in Britain was small; and those few were little noticed. He long struggled under difficulties which would have discouraged any one who was not possessed of the greatest patience and the warmest attachment to the subject. He gradually emerged from obscurity; obtained competence; and, what to him was much more, he was able to increase his Collection, and add higher degrees of perfection to his Art. His name soon became respected, and the first Cabinets in Europe were open for his use; and he uniformly preserved the greatest attention to the exactness of the imitation and accuracy of the engraving, so that many of his Pastes were sold on the Continent by the fraudulent for real Gems. His fine taste led him to be peculiarly careful of the impression; and he uniformly destroyed those with which he was in the least dissatisfied. The Art has been practised of late by others; and many thousands of pastes have been sold as Tassie's, which he would have considered as injurious to his fame. Of the fame of others he was not envious; for he uniformly spoke with frankness in praise of those who executed them well, though they were endeavouring to rival himself. To the ancient Engravings he added a numerous Collection of the most eminent modern ones; many of which approach in excellence of workmanship if not in simplicity of design and chas-

tity of expression to the most celebrated of the ancient. Many years before he died he executed a commission for the late Empress of Russia, consisting of about 15,000 different engravings (see article *GEM*, in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*). At his death in 1799, they amounted to near 20,000; a Collection of Engravings unequalled in the world. Every lover of the Fine Arts must be sensible of the advantage of it for improvement in knowledge and in taste. The Collection of Feloix at Paris consisted of 1800 articles; and that of Dhen at Rome of 2500. For a number of years, Mr. Tassie practised the modelling of portraits in wax, which he afterwards moulded and cast in paste. By this the exact likeness of many eminent men of the present age will be transmitted to posterity as accurately as those of the philosophers and great men have been by the antient statuaries. In taking likenesses he was in general uncommonly happy; and it is remarkable, that he believed there was a kind of inspiration (like that mentioned by the Poets) necessary to give him success. The Writer of this Article, in conversing with him repeatedly on the subject, always found him fully persuaded of it. He mentioned many instances in which he had been directed by it; and even some, in which, after he had laboured in vain to realize his ideas on the wax, he had been able by a sudden flash of imagination, to please himself in the likeness several days after he had last seen the original. He possessed also an uncommonly fine taste in Architecture, and would have been eminent in that branch if he had followed it.—In private life Mr. Tassie was universally esteemed for his uniform piety, and for the simplicity, the modesty, and benevolence, that shone through his character."—*Encyclopædia Britannica*.

The great Prize of the "Shakespeare Gallery"—drawn in Mr. Boydell's Lottery on the 28th of January, 1805, fell to the lot of Mr. Tassie, the above ingenious modeller.

Engraving is divided into so many branches, and is so important and interesting an art, that numerous volumes have been written upon the subject; and the *Encyclopædias* and *Dictionaries* of Engravers, and the Fine Arts, present such ample details and directions for the execution of each separate branch, that I shall only give an outline of each. Mr. Elmes in his valuable "Bibliographical Dictionary of the Fine Arts," not only describes the whole of them, but in many instances gives valuable information for practising each, particularly that of the more modern invention of Engraving or drawing upon Stone, termed Lithography, with which *Senefelder*, the Inventor, has furnished him with the means which he acknowledges, and other valuable communications that he has given.

It is stated in the *Dictionarium Polygraphicum*, that the art of Engraving is for the greatest part of modern invention, not being older than the 16th Century.

"It is true indeed, the ancients did practise *Engraving* on precious stones and crystals; some of which works are still to be seen, equal to any production of the latter ages; but the art of Engraving on plates of metal or blocks of wood in order to form prints from them, was not known till after the invention of painting in oil."

Elmes in his General and Bibliographic Dictionary of the Fine Arts, states,—

The art of engraving is divided into various branches or classes: as engraving on stones for seals, signets, called *gem sculpture*; die sinking for coins, medals, &c., called *medallurgy*; on copper-plates after various manners, as *line engraving*, *etching* or engraving with aqua fortis, *mezzotinto engraving* or *scraping*, *aquatinta engraving*, *stipple dot* or *chalk engraving*, engraving on wood, engraving on steel, on stone, called *lithography*, *etching on glass*, and some other minor branches of the arts.

The art of engraving is of great antiquity, and was originally only rude delineations expressed by simple outlines, such as are described by Herodotus, as traced upon the shields of the Carians. The importance and utility of this art is acknowledged by every person of taste and knowledge; and its dignity as an art is undoubted. It multiplies the works of other artists and preserves them to posterity; it records the talents of eminent artists by an art which requires equal talent, and scarcely less genius. Bezaleel and Aholiab are mentioned in the book of Genesis as "filled with wisdom of heart to work all manner of work with the graver." The hieroglyphics of the Egyptians are also a species of engraving, of which there are many fine specimens in the British Museum. Among the Etruscan antiquities in the same collection are two specimens of the art of engraving at a very remote period; a representation of which forms the frontispiece to one of the volumes of STRUTT'S *Dictionary of Engravers*.

The art of engraving in this country, like the practice in every other country, commenced and increased with civilization and knowledge. Under Alfred the Great the art met with great encouragement, and remains of it as practised in his days are still in existence. There is still preserved in the Museum at Oxford a valuable jewel of this period representing St. Cuthbert, the back of which is ornamented with foliage very skilfully engraved.

The most ancient as well as the most legitimate and beautiful mode of practising the art is that which is called line engraving or engraving proper; and is the art of cutting lines upon a copper-plate, by means of a steel instrument called a graver or burin, without the use of aqua fortis. This was the first way of producing copper-plate prints that was practised, and is still much used in historical subjects, portraits, and in finishing landscape.

Of Mezzotinto Engraving or Scraping.—This art, which is of modern date, is recommended by the ease with which it is executed, especially by those who understand drawing. Mezzotinto prints are those which have no strokes of the graver, but whose lights and shades are blended together, and appear like drawing in India ink. They are different from aquatinta, but as both resemble Indian ink, the difference is more easily perceived than described. Mezzotinto is applied to portraits and historical objects, and aquatinta is chiefly used for landscape and architecture.

The invention of *mezzotinto* engraving is generally attributed to Prince Rupert; but in the Life of Sir Christopher Wren it is given to that eminent architect. "The mode of impressing pictures by light and shade on copper, commonly known by the name of engraving in *mezzotinto*, owes its improvement if not its origin to Wren." The

journals of the Royal Society for October 1, 1662, record that Dr. Wren presented some cuts done by himself in a new way, whereby he could almost as soon do a subject on a plate of brass or copper as another could draw it with a crayon on paper. On this subject the editor of *Parentalia* speaks with decision, that "he was the first inventor of the art of graving in Mezzotinto; which was afterwards prosecuted and improved by his Royal Highness Prince Rubert, in a manner somewhat different, upon the suggestion, as it is said, of the learned John Evelyn, Esq."

Of Engraving in Aquatinta.—Aquatinta is a method of producing prints very much resembling drawings in Indian ink. The principle of the process consists in corroding the copper with aquafortis in such a manner that an impression from it has the appearance of a tint laid on the paper. This is effected by covering the copper with a powder, or some substance which takes a granulated form, so as to prevent the aquafortis from acting where the particles adhere, and by this means cause it to corrode the copper partially, and in the interstices only. When these particles are extremely minute and near to each other, the impression from the plate appears to the naked eye exactly like a wash of Indian ink; but when they are larger, the granulation is more distinct, and as this may be varied at pleasure, it is capable of being adapted with success to a variety of purposes and subjects.

The art of *engraving on wood* is not only of very ancient date, but is a legitimate, beautiful, and artistlike mode of operation, for the production, of prints, particularly for books. The first engravers on wood whose names have reached our times are William Pluydenwurff and Michael Wolgemuth, who engraved the cuts of the Nuremburg Chronicle which was published in folio in 1493, which are marked with all the stiffness and inaccuracy which characterize the works of the German artists of that time.

Engraving on wood is a very artist-like mode of execution, and requires considerable graphic abilities to execute it well. Hence many painters of excellence have practised it with success. Among the best engravers on wood, we must particularly mention Pierre Scæffer or Schoifer, whose coloured figures in his celebrated Psalter (folio 1457) prove that this mode of engraving, the invention of which is commonly attributed to Hugo Da Cabri, had its rise in Germany.

ALBERT DURER also practised the art of wood engraving with great success, which began now to assume a higher character; and, as far as regards the executive part, he brought it to a perfection which has hardly been equalled by any succeeding artist.

Bewick of Newcastle, Harvey his pupil, the Thompsons (brothers). Branstion, and other artists, have carried this art to the highest perfection.

Engraving on Steel is performed in nearly a similar way to engraving on copper. For etching on steel the plate or block is bedded on glazier's putty, and etched with a needle through a ground of Brunswick black in the common way. Messrs. Perkins and Heath have carried the art of engraving on plates of softened steel, afterwards hardened by a scientific process, to a great degree of perfection.

Engraving on stone is a recent invention now in great vogue. It is

cheap and, when well performed, produces impressions of great beauty in imitation of chalk, Mezzotinto, pen and ink, and even of etching.

Engraving or etching on glass is performed by laying on a ground consisting of a thin coat of bees wax, and drawing the design therein with an etching needle. It is then to be covered with sulphuric acid, sprinkled over with powdered fluor spar or fluoric acid. It must be taken off after four or five hours, and cleansed with oil of turpentine.

ETCHING is a mode of engraving on copper and other metals or substances by drawing with a needle inserted in a handle, called an etching needle, on and through a thin ground, which being corroded or bitten by aquafortis, forms the lines upon the plate.

Lithography. A little reflection will suffice to show that this invention, of only a few years' date, is calculated to be in many ways of the highest possible utility. The facility with which, through its medium, any thing whatever in the shape of writing or pictorial display can be multiplied is truly astonishing. By means of it the painter, the sculptor, the architect, are enabled to hand down to posterity as many fac similes of their original sketches as they please. The collector or antiquarian is enabled to multiply his originals, and the amateur the fruits of his leisure hours. The portrait painter can gratify his patron by supplying him with as many copies as he wishes to have of a successful likeness. Men in office may obtain copies of the most important despatches or documents, without a moment's delay, and without the necessity of confiding in the fidelity of secretaries and clerks; whilst the merchant and the man of business, to whom time is often of the most vital importance, can, with similar promptitude, preserve what copies they may require, of their tables or accounts.

My Son-in-law, the late F. Calvert, Esq. executed a greater variety of Subjects in this branch of the art, than perhaps any other person in Europe.

It is gratifying to me to state, that at my request, my Son has enabled me, by his execution of the four Lithographic Heads, which accompany this Retrospect—to present this earliest specimens of his ability in that art; my second GRANDSON has also engraved the five fac simile Wood Cuts of the ancient Printers.

Drawing, or Etching upon *Zinc* called *Zincography*.

This is the very latest invention, or improvement in the fine Arts.—The process and progress is similar to the drawing on, and printing from Stone. It was invented by Messrs. Chapman & Co. of London, who have obtained a patent for this branch of art, and have extensive Mills at Dartford, in Kent, for preparing the Zinc Plates, which possess a great advantage over Stone, from being light and portable; I have some Impressions from this mode of Printing, executed by my ELDEST GRANDSON, from the original drawings, which are very beautiful.

ART. II.—THE WAR OF THE FEUILLETONS.

1. *Les Contemporains*, Alexre Dumas, Émile de Girardin, Eugène Sue, George Sand, Jules Janin, &c. par Eugène Mirecourt; 24mo. Paris. 1856-7.
2. *Fabrique de Biographies* Maison E. de Mirecourt et Cie; par un ex Associé Pierre Mazerolle; 24mo. Paris. 1857.
3. *Biographie de Jacquot dit de Mirecourt*; par Théophile Deschamps. Paris. 1857.

Among those privileges of young days which we would gladly seize on again, the most desirable would be to feel once more the awe and veneration with which we once regarded every one who had written a book. Messrs Dilworth, Fenning, Walker, and other grave signiors, enthroned on easy chairs in the frontispieces of spelling books and dictionaries, and calmly dictating to files of docile urchins, were well enough in their way, and worthy of due respect; but still what a height above their full-bottomed wigs and collarless coats, sat enthroned the authors of *Sandford and Merton*, the *Vicar of Wakefield*, *Puss in Boots*, and the *Battle of Aughrim*! At twenty years of age we cheerfully sacrificed a good dinner to the pleasure of getting a glimpse of the *Great Unknown* during his visit to Dublin; and looked on it as an event to be ever after deplored, that the *bodily presence* of the authoress of *Ennui* once embalmed the air of the apartment in which we were employed at our drudgery, without our being at the time sensible of our privilege.

At that era of literary faith and hope, though we had heard of poets in Grub-street garrets holding deferential language to milk-women on the subject of scores left unpaid, we gave very little faith to the report; and looked on the author of *Marmion* sitting in ease and dignity beside a castle wall, with gallant *Lufra* by his side, and his pencil ready to fasten a poetical idea on the page of his note-book, as the true type of authorhood.

Great was our admiration of a portrait of the authoress of *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, and hearty our approval of the taste of

the painter settling her on a ruin in a dark night with bare neck and countenance lighted up by the pale moon ; while regardless of cold and solitude she calmly gazed abroad on the night landscape and the gloomy heaven, with sublime and romantic ideas sweeping across the magic mirror of her imagination. Small thanks we gave to a common-place friend in our company who suggested the propriety and comfort of the lady's resuming bonnet and shawl, walking home, putting her feet in a pan of warm water and taking a glass of hot wine negus.

If at this advanced period of our lives and experience we look on favorite writers as mere men and women, we can honestly lay hand on breast, and declare that the fault rests not with us. If Mrs. Siddons will beg for black muddy porter, though in tones of tragic depth ; if one man of genius allows himself to be so bemused in beer, whiskey-punch, and tobacco, that some one must see him in safety home when he dines abroad ; if another delights every reader where the English tongue is known with a tale of true love, loyalty, heroic daring, and liberal feelings, and afterwards calumniates in a furious newspaper, the religion, political faith, and honesty of nine-tenths of his fellow subjects, and all for sake of filthy lucre ; finally if a third casts such a production on the world as no Christian father would allow to be read by wife, son, or daughter, will not the idols which we raised to those false divinities in our mind's sanctuary, fall of themselves and be hopelessly shivered in pieces !

The light in which the young and the unworldly portion of the reading world look upon their unknown literary guides and instructors, is similar, with a difference, to that in which a judge on the bench arrayed in all the grandeurs of horse-hair and ermine, is regarded by a simple-minded occupant of the gallery, while with unruffled visage, calm passionless tone, and dignified gesture, he settles the law between the angry and smarting advocates, himself occupying that exalted seat, beyond and above the atmosphere in which irritation or personal animosity is known.

But let this lofty personage enter on a wordy war with one of the incensed wranglers, and, forgetful of his official greatness, utter such words and with such gestures as a fish-woman or car-driver, familiar with books and learned in the law, would use on the occasion, would not the un-

sophisticated listener depart in a wretched state of mind, heartily despising study, knowledge, official grandeur, and the undignified individuals in whose possession he finds them.

So to every man who thinks he can inform or improve his fellows, and writes a book, we say, "let not the example just propounded, depart from your mind: if assailed by some snarling cur, let your demeanor to him be that of the sedate judge to the irritated selfish pleader whose figures of speech were acquired at the fish-auction in Pill-lane. If misunderstood or even found in error by a rational and civil spoken censor, let logic be the substance of your answer, and courtesy its form. And so shall we settle your bust beside those of the great minds of all ages, the results of whose genius, judgment and labour remain for our pleasure and improvement; while we dwell as little on their defects, littlenesses, and faults, as if in *their* instances such infirmities were altogether unknown."

But if one, eminent by his literary and official rank, takes to exercise the romancer's privilege on the sober pages of history, and raises to the rank of a demigod, a very ordinary specimen of humanity; if he wilfully misrepresents the motives and actions of those with whose political or religious principles he does not sympathise; if after being shewn repeated proofs of the falsehood of his statements, he coolly and arrogantly repeats the seven-times convicted lie, surely the punishment of the traitor to the love of his native land will not be too severe for the traitor to truth, and the wilful calumniator of the dead. He,

"Living shall forfeit fair renown;
And doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonored, and unsung."

As the reading and hard to be pleased portion of the community expect to find a combination of virtues and good qualities, in those who cater for their entertainment, which they by no means insist on as necessary in their own individual cases, it is worth enquiring, whether consistently with the ordinary rise and progress of the literary career, their expectations seem in a fair way to be ever fulfilled. No writer living or dead was ever educated solely with a view to the profession. The republic consists of deserters

from the ranks of the students of law, of physic, of theology in some cases, or the still more difficult sciences of political and commercial finance. A youth spends his available fortune in the purchase of a stuff gown, or a gold headed cane ; but these appendages will not ensure a respectable subsistence without connexion, patronage, or what is called good luck. Another has exhausted his paternal resources in dissipation, while pretending to be engrossed in earnest study ; and his fortune is gone, his parents enraged, and the gold headed cane or the stuff gown not procured. Each in his progress has acquired a literary taste, and neither can tell but that he possesses a creative literary power ; so he can think of nothing better than constructing a tragedy, a poem, a novel, or an essay on the state of morality among the inhabitants of the moon. He shuts himself up for three months, lives on bread and weak tea, and, when the great work is achieved, he seeks a publisher. He is requested to name his former work, and mention the publisher, the number of copies sold, opinions of the press, &c. He modestly indicates the red taped parcel as the first offspring of his brain—the rejoinder informs him that when he has acquired a name, the present individual will have much pleasure in making him further known. He naturally suggests that to acquire that same good name, paper and print must be risked by some one, and finally the sedate gentleman opposite, declines the office of forlorn hope in his regard. Thus “ I will not publish till you acquire renown,” “ I cannot acquire renown till you publish,” become the two unsympathising portions of a vicious circle ; and instead of moving easily and swiftly between their hands as a sentient mahogany convenience, between the hands of the *ci-devant* table-turners,

“ Fools that rush in where angels fear to tread,”

each by pushing and pulling in the opposite direction holds the engine fast, and a decidedly dead lock is effected.

Let us now suppose our aspirant tired in his chase after a publisher, and decided to win fame at his own proper risk. An agent for the sale and advertisements is easily found ; and with a thrill of pleasure the proofs are awaited. Oh labor of love ! Oh welcome the comely black and red cheeks of the printing house messenger, handing in the

dirty roll of manuscript enclosing the four leaves of type ! How interesting the title page in the windows, greeting the happy author on the day of publication, but oh how nervous the enquiries after the sale for the first few weeks !

Half a year comes to an end even with the most impatient author that ever held a pen ; and the agent unfolds his leger. (We pass over the hot and cold fits suffered from the reviewers' varied treatment). The leger, we repeat, is opened ; and the sanguine victim reads the plainly written statement without venturing to give credit to his eyes—" Mr. Wildgoose to Mr. Balaam Foolscap, Dr. To warehousing and advertising the ' DERVISH OF THE DESERT,' £30 16s. 7d. Cr. by sale of 4 copies, deducting commission, 16s." A friendly householder having signed his name as security for paper and print, £87 15s., our adventurer's sensations for the next twenty-four hours may be left to the pity of the most apathetic reader.

Of course a great deal of occupation is given to persons in our hero's situation by newspapers and magazines ; but who can calculate the quantity of articles rejected or not paid for, or the misery of those who have nothing to occupy them till the last day of each month, but " the hope deferred that maketh the heart sick !"

How wise, in the greater number of cases, for the aspirers after literary celebrity to content themselves with the discharge of some useful plodding occupation ; and how unreasonable to expect from the disappointed, irritated, and excitable employès of literature, the calmness or dignity of people placed by their position above the paltry cares requisite to procure daily subsistence !

We are spared the disagreeable task of illustrating our theme by examples from the corps of English literati, by a manifestation of decided discomfort among their brothers of the steel pen on the other side of the channel. We have endeavored ere now to familiarise our readers with the real merits of several of the French literary notables : it is now our less pleasing task to produce some traits of the men which are calculated to temper our high opinion of the writers.

Eugène de Mirecourt, not finding a free field for his labors in the domain of poetry or fiction, has established

himself the historian and censor of the great and little actions, and good and bad qualities, as well as the literary merits and defects of those of his cotemporaries who have acquired a status either in literature, the arts, politics, or *finance*. Unable to see any faults in some, he chastises others with so unsparing a hand, that besides retaliating to the best of their power with their own proper members, they have recourse to the long arm of the law to level their assailant. But in making out this supplement to the 'quarrels of authors' already known to the reading world, we prefer the advice of the simple giant to that of the keen satirist, and will begin at the beginning.

Eugène Jacquot, born at Mirecourt in Lorraine, and baptised in 1815, at the very moment when his native town was invested by the Cossacks, was early devoted to the clerical state by his mother. Not feeling a very strong vocation, and blaming himself profoundly therefore, he left home without warning his parents, intending by way of mortification for his lukewarmness, to become a very Trappist, and thus make a complete sacrifice of his own proper will and propensities. In the diligence he falls into conversation with a worldly-minded painter and his wife, and is induced to change his purpose, and essay the life of a man of letters in Paris; and his prentice essays fill the letter-boxes of the journals, from which they are promoted to the stoves of the editors.

He accepts and fulfils the duties of one or two offices, but is still driven back to the pen by an uncontrollable impulse; in the second stage his articles are printed but not paid for, and in the third, he gets a scanty and irregular recompense. Thirsting for fame and a first place in periodical literature, he finds himself foiled by the simple fact of the best places in the chief newspapers being filled by *Auguste Maquet*, *Paul Meurice*, *Couilhac*, and others, each and all signing their names *Alexandre Dumas*. Simultaneously appear *Les Medicis*, *Une fille du Regent*, and *La Guerre des Femmes*, in the columns of *Le Globe*, *Le Commerce* and *La Patrie*; and every time that *Eugène* prays for leave to labor in the fields of these demesnes, he is met at the gates by such responses as were erewhile given in *Puss in Boots*, "All these vast estates belong, and will

belong, till time stands still, to the *Most Arrogant the Marquis de la Pailleterie*."

Our author's patience and cash being equally exhausted, he borrows 500 francs, and in four days he puts together *Fabrique de Romans, Alexandre Dumas et Cie*. He applies to an adventurous printer, who, though he foresees a legal prosecution in perspective, puts the libel in type, and the impatient author gets 300 copies stitched, and sent to all the influential men of letters in Paris.

The brochure caused tremendous excitement; impatient readers cudgelled each other for possession of a copy, and in the editor's room of *Le National*, a paper then supported by *Armand Marrast, Duras, and Mallefille*, there was one consentient exclamation, "Here is the truth at last." Several passages were selected for insertion in next day's No. when unluckily they stumbled on this passage:—

"And now comes your turn, Messrs. Mallefille, Paul Meurice, Hippolyte Augier, Auguste Maquet, Fiorentino. Couilhac; you the principal artisans, you the foremen of this manufacture; you who do not blush at being the partner of this trafficker of sentences, and selling him soul and spirit! &c. &c."

One of the *Assailed, Mallefille*, being on the spot at the moment, the hitherto pleasurable excitement gave way to a very disagreeable feeling of consternation; and in due time and place, a duel that might have crushed many an exciting tale and biting criticism in the bud, harmlessly exploded, and left *Mallefille* and *Mirecourt* sworn friends to this day.

While these events were in progress, *Alexander* brought his foe before "their honors" who condemned *Eugene* to fifteen days detention, but without costs or seizure of the pamphlet; and he improved the opportunity by posting over some new compliments to the credit of his victim in *La Silhouette*. Immediately on their appearance, a sturdy young gentleman appeared in the office of the paper; and with his riding whip he made journals, manuscripts, and other light articles fly in all directions, demanding with might and main the address of the defamer: this *Enfant Terrible* was *Alexandre Dumas fils*.

Next day two bulky men of war with curled moustache and military gait, called on *Mirecourt*, and on his ac-

knowledging the authorship of *Mes Prisons*, demanded satisfaction on the part of Alexander Dumas.

"I am at his orders, gentlemen." "But it is only right to apprise you that we come on the part of Alexander Dumas the son, not the father." "Oh that is a different affair." He rang the bell and desired the servant to bring his son; and the nurse soon appeared leading in a child four or five years old, and his face smeared with barley-sugar.

Mirecourt then addressed his visitors with a very serious air, "Messieurs, I am certain that my son feels as lively an interest in my honor, as the son of M. Alexander Dumas in that of his father: you will therefore please to demand satisfaction from him in the present instance."

The friends arose from their seats, and exclaimed against the rapid joke played off at their expense.

"I grant that the joke is not in good taste; but it will serve to shew the ridiculous character of your proceeding. M. Alexander Dumas is in good health; him I have attacked, and it is from him I expect a demand for satisfaction. I have nothing to do with his son. If I happened to kill or wound him, would not the world say, 'lo! the defamer has murdered the child of the defamed.' This is what I propose. Let M. Alexander Dumas authorise his son to go to the ground in his stead, and I will place myself at his disposal tomorrow morning."

The visitors however disappointed, could not gainsay the justice of the proposal: they withdrew, and did not repeat the visit.

A regular Parisian *Edmund Curll*, proposes to our literary adventurer to write a chronicle on the subject of *Marian Delorme*. He takes the hint, but rather disappoints his loosely inclined patron by the decent and moral style of the work, which gives a very lively picture of society in the Paris of Louis XIII.

The work is ready but the fitting time of publication is wanting. The revolution of February allows neither time nor inclination to the Parisians, to study old world memoirs, and the author has enemies by the hundred. After some time it comes forth in a feuilleton with the name of *Mery* attached. Towards the conclusion *Mirecourt* puts his own proper signature to the work, writes a very flattering biography of the *Marseillais Proteus* by way of introduction to the second edition of the chronicle; and being assailed by Dumas and his corps in the '*Memoirs*' and the journals at their command, *Curll* urges him to proceed with *Les Contemporains*, making use of them as fitting instruments for parrying the attacks, and assaulting in turn, *Dumas*,

Émile de Girardin, Jules Janin, Eugène Sue, and the professors of socialism and Voltairianism in general.

The idea has been worked out to the advantage of the author and his adviser, *Gabriel Roux Curll*, not without the former suffering now and then from fine and imprisonment awarded at the earnest request of his smarting antagonists. The rod seems to make no impression, nor induce more measured language. He hates to the full measure of Dr. Johnson's taste, and if the objects of his wrath exhibit sympathy with socialism or infidelity, he is at a loss to find colors sufficiently odious for the finishing touches of their portraits. He is however incapable of a deliberate falsehood; in lashing the abominable system of *Proudhon*, he does every justice to the social and domestic virtues of the man himself, while the orthodox views of *Veuillot* do not screen him from a most bitter flagellation.

As the *Fabrique des Romans Alexre Dumas et Compagnie* was the starting point of his literary career, it is but just to lay before our readers his style of handling that great man, cautioning them to bear in mind his original grievance and tendency to be carried away by prejudice. We need not dwell on his sketch of *Alexander's* youth, having treated that part of the subject in our review of the *Memoirs*.* Coming to the production of the Drama of *Henri III.*, he exhibits side by side, Act II. Scene IV., of *Schiller's Don Carlos*, and *Dumas' Henri III.*, Act IV., Scene I; and a more glaring piece of plagiarism could not be found after Mr. Charles Reade or Lord William Lennox.

No matter what error or fault he may be chastising for the time, the vice of borrowing from his fellow creatures, either money, or ideas, or language, is always tagged to it as certainly as the regulator to a steam engine. He gives an instance of his undoubted composition from the drama of *Christine à Fontainebleau*: it is here submitted with a faint expectation of our being favoured with a neat translation into English; the choice of prose or verse being left to the convenience of the operator.

“ Comme au haut d'un grand mont, le voyageur lassé
 Part tout brulant d'en bas, puis arrive glacé ;
 Sans qu'un éclair de joie un seul instant y brille,
 User à le rider son front de jeune fille,
 Sentir une couronne en or, en diamant,
 Prendre place, à ce front, d'une bouche d'amant.”

Alexander the Great hearing the report of musketry in the streets in July, 1830, cries out to his servant :

“ Joseph hie to my gun-maker for my double-barrelled musket, and two hundred bullets, twenty to the pound.”

Two hundred bullets! Oh Misericorde! what a multitude of royalists he means to slay!

An entire volume of the *memoires* is devoted to his exploits during the *three days*.

We seek not the slightest quarrel with him on the subject. Let him outshine *Renard* or *Tancréd*;—let him pretend that he braved the bullet shower at the Pont d'Arcole:—leave him the honor of having taken the Artillery Museum:—let him have peppered the Swiss guards from behind one of the Lions of the Institute, it concerns us little: are not these astounding facts chronicled in the “*Memoirs*.”

And here the critic lectures *Dumas* and, by implication, *Soutestre* his collaborateur, on the abominations of the drama of *Antony*, and the pilfering from *Victor Hugo* of the character of *Didier*. No doubt but his censures on the evil effects of the piece are just, and the culprits richly deserve the execration he lavishes on them; but oh, Mirecourt, worthy *Censor Morum*! Why do you see the straw in *Dumas*' eye, and let the briar in *Hugo*'s escape notice? Have you read *the* romance of the latter, and is it not one of the most depressing and least edifying that ever issued from the brain of writer, and might not these maxims be drawn from it without the slightest perversion of the author's meaning? “The moral power of a human being over his impulses and actions is nil. The world is governed by destiny, or fate, or necessity. Genuine goodness, if extant, is allied to deformity. We are powerless in our attempts to do good; but if our designs are wicked we are certain of success, the devil lending a hand; and the amiable and innocent exist for the sole purpose of being hunted down and devoured by the wicked.”

The only merit allowed by our critic to his *Bête Noire* is that of a tolerable arrangement of the materials collected by his scouts: he denies him any power of invention in toto.

"There is a certain merit in being a good disposer, but solely in the case of disposing materials collected by one's self. But this is the mode adopted by our man. Here is a pirate captain who has boarded and taken a merchant vessel; but our filibuster is an amiable rogue, and would not for the world put an enemy to the sword when he cries quarter: quite the reverse. He orders an allowance of rum to the vanquished to refresh them after the fatigues of fight; but all the while, he is getting an endless amount of valuable parcels conveyed to the deck of his vessel, and thence to the hold, where he arranges everything in the neatest order. Oh what a jolly good fellow, and how comfortably he settles matters!"

On the representation of his piece "*Les Demoiselles de Saint Cyr*," Jules Janin took the liberty of passing thereon some ungracious remarks; Dumas not at all relishing the liberty taken, returned blow for blow, and a very characteristic quarrel arose. An *imaginative* French writer describes his Englishman not stretching out a saving arm to a drowning countryman, for the valid reason that he had not been previously introduced to him; so a few words about the mercurial Parisian *Jeames* of the *Morning Post*, may not be out of place before we enter on the particulars of his terrific combat with the Goliath of letters.

And here once for all, we pass unqualified censure on *Mirecourt* and his imitators, who from the circumstance of a literary opponent having a cast in his eyes, a turned up nose, a disreputable sire who saw no evil in coining bad money, or a mother who preferred the society of a neighbour's husband to that of her own, will persist in saddling his victim with the crimes of his parents, or ridiculing him for natural defects which the poor culprit himself would be the very first to repair if in his power.

Jules escapes extra punishment of the kind alluded to: his tormentor merely quotes one of his apostrophes; "Oh eighteen hundred and four! Glorious year to enter on the world!" and adds from himself.

"Of a certainty no year so glorious or prolific of great events has taken its position in the procession of ages. Napoleon, victorious at the Pyramids and at Marengo, placed the imperial diadem on his own head; and the prince of critics was born at St. Etienne near Lyons, of poor but honest parents."

In due time he is pursuing his studies in Paris at the college of *Louis le Grand*, very little to his own satisfaction, or that of his teachers. He is too much occupied in reproach-

ing government for removing muskets and drums from the students ; and giving them only bells and missals in place ; and in devising a Saint Bartholomew for all the Jesuits in the kingdom,—too much occupied, we repeat, to be able to afford time to physics or metaphysics.

Jeames, that is to say *Jules*, according to his biographer, was never intended by nature for a disciple of St. Peter of Alcantara ; to back his assertion he quotes from his notice of *Les classiques de la Table*.

“ You cannot open this book without finding the water coming to your mouth :—a book full of juice and savour—written by men full of their subject. You have but to turn over the sparkling pages, and you will at once hear the click clack of the spits, the roaring of the furnace, as the flames envelope the mighty pot ; charming smoke ! sweet vapors ! oderiferous clouds ! Ah ! the difficult and perilous profession of the gourmand,—profession that requires such profound knowledge, such strength of head, and such indomitable health.”

“ There” says *Mirecourt*, “ is a style inspired by the stomach ;” but he spoils the effect by adding that *Janin* exercises his exquisite taste at his neighbour’s table only. If you pay him a visit you are treated to an omelet, or if very high in favor, to a cutlet.

After leaving college our future monarch of the coulisses is supported partly by a kind aunt, and partly by the produce of lessons. Along with his attachment to the delights of the table, he has a foible for dogs, and will change his lodging if his favorite is not made free of the premises.

“ He proceeds to the dog-market ; his heart throbs with delight at the chorus of melodious barking and baying that he hears. He is in extacy, he trembles with joy in seeing round him the living merchandise, yelping, growling, shewing teeth, or wagging tail. *Janin* goes from greyhound to *boule-dogue*, from the king-Charles to the Newfoundland, from terrier to spaniel, from beagle to house-dog. He gets a shake-paw from every one, studies the breeds, makes enquiries after their morals and characters, and finishes by selecting a full-bred cur, wanting the ears, and with a coat unaffectedly ragged. The happy brute had fixed his choice by holding out his muddy paw in a more friendly fashion than the others.”

Having given lessons at an academy for a quarter without touching salary, he finds the keepers in possession one morning, as he enters to discharge his functions. He knows that there is a cask of excellent wine in the cellar, and determines that it is a pity to have it sold for the behoof

of remorseless creditors. He departs, and in twenty minutes returns in the guise of a wine-merchant's porter, trundling on a hand-cart a vinous looking vessel. He calls out that his employer has sent him to exchange the present article for the cask in the vault, which had been sent in mistake, and was of an inferior quality : of course the false porter is *not* aware of the seizure. So the genuine good liquor is removed under *Janin's* careful attention, a vessel of indifferent water left in its place ; and the erewhile proprietor is treated to a good glass of the generous beverage that evening, and gratified by a receipt in due form for the quarter's lessons given by our talented friend.

Through the intervention of a friend, he gets on the staff of *La Lorgnette*.

At this point the critic excuses the jesting character of the biography by simply asking "if any of his readers ever took *Janin* at his word," and asserts that the style is worthy of the subject.

"M. Janin is really a man of honour, a respectable citizen : in this light, he shall have our genuine esteem, and that is something. But why did he meddle with literature? Where was the need of his becoming feuilletonist? Why did he *Se fourrer dans cette galère*? Can you say with hand on heart, that this broad simple-looking countenance, made for good nature, candour, and laughter, should ever present flashing eyes and snarling teeth. Look at that smooth, round, and dimpled hand ; ought a cat with such a velvet paw ever exhibit her claws ?

Ah poor Jules, what a piece of folly !

To distribute criticism with dignity, no matter in what department, you should be sure of yourself ; you should have perfected your judgment by serious study ; you should have examined your conscience ; you should have inspected the very recesses of your soul, to see that reason, sincerity, and justice were its occupants.

Have you done so ? answer.

Criticism is a kind of priesthood, my poor garçon, do not deceive yourself. It demands great moral strength, a hale spirit free from the mists of ignorance, and proof against rancor, jealousy, and caprice. There is more to be done than throw over your shoulders a Collegian's greasy gown, pick up a quill and lie in wait round the corner of a journal for unwary authors. That is not all that's needful, Janin, my good friend.†"

* "Les Fourberies de Scapin."

† It seems to us that our vivacious, acute, and easily prejudiced friend himself, would derive some profit by close personal attention to the lesson he is here administering to his temporary victim.

The actresses obnoxious to *Janin's* criticism, cajole him for favorable notices, and call him contemptuously *Jean Jean* when his back is turned. By-and-by they joke on him to his face in this free and easy style.

"Ah! good morning, Monsieur Jean Jean. How do you find yourself, Mr. Jean Jean? Have you seen Mr. Jean Jean's last article, my dear? every one devours Jean Jean. This big Jean Jean is quite the rage. Will you treat us to a nice little supper this evening, Jean Jean, my friend?"

Julius Janin, not acting as *Julius Cæsar* would, on such occasions, takes these stupid pleasantries in bad part; and the unthinking culprit shortly lights on a printed compliment such as the subjoined train of thought passing through the mind of the offended critic would naturally produce:

"You have nick-named me Jean Jean, Madame: very well. In your acting I neither recognise merit, delicacy, nor grace—you have no inspiration; you are destitute of vigour; the audience find you not at all to their taste, and your arms are remarkably meagre."

Jules once gave a troublesome hanger-on an effective piece of advice—doubly effective, indeed, as he thereby got rid of his importunities for the insertion of articles, and put money in the poor fellow's pockets.

"Impossible," cried *Jules*, "you write like an oyster—set your wits on the invention of monstrosities, strange suicides, horrible assassinations—tell how a child was born in such a place with a pair of horns on him—describe the sea serpent that appeared last week off Havre, three hundred metres in length. Take fourteen or fifteen lines to each article; if it induces a reply so much the better."

The advice was taken, and the system thus improvised has now acquired vast proportions. We have seen one of these *Marchands de Canards* in the office of M. Dumont of the *Estafetts*. He entered, made his bow, and taking out a bundle of square bits of paper, read out one to the director. "How much for this?" "Two francs." "Too much; say fifteen sous." "Be it so." He pocketed the coin, and departed to dispose of his *fimsies* to other newspapers. It is really a lucrative profession.

Janin effectively contributed to the success of *Figaro*, exhibiting in that paper the jovial and aggressive spirit of his character. They cite, as his most glorious piece of mystification, the bizarre discourse at an academic reception, to which was appended, as signature, *Le Duc de Montmorency*.

The last of this noble line had been just admitted to a chair among the *forty*.

He protested in the *Quotidienne* against the burlesque harangue of the *Figaro*; the other royalist papers added their indignant reclamations.

Janin had his answer ready in his pocket.

"What the deuce is the matter with you, Monseigneur?" cried he, "You say you have been admitted to the *Académie Française*? *Parbleu!* I did not know a word of the matter, I assure you, and have, very unwittingly, led the public astray. *M. Leduc*, keeper of the *White Horse* at *Montmorency* was received member of the *Glorious Appollos* of that town. I gave a report of the reception, and published the speech of the new member. You count for nothing in the matter. Very sorry, I'm sure, for the quiproquo. The double meaning was most adroitly maintained from one end of the article to the other."

A young actress, daughter of a portier, rue de Tournon, makes *Jules* be of opinion that she is impressed by his talents of mind and graces of person; cunning young rogue! and she all the time the affianced bride of a young painter—but she thought it the surest road to success in her vocation. The deluded youth occasionally sees her safe home, but is not invited to enter, as she lives with her family. His hopes of a conquest are strong, till the real state of affairs is revealed by an officious tatler.

"Scandal great—duel unavoidable—but friends interpose, and they come to a sorrowful but amicable resolution. 'Let us mutually swear to see this woman no more,' cried the painter. 'Yes, my friend, we will swear,' answered the feuilletoniste, and they grasped each other's hands like men in earnest."

On the third day the painter forgave the faithless fair, and the critic was seeking an interview.

"Lovers' oaths," thought he to himself, "Jesuits' vows!"

But his false rival had anticipated him in his perjury: he uttered cries of rage, took pen in hand, and wrote out the nastiest of his novels without taking breath.

In the story, he assigned the fair but false cause of his woe, the punishment she so richly merited; but, as if to spite him farther, she is at this day a faithful and virtuous wife, and respectable mistress of a household, possessing the esteem of her friends, and the love of her husband and children.

Nestor Roqueplau, in whose judgment *Mirecourt* reposes trust, when music is not in question, thus apostrophises *Janin*—

"You are a writer of an undecided, powerless, and above all, of a frivolous cast. You adorn yourself with mock lace; you jerk about the furbelows of your faded robe, the inharmonious hues of whose tissue is never relieved by a pure or correct pattern. Your phrases abrupt, powdered with conceits, and, spun out, fly away in clouds. These circumstances, of which good writers avail themselves to give repose to their readers, become in your hands delusive finger-posts to set them astray. Sometimes, self-punished and involved in a complicated phrase without issue, you go buzzing at random to find an outlet, like a wasp inside a window. Then it is—'quick, undo me this button—be brisk with a citation to extricate M. Janin, who is knocking his forehead against the wall of his grand style.'"

* * * * *

"You never make a frank, manly attack. Your weapon, in consequence of being barbed like a Chinese dart, never penetrates. A wrestler, without strength of arm, you try to trip up your adversary. Noise and no stroke—thunder and no flash—damp fireworks, the squibs escaping as chance will have it. Your pen scratches and blots the paper, and cannot make a straight line. Your composition is uncertain, and not under your proper command: it goes at random and without order; it seems no more under the control of your proper will, than the limbs of a paralytic under the influence of the spinal marrow. There is a profusion of words, but the right one is never forthcoming. When we dissect this plump-looking old child in swaddling clothes, we find neither vein, muscle, nor sinew." *So far Nestor Roqueplan.*

Our merciless critic goes on to scarify his patient at greater length than we can follow. He says that he has been gossiping, that he is gossiping, and that he will continue to gossip for ever; that he is a flood of epithets, an ocean of phrases; that he swells the balloon of the paradox, puts his lip to the sophism to blow it out to fabulous dimensions, and that he tempers the soap water for the produce of millions of sparkling bubbles which float about and burst when their hour comes. A quarter of an idea will serve for the production of a dozen columns, and his knowledge of history and geography is on a par with *Mr. Jolly Green's*, of the *New Monthly*. He criticises a theatrical piece without having heard a word of it spoken; he confounds people and incidents, for the *Debats* is waiting for copy, and he has not time to be accurate. Like Harlequin, his head may be broken by an enraged victim, and with his own wooden sword too; no matter, he continues his dance.

In October our hero is married; and on the very wedding night, instead of looking after his bride, he locks himself

up in his study to write a feuilleton, not of the last new piece, but of his own perilous exploit. This is to be *the* news of the week.

“ At first a universal stupor fell on men’s senses. ‘ What do you say? he is married—*himself*, and at *his* age—he is a dead man. What will become of him, and what will he do with his bride?’ ‘ Why! what can a *Bohemien* do with his wife but make her a *Bohemienne*? ’ ”

And then he relates the difficulties he had to overcome before he could cast the lasso with effect: but at last, through fire, water, and mud, the notary’s table is reached, and the contract signed. *Chateaubriand* does not send his blessing, because it generally brings misfortune; but the Archbishop is not so scrupulous. Let *Jeames* of the *Morning Post* read the following, and blush for his own shortcomings.

“ And then, trembling with emotion, astonished at the deep regard shown to her, and in such high quarters, she cast her eyes timidly around. Her limpid and modest glance became more decided, and seemed to say, ‘ You see I was right.’ Mean time the church was prepared, and the altar decked, the crowd great, and nothing wanted but the presence of the young bride. At last she appeared, and they saw her such as she was—young, beauteous, smiling, sincere—the most touching, the most modest, and the most calm of beings. Eh, well! that delicate fair hand, that perfect grace, the serenity of that beauteous countenance, that loveliest of creatures, all those treasures for a mere scribbler, for a—”

Mirecourt:—“ Ah, silence! you indiscreet spouse; the *National* is cocking its ears. Why should you begin to blab in the public feuilleton? ‘ Alas! it is too late; they have taken a note of your avowals; they are turning your confidences into ridicule, and M. Rolle is mending his pen. Ah! Janin, Janin, instead of an epithalamium, hear this apostrophe.—” *Rolle Loquitur*.

“ Allow me, Monsieur, to join my congratulations to those which you have offered to yourself, and to lay my poor grain of incense on the mighty heap which you burn in your own proper honor. In fine you are married, and now there is neither *Ah*, nor *Oh*, nor *How* about it. Let the entire universe recover from its stupor, thank God, and say nothing. Your conjugal feuilleton, dated *St. Sulpice*, and written on the very altar, you have charitably entitled, ‘ The Wedding, not of a Critic, but of Criticism.’ As another great man once boasted, ‘ The State is vested in me,’ so you modestly announce, ‘ Criticism and I are one.’ Many thanks, Monsieur! From the embodiment of the genius, talent, and merit of all living critics in one, it results that eight days ago we were all wedded in your person. A charming cadeau you have offered us, Monsieur, if I may trust the prospectus of the bride of whom you have got ten thousand copies issued. What a liberal husband you are, Monsieur! I know

more than one who watch their wives with the vigilance of the dra-
 goons of the Hesperides; and what is your first care? You get yours
 printed, stamped, bound, and distributed throughout Paris and the
 Baillieus. This cannot fail to bring in subscribers in shoals. P.S. All
 Europe is impatiently expecting the first cries of the young family
 Janin made no response; he was literally crushed by the ridicule."

Eugène gets tired at last of scourging Jules. He says
 that his spirits were terribly tamed by the defeat just recor-
 ded, and another suffered at the hand of Dumas—that, at
 all events, age with his slow stride is gaining on him. He
 has put on the hermit's gown, and now aims at burning in
 the eyes of young Paris, a shining example of decent
 morals. He now only sighs for true friends, and for enjoy-
 ment of domestic comforts, and is painfully re-erecting
 what he has been demolishing for thirty years.

"His conversion has affected us very sensibly; we almost regret
 our tartness. Yesterday's errors are redeemed by to-day's merits.
 However, the old habitudes return at times, and the ancient wolf of
 criticism sometimes shews his teeth; this is a simple act of oblivion,
 a mere distraction. He at once contritely strikes his breast, and
 bitterly weeps over all the sheep he has devoured. Will any one dare
 to call these healing drops the tears of a crocodile?"

The mention of sheep reminds us of looking after our
moutons perdus et enragés, whom we left on the eve of
 deadly arbitration.

Dumas having retaliated on Janin for his attack on *Les*
Demoiselles de Saint Cyr, a second onslaught of the critic
 brought the laughers to his side. Dumas vomited fire and
 flames; he swore that he would exterminate Janin.

"His seconds took their way to the Rue de Vaugerard; the nego-
 ciations endured three weeks, and the duel was at last decreed as
 firm as fate. The champions were on the ground, and Dumas, who
 had the choice of arms, proposed the small sword. 'By no means,'
 replied the critic, 'I'm familiar with a certain push which will lay
 you high and dry on the sod at the first brush. I claim the pistols
 through sheer humanity.' 'Oh, oh, pistols indeed!' cried Dumas:
 'you are stark mad, my dear Monsieur Janin; I could lame a fly at
 forty paces, and you are a trifle larger than the biggest fly that floats
 on wing.' So, neither being willing to murder his antagonist, no
 passage of arms took place. They made mutual excuses, and
 embraced each other as brothers who should never have ceased to
 esteem and cherish each other."

Several of Dumas' fellow artisans in the manufacture of
 dramas having obliged him at last to allow their names to

appear in turn, it curiously happened that all falling to his name were successful, the others being failures, or at least greeted with very faint praise.

And here it may be fit to give a list of some of Dumas' plagiarisms, and assumptions of the product of his neighbours' intellects.

"His book, *Jacques Ortis*, is a mere simple translation of the *Ultime Littere di Jacopo Ortis* of Ugo Foscolo, a verb or an adjective being occasionally changed. *Les Aventures de John Davy* are borrowed from the *Revue Britannique*. *Gaule et France* is copied from *Les Études Historiques* of Chateaubriand, and from *Thierry*, without the trouble, in most cases, of inverting prepositions or changing words. *Le Capitaine Aréna* is the re-production of a delicious novelette of the *Revue Britannique*, called *Térence le Tailleur*. *Albine* is a servile translation of a German romance.

"*Les Mémoires d'un Médecin* is a re-casting of a romance of the same name in the *Revue Britannique*. *Fiorentino* the Neapolitan enriches his patron with the manuscript of *Le Corricolo* and that of *Le Speronare*. Paul Meurice brings *Ascanio*, *Amaury*, and *Les Deux Diane*. Mallefille wrote *Georges* from beginning to end, and signed it *Dumas*.

"*Auguste Maquet*, the most prolific of these literary artisans, furnished, as his own contingent, fifty volumes; *Le Chevalier d'Harmental*, *Les Trois Mousquetaires*, *Vingt Ans Après*, *Le Vicomte de Bragelonne*, *Sylvandire*, *Le Comte de Monte Cristo*, *La Guerre des Femmes*, *La Reine Margot*, *Une Fille du Regent*, *Le Bâtard de Mauléon*, *Le Chevalier de Maison-Rouge*, and *La Dame de Montsoreau*."

The writer of these last named books seems to belong to the class born with saddles on their backs for the convenience of other writers who are tired out treading the thorny paths of literature. We believe that he has turned restive, and pitched his patron over his head; but it is insinuated by a clever cotemporary, that the author of *Peg Woffington*, wearied with the fatigues of the rough road on which his *Course of True Love* has not run smooth, has taken our unlucky pack horse unawares; bestrode him in his explorations through the Demesne of the *Chateau Grantier*; and condescending to utter *White Lies*, has passed himself off to the unsophisticated readers of the *London Journal*, as the rightful proprietor of that *Chateau d'Espagne*, changing its title of course.

Having a high opinion of the powers of *Maquet*, we were curious to examine this original drama of his; and by the kind promptness of Mr. Nutt, we were enabled, at an interval of three or four days, to get the pamphlet

from Paris ; and, on looking over it, came to the conclusion, that if the author was ever obliged to commit his catechism to memory, he had retained very little of it in head or heart, when he was constructing his *Chateau de Grantier*.

A lady, the widow of a royalist captain, is on the point of being turned adrift on the world with her two portionless daughters. The undeclared lover of the younger has been regularly laying a purse in the ladies' path at monthly intervals for some time, without their appropriation of the contents ; and the declared lover of the elder is dead in the Peninsula, or worse, gone over to the enemy. One of Buonaparte's brave generals is the purchaser of the family chateau and demesne. He is on the point of starting for Egypt, and takes the chateau on his way to the coast. Under an impulse of generosity and love at first sight, he proposes for the elder sister. She, judging that her true love is either dead or false, and wishing to preserve an asylum for mother and sister, consents ; and her husband leaves her to return from the church without him ; for he must be at Marseilles in time for the embarkation of his squadron. Any experienced play-goer reading thus far, knows by instinct, that the dead and traitorous lover will be found as true and loyal as Leander, stretched out at the garden gate, exhausted to death, but doomed to worse than death by the sight of his true-hearted mistress, a bride of half an hour. If the play is destitute of poetry, common morality, or genuine sentiment, it possesses at all events, a terrific situation at the end of each act. The descent of the green baize puts an end to the harrowing scene.

We are admitted to the drawing room of the chateau in about fifteen or eighteen months. The bride and no wife, is reclining in a languid state on the sofa ; and we find that after the best cares had been bestowed on the unfortunate lover, he quitted for the campaign on the Rhine ; and is now hotly employed at the siege of some town. The false wife has been absent at some watering place for health's sake ; and we find her in woe, not for the absence of her generous-hearted husband, exposed in Egypt to the rays of the hot sun, and the scymitars of the Mamelukes. but for the separation from her infant, kept at a convenient distance from the chateau.

All this time the lover is an honorable, and high-minded, and sensitive man; but what avails honor, honesty, or religion, when pleading in a cause in which counsellor Cupid holds an opposing fee. Therefore, the seducer is guiltless; and who can blame the too sensitive lady when he is informed that Lothario swore he would neither take powder nor pill, but die off from spite, if she continued insensible to his misery! Some feeling, made up of 98 per cent. of guilty sorrow for lover and child, and the rest of remorse, has induced her to secrete enough of laudanum for a composing dose for her earthly woes. She writes to her guilty partner that their love was too pure and ethereal (a pretty proof they have given) to hope for toleration here below. She was going to ascend, and when he could make it convenient to join her spirit there—but here we beg to stop short of absolute blasphemy. The deed is deferred; her innocent and sympathising sister has brought, by private passages, and in a cradle of the neatest pattern, her child to pay her a visit. Ods raptures, and extacies! The ladies retire behind a screen with the cradle, and the sister is singing an innocent lullaby, when the general, who ought to have been at the moment measuring the right eye of the Sphinx reposing in her far off sandy bed, walks in, accompanied by the affianced of the young Miss. The screen opens—the cradle and its guilty guardian is visible; and here would be the end of a two-act tragedy—but, as three acts yet remain to be achieved, the *unmarried* rushes on in despair, avows herself the culprit, and situation No. 2 harrows the hearts of the audience.

We are in the trenches of the beleagured city, and the hooded-winked general finds out Lothario, and reads him a moral lecture on the *inconvenience* he has caused. He is on the hooks of torture at first, but after the established amount of equivocation, he finds out that he has only to lead the frail sister to the altar, and do legitimate justice to his infant son, of whose existence, by the way, he is up to this moment ignorant. What was simple wretchedness, now becomes anguish, doubled, complicated, and intolerable. Marry her sister, and before her eyes!—see the world in ashes rather than such an outrage! A glorious opportunity for escape is presented. He contrives to anticipate the colonel as leader of a forlorn hope; a mine explodes, and

te and his immediate followers are blown some kilometres beyond the region of the moon. Well, here is something like poetical justice. The honest-minded general will now return, and walk over his estate for the first time, his penitent wife on his arm, swallowing her guilty tears, and doing all she can to recompense her worthy but ill-treated lord. *Benjamin*, after a decent shew of sorrow, will manage to satisfy her lover of her innocence, and a happy union will be the result. Nothing of the kind takes place.

On his return home everything is in a very ticklish state; but when he announces the death of his companion in arms, the wife's wild grief finds vent, and she reveals her guilt and shame—not that she considers herself *very* guilty, but to live with another is not to be thought of for a moment.

The mother and daughters will not now remain in the castle; but, as they are leaving the premises, a knock is heard at the gate, and the porter brings in a note to the colonel. Oh! wonderful wonder! Lothario has again found his way back to this nasty world, and is humbly requesting permission, before departing to voluntary exile among the Hottentots, or elsewhere, to embrace and bless his infant heir. A lucky thought strikes the generous Chastellan. He invites the prodigal son to enter, joins his hands to those of his self-divorced lady, utters a genuine stage blessing on their heads, and a long-concealed treasure is at the moment brought to day-light from a subterranean passage: so, if they become uncomfortable it will be their own faults, and if their lot turns out happy, all we say is, that it will give us no little surprise.

To convert this drama, vicious in spirit and form, into a circumstantial tale, fit for the perusal of a moral and religious though novel-reading public, seems to us rather more difficult than to construct a purely original work. If we have any subscribers, among the weekly purchasers of the *Journal*, whose acquirements embrace the art of writing, may some one of them favor us with an outline of the English garments thrown over the French model!

The success of *Monte Cristo*, and its fellow publications, seems to have turned poor *Alexander's* head. His dreams, even in the open sunshine, and when his bodily-eyes were wide open, were of caverns piled with gold and precious stones, and no thought of poverty ever passed his mind.

The *Folly* built by him at St. Germain, and which he was pleased to call *Monte Cristo*, was the natural result of this exalted state of his ideas.

“ He summoned from Africa two Arabs, who decorated a chamber for him in the Algerian style, covering the walls with verses from the Koran ; and he engaged themselves in writing to execute no other similar piece of work in Europe. There were to be seen gothic pavilions, turrets with their belfries, gardens, an island, a torrent, and the celebrated kiosk, with its sky-blue ceiling besprinkled with stars, and which served for the study of the master.

“ There were at Monte Cristo an atelier for painters, twelve rooms devoted to visitors, a little palace set apart for monkies, another for parrots, and a third for dogs, without mentioning a stable of regal proportions for the accommodation of eight superb steeds.

“ The grand salon, hung with cloth of silk and gold, displayed wonders of artistic skill ; and the private salon or boudoir was furnished with genuine cashmere for window curtains.

“ It was altogether a heap of pictures, statues, Buhl ornaments, bizarre curiosities scattered at random from kitchen to attics, profusion of sculptures, and casts beyond counting : good taste was banished, and ostentation reigned supreme.

“ All these riches and splendors could not confer the much-desired stamp of aristocracy on this magnificent structure. In the midst of the luxury floated a vapour of literary vagabondage, and the etiquette of the chateau had its origin in the coulisses of the theatres.

“ On the façade stood out the escutcheon of the Marquis de la Pailleterie. Dumas inaugurated his palace with an entertainment given in honor of literature and art ; six hundred guests were regaled, and a piece was presented after dinner, composed for the circumstance, and having for title, ‘ SHAKESPEARE ET DUMAS.’ ”

To reign even for two years in such a palace, *Dumas* was obliged to keep his journeymen hard at work. So, from 1845 to 1846, more than sixty volumes were written, printed, and published.

And here, by an accurate calculation, our critic, allowing his writer to sleep but few hours, to eat his meals in a hurry, and to be constantly under the inspiration of the muse of romance (an impossible conjunction), allows him power to produce fifteen volumes per annum, if he abstains from revising the style or correcting the proofs.

All his assistants, including his son, were trained to imitate his handwriting.*

* In addition to the works quoted, *Dumas* published in *Le Pays*, *Le Passeur d'Ashbourn*, copied literally from *Madame Montolieu's* translation of the *Village Pastor* of *Lafontaine*, the German names

Being at last obliged to say something, by way of apology & defence, here is his most frank and courageous avowal.

"Inventions are made by men, not by any individual man. Every man, at proper time and place, appropriates the things known to his forefathers, arranges them in new forms, and dies, after adding a few facts or ideas to the heap as he found it. As to the pure creation of anything, mental or physical, it is out of the question."

This is what caused Shakspeare to say, when a stupid critic once accused him of having taken an entire scene from a cotemporary writer, 'It is a young girl whom I have withdrawn from evil society to establish her in that which is good.' This also made Moliere once exclaim, 'I seize my property wherever I find it.' And Shakspeare and Moliere were right; for the man of genius never steals—he seizes by right of conquest. I am obliged to say these things in my own defence, as, instead of being grateful to me for bringing before their eyes so many scenic beauties before unknown, they point them out as thefts—brand them as plagiarisms. However, I am consoled by my resemblance to Shakspeare and Moliere in this respect; those who attacked them were so obscure, that their very names have not been preserved."

Mirecourt, lashed by the sense of his own individual wrongs, and the injury inflicted on literature and morals by the *systeme Dumas*, thus pours on him the vials of his wrath:—

"You have closed the avenues of literature against those young fresh writers who would use their talents, without providing for the public an unhealthy feast, and without committing the crime of *lese-patrie* in defiling the most noble pages of our history. Yes, Monsieur Dumas, you have murdered our literature; you have assembled a host of nameless writers, who, protected by the darkness in which they move, cast into the mass of society a leaven of bad taste and of corrupting influence. With the succour of these concealed workmen you prepare a slow poison which penetrates into the veins of the social body. You mix history and fable, and distribute the indigestible morsels as intellectual nourishment. In presence of the rising generation you remove from virtue her prestige; you discard modesty as if

being merely changed to English ones. *Le Collier de la Reine* was written by *Maquet*, so was *La Tulippe Noire*—so was *Auge Pitou*. *Le Trou de l'Enfer* was contributed by *Meurice*, as well as *Dieu Dispose*. *Hendrik Conscience*, the Flemish writer, was plundered of *Conscience l'Innocent*.

* *Sir Godfrey Kneller* was chagrined at not having been consulted at the creation, as he was conscious of being able to suggest some valuable hints. *Dumas*, in common with *Sir Godfrey* and several Gallic writers, handles awful subjects in so familiar a style that he must be satisfied with seeing some of his flights left unrecorded.

she was a castaway. In your pages vice is endowed with amiable qualities, debauchery is not so bad as it seems, and crime excites pity instead of hate. You propagate this spasmodic and frantic species of literature, which excites the evil passions, sets the blood in a ferment, and reawakes the powers of old and used-up debauchees. Thanks to your catering, the public now refuses all healthy nourishment; it cannot relish anything but your highly-spiced ragouts. . . . We are severe without doubt, but posterity will be much more so."

Against the calumniating of the memory of the characters of history, and the distorting or misrepresenting of established historical facts, we join our protest to that of our critic. With the exception of *Le Chevalier d'Harmental*, *Sylvandire*, and *La Tulippe Noire*, we can scarcely recollect one of these quasi-historical romances of *Dumas and Co.*, which we would like to see in the hands of our young people. The perusal of some in particular, is only wading through a slough of depravity, cruelty, and craft. You are obliged to light a candle in the middle of the day, if you wish to find out an estimable character, and to look for repose in some scene hallowed by the domestic virtues is altogether useless. No one of royal rank is a good man or woman, or sincere Christian. If history has handed him down as jealous for religion at all, he is sure to be an intolerant zealot and persecutor. If the reader is interested for the success of true love, he is only left to wish that D'Artagnan may carry away his neighbour's wife. And are the firm above named the only culprits in this line? By no means; they are edifying moralists when set beside *Bibliophile Jacob (Lacroix)*,* *Foudras*, *Montepin*, *La Touche*, and some others. But money was to be got to keep *Dumas* in state, on his high horse, riding to ———. To get this money, their feuilletons should be as necessary to the reading public as their café au lait. To infuse this quality into them, they must be piquant and terribly interesting, and leave their readers in a state of feverish suspense about the interesting but guilty lover, left outside on the window-sill, forty feet above ground, with a very slight defence against the temperature of a night twenty degrees below zero.

They know he will endure, rather than compromise the comfort of the tender female who is feigning sleep beside her clod of a husband in the warm bed-chamber within :

* We except from the works of the Rabelastic Lacroix, *Les Catacombes de Rome* and *Le fils du Notaire*.

but whether will he freeze stark and stiff on his bad eminence, or make an involuntary descent,—that is the question that will keep several pairs of eyes unvisited by sleep. And won't there be a feverish welcome for the coarse damp paper next morning! and still not the trace of an allusion to the difficulty for several numbers to come.

Dumas was obliged to defend an action for defamation of the character of a lady whose head has not ached since the days of *Henri Quatre*; and, though he could not be touched by human law, it is no less certain that he sinned in the person of *Auguste Maquet*, against that divine statute which forbids us to bear false witness against our neighbour. It may be urged that the persons slandered are beyond the power of the poisoned tongue to wound them; but it is no less certain that, as in the case of the descendants of *La Dame de Montsoreau*, many of the living are deeply interested in the good fame of the great departed, from ties of family, country, policy, or religion, and are deeply pained by finding their memory slandered or assailed.

We wish that we could vindicate all the writers in our own vernacular from such a reprehensible line of conduct, but that is not left in our power, since the days when half-a-dozen poor ecclesiastics were set to watch over the spiritual welfare of their thin flock, scattered through the fields and streets of Britain; and when the same apparently inoffensive proceedings shook more terror through the land, than if Louis Napoleon, King Leopold, Pius IX., and the monarchs of all the "Heathens and Turks" throughout the world, were disembarking on all sides of the island at once, to put the inhabitants to sack or ransom.

In order to add fuel to the unholy flame that at the moment was consuming men's candour, love of their neighbour, and common justice, a lady takes at the end of her jewel-tipped pen, the character of the earnest and fearless Archbishop of Canterbury, who braved the displeasure of his loved sovereign, and the terrors of martyrdom, rather than leave it in the power of selfish and unholy rulers to deprive the flock entrusted to his keeping of their spiritual nourishment. However historians may differ as to the less or more of spiritual pride or obstinacy, or pure devotion of this great man, no one has been found to breathe a suspicion against the purity of his life after he became a churchman. What is his conduct as discovered by his fair (?) historian

through those peculiar telescopes through which novelists look over the dim landscape of the past? He is in love with Fair Rosamond Clifford; she is insensible to his suit, but he is determined that she shall be his mistress sooner or later, and takes this nefarious plan to succeed. He brings her under the notice of the unprincipled young king, judging that when she has surrendered all right to female honor, his own vile object will be easily attained.

Now, if the authoress of the *Lady and the Priest* had taken ordinary care to prepare for her self-imposed and ungracious task, by consulting the authentic histories of that reign, she would have found that her narrative was as irreconcilable with fact, from the well-established purity of the Archbishop's life, as from the circumstances of time and place through which the characters of her story moved. Poisoned springs and poisoned weapons, and the stiletto of the paid murderer, are never thought of when Christian powers are at war with each other; and shall such false and poisonous arms as these be used by parties who merely differ in their modes of Christian worship, and are all loyal subjects of the same sovereign?

In the month of February of the present year *Maquet* had his unkind patron doing penance in the courts of law. He lost the cause. It is probable that *Auguste* deserved to lose it; but quere did Alexander deserve to gain it?

We proceed to touch on another duel of the great man, and have done with our critic's personalities, as his store are inexhaustible where his swarthy foeman is the subject.

"He entered one evening the office of the *Figaro*, whence two hostile articles had been launched at him: 'Who is the author of these infamous productions? his name—be quick.' 'I know not,' said Maurice Alhoy, chief editor of the paper. 'You must know; I will not wait a minute; I must kill some one.' 'My good friend,' said Maurice, 'you have exhausted my patience. I will be responsible for the articles; name your seconds.' Mutual friends interposed, and Dumas condescended to spare Alhoy's life; but he, as the offended, should keep his honor intact. They should repair to the Bois de Boulogne next morning, but no blood was to be drawn. The seconds were, however, entirely ignorant of this implied arrangement.

"Alexander looked sublime; courage was visible in every feature; he was insensible to fear; pallor sat not on his manly face. They produced the swords. 'What's here,' cried he, 'blue weapons! I never used a blue-colored blade. Pierre,' continued he, turning with the gesture of a hero to his Negro, 'produce the dark-dyed swords.'

They were brought, and the weapons crossed.

Maurice Alhoy being somewhat nervous, and a little overawed by the truly intrepid mien of his adversary, lost command of hand altogether, when Dumas began—

‘Defend yourself, corbleau! wrist firmer: a victory over an opponent of your force would not be worth gaining—oh!’ cried he in affright, letting fall his sword.

In order to punish his vain boasting, Alhoy had slightly wounded him in the shoulder.

‘What’s that for?’ added he, forgetting himself for the moment, ‘it was not mentioned in the programme.’”

Mirecourt, feeling a sort of remorse at last for his merciless treatment of his foe, relents, and tells something to his credit:—

“Our hero, notwithstanding his faults, has sincere admirers and enthusiastic friends. [M. Porcher, the illustrious director of the *claque*,* is of the number. One day he gave a splendid dinner to the great *Mousquetaire*. The wine sparkled, and the most delightful gaiety reigned from one end of the table to the other. Porcher alone kept looking at his glass without approaching it to his lips. It must be acknowledged, however, that he had already emptied it very often, and had now reached the maudlin stage. ‘What is the matter with you, my dear friend?’ said Alexander. ‘Am I really among the number of your dear friends?’ sighed the renowned dispenser of venal applause. ‘How can you doubt it?’ ‘Well, I don’t, but still there is one thing that gives me great trouble.’ ‘Ah! what is it?’ ‘My heavy sorrow is this, you never say *thou* to me: just *thou* me once.’ ‘My poor Porcher! with the greatest pleasure! Shake hands, dear friend, and lend me a thousand crowns.’”

With some degree of inconsistency, *Mirecourt* seems disposed to enhance the merit of *Dumas Fils* in the proportion of the disparagement of *Dumas Pere*. Besides his qualities of a writer of genius and talents, he represents him as a sincere, honorable young man, living within his income, keeping his father within some bounds, and helping him out of his difficulties. In the *Cure for the Heart-ache*, *Hodge*, after relating to his sister the misdeeds of their extravagant father, and mentioning how his own good example was entirely lost on him, gravely asks her, as a case of conscience, whether he would be justified in giving the immoral old boy a licking. *Dumas Fils* supports sister and mother, and gives what he can to charitable purposes,

* For closer acquaintance with this great practitioner see our review of the *Memoirs of Dumas*.

but never lets the idea of the licking cross his mind. It may be supposed, from the character of his works, especially the earlier ones, that his life in one respect has been far from correct. Our lenient critic throws out hopes that there will be a decided improvement in his works to come, as he is Christian at heart and studies the Scriptures. Amen, say we.

However our author may relax in his dislike to *Dumas*, his feelings towards *Emile de Girardin* exhibit a most determined personal hatred; and, therefore, he is not so much to be trusted in his statements concerning his character.

His portrait, serving for frontispiece, exhibits a *Napoleon* when in good humour. So he is an anomaly, if his veins are filled with poison instead of blood, as insinuated by his critic. Circumstances connected with his birth, and the after neglect or dislike of his parents, have given a misanthropic tinge to his character. He considers every office beneath him but that of prime minister; and his political creed has been re-modelled a dozen times. The facts adduced by *Mirecourt*, such as ordering his own immediate release from prison, when he might have kept him there at pleasure, do not bear out his theory to our satisfaction.

If he dispraises the husband to the utmost stretch of language, he makes up in his unqualified admiration of Madame, *née Delphine Gay*, a lovely compound of personal beauty, grace, goodness, conversational powers, and poetical gifts. Any person who has read or seen acted her delightful dramas, or read her tales, too few in number, alas! or her lively and picturesque sketches of Parisian life, social, political, literary and artistic, from about 1836 to 1848, under the name of the *Chevalier de Launay*, will bear out the critic as far as evidence is before themselves. *Mirecourt* evidently grudged her to her selfish lord. Literature has had a great loss by her too early death.

One of *Mirecourt's* grievances against the editor of *La Presse* arose from his rejecting *Marion D'Lorme* unless signed *Alex. Dumas*.

We must find space for the unhappy duel between *Girardin* and *Armand Carrel*, judging that a simple recital of an incident so contrary to the spirit of Christianity is nearly as good as a sermon. The account is from *Le National*, *Carrel's* paper:—July 1st, 1836.

"The direct explication which had place between M. Carrel and M. de Girardin left nothing in the power of the seconds to bring about a reconciliation. Having reached the ground, the Bois de Vincennes, M. Carrel advanced towards M. de Girardin, and said, 'Monsieur, you have threatened me with a biography: as the chance of the day may be against me you will probably fulfil your promise; but if you write it in an honest spirit you will not find either in my private or public life anything unbecoming a man of honor. Is it not so, Monsieur?' 'It is, Monsieur' replied M. de Girardin.

It had been decided that the combatants should be placed at a distance of forty paces, and that each was then at liberty to walk forward ten steps. M. Carrel advanced that distance with a firm and rapid pace; then, raising his pistol and taking aim he fired at his adversary, who had only advanced three paces. The two discharges were nearly simultaneous, but M. Carrel had fired first. M. de Girardin cried out 'I am hit in the thigh;' 'and I in the groin,' said M. Carrel.

He had still strength enough left to walk to a bank at the edge of the avenue, and sit down. His second, and Dr. Marx his friend, ran up to him. M. Persat (proprietor of *Le National*) burst into tears. 'Do not weep, my good friend,' said Carrel; 'this ball has given you quittance.' This was an allusion to a legal process to come off on the next day."

They carried him to St. Mandé, to the house of M. Peyra, an old comrade of the *Ecole Militaire*. Passing near M. Girardin, M. Carrel addressed him: 'Are you suffering much, M. Girardin?' 'I would be rejoiced if your sufferings were no greater.' 'Adieu, Monsieur, I bear no ill will to you.'

Carrel was not deceived as to the dangerous character of his wound. He requested that they would bear him directly to the cemetery after his decease; no priest, no church. Such was his short and definite direction.

The next day Armand Carrel was dead. Had his last hours been consoled by religion, his posthumous reputation would surely have sustained no loss. It is a pity that republicanism and impiety are such near neighbours."

Mirecourt handles *George Sand* with delicate touch, passes slightly over the unsound portions of her career, and gives all homage due to her great powers. She has not taken his biography, however, in good part at all; and he complains that she even adds a year or two to her age, in order to enjoy the pleasure of a contradiction. Still he will not have the public to be too fastidious as to the self-restraint, &c. of those who write or act for their amusement. Let them be satisfied that his heroine for the moment is what *Ninon de l'Enclos* once boasted herself to be, viz.: *an honest man*.

He quotes from the *Lettres d'un Voyageur*, a passage

which we repeat for its beauty. All the world knows that Aurora Dudevant is a native of Berri, and that she was brought up in that rough province under the wing of an energetic grand-mother.

"Oh! who amongst us does not fondly recollect the first volumes which he has tasted or devoured! Has not the very cover of an old book, found mantled over with dust, on the shelf of a neglected book-case, retraced the sweet outlines of the picture of your youthful years! Have you not seen rise before you, the wide meadow bathing in the warm rays of the evening, where you perused it for the first time! Oh! how quickly fell the night over the enchanted leaves, and how cruelly the fading twilight made the characters dance in confusion on the darkening pages!

It is all over: the lambs are bleating; the sheep have gathered to the fold; and the cricket has taken possession of the huts and the plains: you must depart.

The road is stony, the plank is narrow and slippery, the side path rough. You are covered with perspiration, but all is useless: you arrive too late, they have commenced supper. It is to no purpose that the old servant, who loves you so much, has delayed to ring the bell as long as she could. You must endure the mortification of sitting down last, and the grand-mother, relentless in etiquette even in the depth of her secluded farm, administers a tender reproach in a mild, sorrowful tone, which affects you more sensibly than a severe reproof.

But when at night, she asks you for an account of how the day was spent, and you acknowledge with a blush, that you forgot the time reading; and being required to produce the book, you draw out, with a trembling hand, *Estelle et Némorin*, Oh, then the old lady cannot help smiling. Take courage; your treasure will be restored, but mind, never be late for supper again.

O, happy days! O, my dark glen! O, Corinne! O, *Bernardin de St. Pierre*! Ye willows by the river, my vanished youth, and oh! my poor old hound, who never missed the supper-hour, but answered to the ring of the distant bell by a hungry and sorrowful howl!"

Charles Nodier, with whom we spent some pleasant moments in *Les Mémoires de Alexandre Dumas, Méry*, the exaggerated type of our *Theodore Hook*, *Victor Hugo*, *Beranger*, *Alfred de Vigny*, *Arsène Houssaye*, *Francis Wey*, *Baron Taylor*, *Paul Féval*, and other estimable writers meet with warm though judicious welcome in the pages of *Les Contemporains*. The degree of blame administered to *Paul de Kock* and *Balzac* is very slight, compared to the kindness with which they are treated. How *Balzac* could have spent much time in collecting materials for his *Comedy of Human Life*, we are unable to under-

stand, with the following programme of his daily occupation before us.

"Balzac has been the most assiduous worker of modern times. We must refer to the monks of the middle ages to find the same zeal, the same assiduity, the same patience. He goes to bed at half-past five, soon after taking dinner, rises at 11 o'clock, or mid-night, wraps himself in a sort of monk's gown, and works away till 9 o'clock in the morning. His servant, François, then brings in his breakfast, takes up the proofs, and Balzac, drawing out his watch, says to him, with the gravest air imaginable, 'I give you ten minutes to take these to Charenton.' Charenton (the locale of the printing office) is two leagues distant, but that does not frighten François. His stereotyped answer is—'ten minutes! very good! off I go.' Balzac resumes his writing after breakfast, and works till three o'clock; then takes a country walk till dinner, immediately after which he retires to rest, to resume the same process on awaking. . . .

Balzac sketches a romance as a painter does a picture. His first outline, even of the longest of his stories, never exceeds forty pages. He flings every leaf behind him without even paging it, for fear of being tempted to make corrections; and the next day he receives the proofs, furnished with enormous margins. The forty pages yield a hundred in the second proof, two hundred in the third, and so on to the end of the story. This mode of proceeding throws the unfortunate compositors into despair; finding their work of yesterday buried under a mountain of corrections and additions. It is a chaos, an irregular expansion of lines from a common centre, a system of fireworks; the rockets crossing and encircling each other, turning to the right, to the left, ascending, descending, knocking their heads together, and inflicting head-aches innumerable. In the compositor's time-tables, two hours of Balzac make one day."

If we can believe his indulgent critic, *Balzac*, despite the uncommon penetration into character apparent in his writings, was a very *Oliver Goldsmith* in all matters where worldly wisdom was requisite. Unable to dupe a simpleton, he was himself the most facile of that unhappy class. He was ever labouring to diminish a heavy amount of debt, and only augmented it with every new literary speculation. We give him much credit for never allowing his nieces to read his books. He enjoyed his release from his grim creditors but a short period; and now *Dumas*, his relentless foe during life, will pull down the moon, if not allowed by the widow to raise a monument to his memory, with this inscription, "TO BALZAC, BY HIS RIVAL, DUMAS."

We must find room for an extract from the sketch of *Frederick Lemaitre*. He made his debut at the *Ambigu*, in *l'Auberge des Adrets*, and was very badly received. He felt that

success in the part of *Macaire*, as then played, was out of the question, and was pensively walking along the Boulevards, devising some plan for ensuring success to his part.

“All at once he perceived a personage standing before the door of a cake shop, covered with indescribable drapery from head to foot. His clothes might once have been of irreproachable stuff and fashion; but now they hung about him in ragged stripes. Wretchedness and debauchery had left their marks everywhere; but still the wearer maintained an arrogant deportment, and the most excellent opinion of his individual merits.

Proudly poised on his old boots, broken and down at heel, and with a greasy and many cornered hat set jauntily on his left ear, he was daintily breaking, with the tips of his fingers, a halfpenny cake, carrying it to his lips with the gestures of a *petit maitre*, and eating it with all the air of a gourmand. His collation over, he drew a depending rag from his coat pocket, wiped his hands, brushed his filthy habits, and continued his route along the Boulevard. ‘That’s my very man,’ said Frederick. In effect, the type he had vaguely imagined, was before him in flesh and blood; Robert Macaire was found at last.

That very evening at the theatre, the comedian presented himself with a coat, hat, and boots, the very fellows of those worn by the man of the Boulevards. He imitated the gestures of this Brummel in tatters; his grotesque self-possession, and his sinister dignity, induced his fellow-comedian, Serres, to adopt an analogous style, and the piece obtained an unhopèd success.” • • • • •

Not content with presenting Macaire to those who paid for the exhibition, he occasionally gave gratuitous specimens according as circumstances offered.

“One morning at the *Café de Malte* the bill was presented after the déjeuner. He arose, threw ten francs on the counter, and was passing on. ‘But the bill is ten francs, fifty centimes,’ observed the tavern keeper. ‘Never mind,’ said Frederick: ‘the fifty centimes are for the garçon.’

In the winter of 1836 he was skating one afternoon on the pond of the Luxembourg. Some women were admiring the grace of his evolutions, when all at once one of them cried out, ‘I want my fifteen francs, M. Frederic; you have forgotten my fifteen francs.’ Our actor stopped. It was his old hostess of the *Quartier Latin*, at the time of his first engagement at the Odéon. ‘Your fifteen francs, Madame—what assurance! I forgot a periwig when leaving your house, it is in my old trunk in the recess; it cost me thirty-five francs: you owe me a louis consequently; I will call for it the first morning I am in your neighbourhood.’ He advanced the skate of his left foot and disappeared. Next day the landlady received the balance. Frederick never intended to repudiate, but he could not deny himself the pleasure of enacting *Robert* in the open air.”

We have omitted those parts in the *Contemporains* which present after all the best specimens of our author's pungent, lively, and sarcastic manner, namely, his replies to *Eugène Sue*, *Girardin*, *Jules Janin*, and others on whom he bestows his hearty hatred. They are too personal and venomous for our taste. Lively sallies and bon mots innumerable we have been obliged to leave behind. Some look as if their perpetrators were of Irish descent. A worthy giving vent to his hatred says of his foeman, 'I would see him drowning and not offer him a glass of water.' *Charles Nodier* gives an adroit rebuke to one of his young imitators who had been reading a specimen of his composition to the patriarch: 'My dear Wey, I fear the piece is without value, for at first I took it for one of my own.' Probably we will make up for our short comings when we resume our consideration of other literary and artistic celebrities on a future occasion.

Théophile Deschamps, at the instance, as we suppose, of some of the patients smarting under *Mirecourt's* stripes, writes a biography of the biographer; but the only opprobrium he can fling on the dreaded critic is that his surname is *Jacquot*, not *Mirecourt*, that though an anti-infidel and anti-socialist, he seldom hears Mass; and that his occupation resembles that of a broker, who cuts out valuable pictures for the sake of selling the frames.

Pierre Mazerolle comes into court after him, and avows himself the author of several of the biographies. He professes Socialism and infidelity, defends the writings and conduct of *Eugène Sue*, whom *Mirecourt* had drawn as a luxurious, unfeeling, and selfish sensualist, while pretending the most earnest sympathy for the poor. He acknowledges having assumed *Mirecourt's* Christian principles while in his pay; but exclaims against his patron's passing off his (*Mazerolle's*) productions as the fruit of his own brain while declaiming against the plagiarisms of *Dumas*. He reminds the English reader of *Samson Brass* and *Man-norm* in his humble appreciation of himself, and complacency in his abjection. With a very earnest desire to disparage his former employer, he can only convict him of making use of his (*Mazerolle's*) notes in the concoction of his biographies, trusting to hearsay, and being too much disposed to believe ill of his adversaries. He is compelled

to acknowledge his worth as a good citizen and honest man, and his never uttering praise by the inducement of bribery, direct or indirect.

So many good things remain to be gleaned in this field, that we shall, as already mentioned, resume our labours in a future number.

ART. III.—THE FRENCH COMEDY AT PARIS.

1. *Histoire Anecdotique du Théâtre, de la Littérature, et de diverses impressions contemporaines.* Par Charles Maurice. Paris: Henri Plon. 1856.
2. *Moliere and the French Classical Drama.* By Madame Blaz de Bury. Charles Knight. 1846.
3. *The French Stage and the French People, as illustrated in the Memoirs of M. Fleury.* Edited by Theodore Hook. Henry Colburn. 1841.

In a former article we gave some account of the rise of the national opera among the French, and their efforts to sustain it against the influence of foreign music, and the taste for Italian vocalism. No less remarkable has been their perseverance in upholding the drama of their country, although it did not meet with the same opposition and difficulties which beset the *Académie de Musique*. The perfection to which the art of composing plays, and especially of acting them, has been brought in France, has perhaps been scarcely ever equalled in any other country, not excepting England, at the head of whose stage stand the names of Garrick, Kean, Macready, Siddons, &c. The great critic of dramatic literature, Schlegel, has said that the French actors have brought the art of elocution to as great a degree of refinement as it can be conceived capable of. This may, perhaps, be owing to the peculiar adaptability of the French language to the purposes of conversation or dialogue, and also, in some measure, to the rigid system of governmental instruction adopted in

their first-class theatres. It is true that at various periods what is called the legitimate drama in England has been favored and supported by the people very liberally; but then long intervals have occurred during which nothing would go down with the public but extravaganzas, ballets, and farces; and at the present day the rage seems to be directed principally towards translations of French plays and vaudevilles. The English people are by no means so national in their dramatic taste as the French; it is true that they idolize Shakespeare, but then it is more in the closet than on the stage.

It is strange how the knowledge which the ancients undoubtedly possessed in a high degree of the resources of the histrionic art, was completely lost in the darkness of the middle ages. It would appear as if mankind had to commence over again to learn the tricks of the actor, and to go through centuries of apprenticeship to his profession. The pilgrims who rambled throughout Europe from town to town were almost the only performers of the 13th and 14th centuries, instituting mimic scenes and pantomimes in the market-places and at the fairs; their subjects were all taken from Holy Writ, and, no doubt, were intended to edify the passers-by, but were just as likely to create scandal and irreligion. In 1402 Charles VI. authorised a certain class of wanderers to perform sacred plays called *mysteres* or *soties*, and they were named Brethren of the Passion, from the invariable scenes represented by them. The Premonstratensian monks obtained subsequently a similar authorization, and their stage was of a very curious construction, consonant with the simplicity and ignorance of the period; it consisted of several scaffoldings, one above the other, the highest of which represented heaven and the lowest hell, with a gaping mouth to swallow up unrepenting sinners. Instead of side-scenes were a row of large shelves on which the performers rested from their fatigues, without withdrawing themselves from the eyes of the spectators.

The Parisians were not, however, very long in getting weary of the uniformly sacred character of these dramas, and soon began to mix up a little of the occurrences of the world on the stage, as is seen in the titles of two very early plays of that age, "*Le Mystère du Chevalier, qui donne*

sa femme au diable," and "*Le Mystère de la Sainte Hostie*," in which latter was introduced a Jew, who having communicated, brought home the Holy Particles and endeavoured to practise tortures upon them. Subsequently the leader of the *procureurs* (solicitors) of Paris, or as he was otherwise styled, king of the Basoche, on account of the valuable aid given by that body to the real monarch against the populace, was granted certain privileges of marshalling his men, some 3000 strong, in the Pré aux clercs, then a grassy bank of the Seine, and of afterwards acting *moralités* or farces in the presence of royalty. Another company, named the *Enfans sans soucis*, were much fostered by Louis XII., who found that they disengaged the attention of his loving subjects from too nice a scrutiny of his acts of government. Two comic pieces of this time have come down to us, "*L'Abus du monde*" and "*Pathelin*," the latter of which is still a well-known subject in the country parts of France, wherein a cunning lawyer having outwitted by some trick a simple *bourgeois*, is himself in turn outwitted with the same trick by a peasant.

Under Henry II. a good attempt seems to have been made at original tragedy by a young man of noble family named Jodelle. He wrote a play named *Cleopatra*, and having obtained leave to establish a theatre at the Hotel de Rheims, he assumed himself the character of the fair Egyptian, and delighted the court with his performances. Comedy in prose was not, however, introduced before 1562, an innovation on the former doggerel verse productions, which is due to the Brothers de la Taille. In 1600 Paris contained two theatres, that of the *Troupe de la Comédie Française*, which would seem to have been held in the Hotel de Bourgogne, afterwards a great rival of Molière's company, and that of the Marais, where most probably were performed the tragic or serious dramas of the period.

Before Molière's time the French Academy usurped complete dominion over all writers for the stage; whether composers of tragedy or comedy. The great Corneille had written six pieces of the former and one of the latter, entirely subservient to the classical rules of the unities laid down by the governing judges, before he felt himself sufficiently strong to hazard an attempt at independent, untrammelled

writing, in the style, which has been since called the *Romantique*, in contra-distinction to the *Classique*, or that according to the rigid poetical doctrines of Aristotle. Comedy, however, at this time, owed its progress in France to an exterior influence and example, as Molière himself afterwards testified, namely to the form which it has assumed in Spain, where dialogue was spun out not only into acts, but into successive days, in the plays of Calderon and Lopez de Vega. A drama, by Corneille, named "*Le Menteur*," partially translated from the Spanish, formed the foundation and gave the idea to the celebrated French comic writer, of many of his situations and characters.

Molière, whose original name was Jean Baptiste Poquelin, was born on the 15th January, 1622, at Paris, in the Rue St. Honoré at the corner of the Rue des Vieilles Etuves. His father held the office of valet-de-chambre tapissier to the king, and endeavoured to give his son the best education he could, at the Jesuits' college at Clermont. Here he met the famous Gassendi, and had, as school-fellows, many who were afterwards celebrated characters of the age; among the rest, Prince de Conti, who favoured and patronised him very much in after life. At the age of nineteen he succeeded his father in the small office which he held at court, and was, therefore, obliged to go to reside at Paris.

At this time there existed, near the Pont Neuf, a small theatre, maintained by a troupe chiefly composed of two brothers and two sisters named Bédarts. They subsequently changed the place of their performances to a tennis-court, called "*La Croix Blanche*," where Molière imbibed very soon an insuperable tendency towards the stage. His family, wishing to dissuade him from following what appeared so idle and profitless a pursuit, sent a pedagogue to reason with him and withdraw him from the pernicious influence. The poor man knew not with whom he had to deal; he was himself so over-persuaded by the youth's arguments and convictions, that he turned actor and abandoned his wearisome life of schoolmaster. Young Poquelin, in order to avoid bringing any stain upon his family name as much as possible, assumed that of Molière, from whence derived it is not well known. He then joined the Bédarts, and their troupe having assumed the title of the "*Illustre Théâtre*," they set out on a tour through the provinces.

During three or four years they wandered about from town to town, always patronised by the Prince de Conti, who never forgot his early connexion with Molière, and having brought out "La Thébaidé," a crude tragedy by the young dramatist, at Bourdeaux, they at length settled for a while at Lyons. Here, at length, his genius shone forth; "l'Etourdi" was produced in the year 1653, and a complete revolution effected in the manners and customs of the French stage. The public were so completely taken by surprise with this comedy, that the whole company of a rival house waited in a body on Molière, and begged that he would allow them to join their fortunes to his. Among these deserters were several, who afterwards proved the brightest ornaments of their profession, such as La Grange, Du Croisy, Duparc, Mdle. Duparc, Mdle. de Brie, and others.

The Prince de Conti now endeavoured to prevail on the comedian to accept the office of his private secretary, but Molière had got an innate love for his calling, and went to Paris in 1658, where he was shortly dignified with the post of Director of the Troupe de Monsieur, afterwards the Regent Philippe d'Orleans. Their theatre was at first established in the Salles des Gardes in the old Louvre, where "Nicomède" and "Le Docteur Amoureux" were brought out with great success; a removal soon took place to the Petit Bourbon, which being demolished in 1660, to make way for the new colonnade of the Louvre, the company were finally located at the Palais Royal. Their name was changed to that of Troupe du Roi in 1666, and after Molière's death, the actors of the Hotel de Bourgogne and the Marais having joined, the whole body combined to found the present Theatre Français. To Molière, therefore, may be ascribed the first rise of comedy as it exists at present in France, both as to composition and acting. Before his time the one had nothing remarkable either in character or dialogue, it was crude and without symmetry; the other was conducted without any unity or system, very little better than the *sottises* and *moralités* of the middle ages.

The reason why many of Molière's plays produced such an impression on the public mind of that period, was the same which gave celebrity to the ancient comic authors, Aristophanes, Plautus, Terence, and others. They were written to scourge the absurdities and vices of the time, and to

ridicule peculiarities in the manners of society. The occasions of their production were, in some instances, admirably chosen, and calculated to give ten-fold effect to the hidden satire of their scenes. An instance of this is found in the "*Précieuses Ridicules*," which was brought out in December, 1659, and having been played once on the first day, the public desire to see its performance became so enthusiastic, that the actors were obliged to resume their parts twice in the next twenty-four hours. Its subject was taken from the *Côterie* of the Hotel de Rambouillet, the female members of which indulged in the most ridiculous absurdities of speech and action. Their names were changed to those of ancient heroines and shepherdesses; they went to bed of a morning to receive their visitors, who were introduced by gentlemen, appointed directors of the "*ruelles*," which were designated the passages at each side of the *salon*; the most nonsensical formalities were gone through by the aspirants to the privileges of the society, and high-toned semi-Bucolic phraseology made use of during these *petits levées*. *Les Précieuses*, as these ladies styled themselves, were so successfully satirized, that they were obliged to renounce their nonsense; their *côterie* was broken up. Ménage, one of their followers, said on this occasion to his friend Chapelain—"we must, from henceforward, like Clovis, despise what we adored, and adore what we despised."

"*Sganarelle*" was produced in 1660, to ridicule one of the most prevalent customs of the age; that of paying extravagant attentions to married ladies, and the unpleasant positions into which the husbands were sometimes brought by that absurd practice. It is said that a rich bourgeois of Paris, who had married a handsome young wife, and had some reason to think that he had not been treated properly by her, conceived that he was specially pointed at by this comedy. He ran through the entire circle of his acquaintances complaining of the allusion, and even attempted to get the piece suppressed.

Molière was remarkable for his want of facility in finishing off his productions. Several of the very best lay by him for some years before he could bring himself to complete them, although at the dictation of the court he sometimes made an extraordinary effort, and brought out entire

pieces in a few days. These, however, proved afterwards to be the least worth of his performances. Fouquet, the celebrated intendant of finances, obtained from him "*Les Facheux*," to be presented before the king at Vaux, the intendant's private mansion, on the 17th August, 1661. On this occasion *entrées de ballet* were introduced between the acts for the first time. In one of those Mdlle. Béjart appeared, coming forth from a shell, which suddenly opening produced a magical effect on the spectators. Fontaine afterwards made the following verses on this scene :

" Peut on voir nymphe plus gentille
Qu'était Béjart l'autre jour ?
Lorsqu'on vit ouvrir sa coquille,
Toute le monde disait à l'entour,
Lorsqu'on vit ouvrir sa coquille,
Voici la mère d'Amour."

This fête, given by the unfortunate Fouquet led to his downfall, as is very well told by Madame Blaz de Bury in the following passage :

" Louise de la Vaillière had been named maid of honour to Madame, the sister-in-law of the king, and from her modesty, gentleness, and shy demeanour, remained obscure and unknown in the midst of Louis's brilliant court. These very qualities perhaps, so uncommon in the ladies of these days, and her graceful elegance, found favor for Mdlle. de la Vaillière in the eyes of the Superintendent Fouquet. The extreme coldness with which she received his advances astonished as well as annoyed him, and with true financial taste and breeding, he commissioned Madame du Plessis Bellievre to offer to the youthful fair one a couple of hundred thousand francs as the price of her honour. A second and still more disdainful refusal having met this infamous proposition, the superintendent suspected a cause of which he was not long in discovering the positive existence. The mutual affection of Louis XIV. and Mdlle. de la Vaillière was soon revealed by his spies to the watchful Fouquet ; and one day meeting the maid of honour in the anti-chamber of her royal mistress, he could not resist the desire of telling her he could account now for the refusal of his offers, as he was aware of the object of her attachment. Twelve hours had not elapsed ere the king was acquainted with the whole history, and the ruin of Fouquet was resolved. So great was his jealous rage, that he could scarcely be persuaded to dissemble a short time with a man, whose wealth and power had secured to him unnumbered adherents. Louis was full of his vengeful projects when the superintendent solicited from him the honour of receiving him and the court at Vaux. The king accepted, and the splendor of the very reception he met with only served to exasperate him still more. But one circumstance above all had nearly made him forget the part

he had imposed on himself; in the private cabinet of the superintendent the first object that met his view was a portrait of Louise de la Vaillière! Enraged beyond all bearing, the first impulse of the king was to have Fouquet instantaneously arrested. 'What!' exclaimed the queen-mother, Anne of Austria, 'in the midst of an entertainment you have accepted from him?' These words brought Louis to his senses, and he consented to defer his vengeance; but Fouquet was apprised of his danger in the midst of the fête by a note from Madame du Plessis Bellievre, and it was with the certainty of his approaching fate before his eyes that he led the way to the theatre, and smilingly listened to Pellisson's prologue, which represents Louis as

'Young, generous, wise, victorious, brave, august,
Severe as kindly, powerful as he's just,
Ruling his passions as he rules the state.'

Louis XIV. however, notwithstanding his anger, retained sufficient empire over himself not only to listen to Molière's piece but to say to him after it was finished, 'There goes an original,' pointing out M. de Soyecourt, the *grand veneur*. 'whom you have omitted to copy.' This hint was enough for the poet: in four and twenty hours the famous scene of the chasseur was complete, and the king, says Ménage, who recounts this anecdote, 'had the satisfaction, at the first representation of this comedy at Fontainebleau, on the 27th of the same month, of seeing added to it the scene his majesty had had the goodness to suggest.'"

To the *Facheux* there succeeded in 1662 "l'Ecole des Femmes," which was criticized rather severely by Boursault in his *Portrait du Peintre*. Molière took his revenge in *l'Impromptu de Versailles*, when Montfleury, the actor of the theatre of the Hotel de Bourgogne, fell foul of him, but was stopped by the bully Cyrano de Bergeyrac, who said that actor was too large to be well thrashed all in one day. Racine wrote for Molière the drama, "les Frères Ennemis," and gave it shortly after to the Hotel de Bourgogne. Molière, however, was at this time gratified by the court with a pension of 1000 francs.

The comic poet's penchant for the female sex was of rather a heterogeneous description. He began with Mdlle Béjart, the elder, one of the company in which he originally engaged. He afterwards transferred his affections to Mdlle. Duparc, who had deserted him at Lyons, but on account of her pride and disdain, notwithstanding his persevering attentions, he confided his misfortune to Mdlle. du Brie, who consoled him with these words, "Be of good cheer, these wounds will not hurt you, they have been more fatal

to myself than to you." She was kind and gentle towards him, and such a favorite with the public that at the age of sixty when she gave up a part to a younger beauty, more suitable for the *rôle*, the audience called her out, and insisted on her acting.

Molière at length settled down with Mdle. Armande Béjart, whom he married in 1662. She is described as having been a coquette, guilty of the greatest absurdities, intriguing with the Abbé de Richelieu, the Comte de Guiche, and Lauzun. The comedian wrote her picture in the "Bourgeois Gentilhomme," act iii., sc. 9, and satirized her again in "Le Mariage Forcé," and "La Princesse d'Elide," in 1664. Montfleury wrote a scurrilous pamphlet against her and her husband, but Louis XIV., to shew his estimation of the poet's character, stood himself as sponsor for Molière's first child. She had a great antipathy to Baron, the best actor of the company, and finally compelled him to fly from Paris. The unsuited pair were at length separated for a period of three years, when the comedian returned again to his constant friend, Mdle. Du Brie.

It would be tedious to go through the different circumstances which attended the bringing out of many of the finest of this author's comedies, "Don Juan" and l'Amour Medecin," in 1665; "Le Misanthrope" and "Le Medecin Malgré lui," in 1666; "Tartuffe" in 1667; "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme" in 1670; and "Les Fourberies de Scapin" in 1671. The first and the fifth were at first interdicted, as too strong for the age. Molière himself acted in the "Misanthrope." M. de Montansier, who had been told that he was pointed at in the "Tartuffe," went in a rage to the theatre, but at the end of the performance came forth in a transport of joy and admiration, saying that he hoped he was designated by the "Tartuffe," as it would send him down to posterity along with the name of the poet.

At this time the company of the Palais Royal received the title of Comédiens du Roi, and Molière obtained a pension of 7000 livres. A privilege of a very peculiar nature was granted to certain regiments of the guards and others, the entry into the pit of the theatre gratis. This was resisted by the porter, on the first evening, very vigorously, but he paid for his temerity, for he fell pierced by the sword thrusts of four or five officers. Further

scenes of violence would have occurred in the body of the house but that Baron, then a youth of nineteen, appeared on the stage in the character of a decrepid old man, and begged of them to spare his declining years, and prevented any further outrages. “*Le Medecin malgré lui*” appears to have been originated in a quarrel which Molière had with his landlady, a doctor’s wife, who insisted on Madame Molière’s paying a higher rent, and turned her out on refusal. The play is said to have been ordered, written and represented in the space of five days.

The poet numbered as his friends the first literary men of the day, among the rest Boileau and Chapelle. The latter was a notorious drinker, and Boileau undertook one evening over his cups to cure him of his bad habit ; Chapelle, however, turned the tables completely on his Mentor, who by degrees insensibly imbibed such a quantity of wine, as to be in a worse state at the end than the person he wished to correct. Chapelle afterwards epigrammatized him in the following lines :—

“ Bon Dieu ! que j’épargnai de bile
Et d’injures au genre humain,
Quand renversant ta cruche à l’huile,
Je te mis le verre à la main.”

Louis XIV., who had the greatest passion for private theatricals in his court, revived the fêtes in which he and his court played some of the principal parts. The “*Ballet des Muses*” was produced, and during one of its scenes Madame Molière gave a blow to the actor Baron, who, thereupon, fled from the stage of Paris. The valets-du-chambre, of whose body Molière was a member by succession to his father, refused to eat with the comedian, as beneath them in rank. This being reported to the king, he caused the poet to be brought into his bed-chamber at the *petit levée*, and making him sit at a table near, sent him one of the dishes, which *en cas de nuit* (as a night refection) were prepared for majesty alone. This was considered a great stretch of condescension, none but certain members of the royal family being ever permitted to eat off the very same board with royalty.

One of the best traits of Molière’s character is that of his conduct towards an old player named Mondorge, who

had formerly accompanied him through the provinces, and had commissioned Baron to obtain for him some gratuity from the affluent poet. The moment his name was mentioned Moliere remembered him, and asked Baron what he ought to give him. The reply was that four pistoles would be amply sufficient. Moliere, however, gave four pistoles from himself, and sent also twenty, as from Baron, "in order," as he said, "that he may feel he owes more to you than to me."

"Le Tartuffe," when it first came out, was played under the name of "l'Imposteur," in consequence of a wicked pamphlet which had been written against it. The President Lamoignon and the parliament of Paris ordered its complete suppression, whereupon the players, La Grange and La Thorillière, went to Louis XIV's camp before Lille, with a petition from Molière, ending in these words: "It is certain, sire, that I must not be expected to write any more comedies, if the Tartuffes are to have the upper hand." The clergy were very vehement in its condemnation; the Archbishop of Paris forbid its being read, under pain of excommunication. The person aimed at in the principal character was the Abbé de la Roquette, a constant attendant or hanger on of the Duchesse de Longueville, and who enjoyed a rather gallant notoriety. He was afterwards made Bishop of Autun, on which Chénier has since made the following happy epigram:

De Roquette dans son temps, Talleyrand dans le notre,
Furent tous deux prélats d'Autun.
Tartuffe était le portrait de l'un :
Ah ! si Molière eut connu l'autre.

The king afterwards in February, 1669, gave permission for it to be played in its present form. The name has been attributed to different sources; *tartufoli*, the Italian for truffles; and from *truffer*, or *tartuffer*, which in that age meant to deceive.

Gaudouin, a rich bourgeois, was the person pointed at in the "Bourgeois Gentilhomme," which, on its first appearance before the court, in 1670, was very coldly received; until the king himself, on the second occasion, remarked it to be one of the best he had seen, when it attained its complete celebrity. The "Amants Magnifiques," produced in

1670. and "Psyche" in 1671; to which Corneille, Quinault, and the musician Lulli contributed, were complete failures, because written to suit the extravagant caprices and taste of the court. Madame Moliere, at this time, fell desperately in love with Baron, the actor, with whom she had been formerly always at war, but in consequence of his complete rejection of her advances, she returned to Moliere's house, and gained a complete ascendant over him, to the exclusion of la du Brie, until the period of his death.

"Les Fourberies de Scapin" was brought out in the year 1671, and produced no great effect; but the "Femmes Savantes" in the next year, written against the *precieuses*, become blues and mathematicians, was very highly appreciated. The ladies of the Hotel de Rambouillet had turned their attention from the absurdities of mannerism, to those of pedantry and scientific extremes. The Abbé Cottin and Ménage were the principal directors of their coterie, and were sharply satirized as Trissotin and Vadius, in the comedy. Moliere himself acted the part of Chrysale, and is reported to have surpassed the other members of his company.

He was offered, shortly after, by the Academy to be elected a member of their learned body, if he would consent to give up his profession of an actor. He stoutly refused, on the ground that he could not now belie the manner of living, which he had followed all his lifetime. His opinion of it was not, however, of the best description, as may be seen from the advice he gave to a young man, who wished to enter his company, although possessed of a competence: that if he were beginning life again, he would choose the meanest handicraft, sooner than the profession of an actor, the miseries of whose existence, the public were not at all aware of, and could not appreciate.

"Le Malade Imaginaire" was produced in 1673. It was his last piece, and during the rehearsals of it he labored under some serious internal disorder. In fact his health had been declining for many years, principally owing to the ungrateful way in which his wife had repaid his affection. He should have acted the part of Argan, but when going through the preparatory rehearsal, a small blood-vessel burst, which disabled him from continuing. He felt his end approaching, and crawled home, disembling the

serious nature of his malady. His wife was not to be found, though he sent for her in every direction; he expired in the arms of two nuns, *sœurs quêteuses*, who were in the habit of resorting to his house for alms.

Such was the miserable end of this great writer, and censor of his age. The indignation of the clergy in Paris against him was so great, that the curé de St. Eustache refused to allow his body to be buried in consecrated earth. Even the king, though delighted by the comedian when alive, and always a strong supporter of his productions, was with great difficulty, and after a considerable lapse of time, induced to sign an order for his burial. This took place by torchlight in the Rue Montmartre, but the body was afterwards transferred from place to place, and finally, in 1817, lodged in Père la Chaise. Lekain, the great comedian, proposed at the Théâtre Français, that a subscription should be entered into to provide a monument; this motion resulted only in a bust, which adorns the *Foyer* of the Theatre Français. Regnier, in later years (1839), revived the subject, and succeeded in erecting the present beautiful construction over his tomb, from the hands of the sculptor Visanti.

Molière's age at his death was only fifty-one. We have gone somewhat into detail as to his life and writings, because he was the founder of French comedy, and, moreover, of the peculiar institution which still supports the national stage of that country, with very slight modification. As we have already shown, before his time, the performances were of a crude nature, without plot or connexion, the dialogue carried on in that absurd manner, which may be observed in the pieces of Mdlle. Scudéri. He originated the play of character, manners and plot, and was particularly successful, on account of the applicability of his satire to the manners and personages of his age. It is singular, however, that he attributes a great deal of the excellence of his own performances to the ideas of the proper construction of comedies, which he got from "Le Menteur" of Corneille, a play founded on the Spanish "La Verdad Suspechosa." This introduced particular characteristics of action and intrigue, unknown before on the French stage.

The "Troupe du Roi" remained for a year after Molière's death, under the direction of his widow, but then, in con-

sequence of the haughty temper of the lady, and her constant disagreements with the members of the body, it was broken up. Baron, with others, went into the provinces for a time, and shortly afterwards retired from the stage, to return to it again at the end of twenty-nine years. He was so broken down when he re-appeared, that although he obtained great success from his perfection of acting, yet the audience could not well hear all he said. A spectator once called out to him to speak "plus haut," when the actor retorted by telling his appellant to speak "plus bas." He had such an opinion of himself that he used to say: "It required a lapse of 1,000 years to produce another Cæsar, but it would take 10,000 years to bring forth another Baron."

All the members of the "Troupe" were *gentilshommes* or nobly connected. Floridor de Soulas came of German extraction, and at first an officer, as was also La Thorillière, a captain in one of the regiments of guards. Ducroisy became famous for his playing of Tartuffe; and Beauval for his acting of female characters, which at first were rarely performed by women. The only other part which the latter could go through creditably, was that of a "niais" or half-fool; a curious contrast with the vivacity of women. Brécourt was obliged to fly from France into Holland, in consequence of having killed a coachman by accident. He was, however, afterwards allowed to return by the king, in respect of certain services he rendered in that country, in hunting out a refugee. Louis XIV. had such an opinion of his acting, that on one occasion he said of him, "That man would make stones laugh." In 1678, at a boar-hunt at Fontainebleau, he delighted the court by a personal combat with the animal, in which he came off victorious by despatching his adversary with a single sword-thrust.

In 1680 the three companies of Paris, the Hotel de Bourgogne, the Marais, and the remains of Molière's joined to form one body, under the name of the "Troupe du Roi, ou du Théâtre Français," when the foundations were laid of the present society of the latter name. The rules and regulations, originally established by Molière, were adopted, with some slight modifications, and exist to a great extent in our own time. The performers were their own managers, inspected and supervised by the gentlemen of the king's

bedchamber, of whose body, it may be recollected, that Molière was a member. There were *sociétaires* and *pensionnaires*; the former having a right to a division of profits, and the latter paid regular salaries, subject to dismissal until elected to the higher rank. Twenty-two shares were made of the profits on the receipts, and each associate was entitled to a whole, three-quarters, half, or quarter shares, according to his standing and influence in the troupe. Small deductions were made from the surplus to form a fund for pensions, to be paid to retired or invalid actors. The beginners in this species of class found great difficulty in mounting up the ladder of promotion, the higher rungs of which were held on to most tenaciously by the old subjects.

Almost the only contemporaries of Molière in comedy, worthy of note, were, Scarron the satirist, Racine and Boursault. The first is well known as the husband of the famous Mdle. d'Aubigné, afterwards Madame de Maintenon. He said of his wife, that her fortune consisted of four louis d'or, two large coquettish eyes, a fine bust, a beautiful pair of hands, and much wit; but that her settlement would be immortality, as the wives of kings were little known, but Scarron's spouse would live for ever. He died in 1660, having been completely paralysed before his marriage. His contempt of death was so great that he said of it, "*Par ma foi, je ne me serais jamais imaginé qu'il fut si facile de se moquer de la mort.*" His plays of Jodelet and Don Japhet were gross burlesques, for which the genius of the French language is not at all fit. The latter imitated from the Spanish, disfigures the original, and, as Schlegel says, contains gross mystifications. Louis XIV. when young was so pleased by the "*Héritier Ridicule*" that he caused it to be played three times before him in the one day.

Racine's *Plaideurs* was, and is still, considered as only second to some of Molière's, although it appears to us as rather a heavy piece, not deserving the praise it has obtained of being full of witty sayings and strong paintings of character. Boursault, who came to Paris in 1651, speaking only *patois*, and refused the offer of Corneille to have him made a member of the Academy, produced several curious farces styled "*Pieces à tiroirs*," in which one actor performed several characters, and was enabled to shew great diversity

of talent. These were imitations of "Les Facheux" of Molière, but too long and diffuse to retain any command of the stage. His "Mercure Galant," "Æsopé à la Ville," and "Æsopé à la Cour," obtained some vogue, but never raised their author above mediocrity. He criticised rather severely Molière's "Ecole des Femmes" in a piece styled "Le Portrait du Peintre," and was well answered in the "Impromptu de Versailles." Boileau and he were for some time enemies, in consequence of a pamphlet he wrote called "La Satyre des Satyres," but he afterwards assisted with 200 louis the unfortunate poet, who lay at the Waters of Bourbonne in great distress.

From the time of Molière until that of Beaumarchais, that is to say for a space of nearly one hundred years, no name appears which can be ranked in the same class with the great founder of the classical French comedy. Regnard, who began, as he says himself, an adventurer travelling from country to country, was only of a secondary character. He went to Italy at first, where he gambled to a great extent, and with such success that he saved some 10,000 crowns over his expenses. Falling in love with a beautiful Provençale, they embarked on the Mediterranean for Genoa, and outside the bay of Nice were captured by Algerine pirates who sold them into slavery, Regnard fetching 1500 crowns and the lady only 1000. After two years of captivity he was redeemed by his family for a sum of 20,000 crowns, and then set out on a tour with some friends to the north of Europe. They reached the 65th degree of latitude in Lapland, when, having ascended a very high mountain, in order to view, as they conceived, the extremity of the land in that direction, they left their names and a Latin quatrain, indicative of their exploits, engraved upon a stone at the summit. On his return to Paris he was engaged in composing pieces for the Theatre Français from the year 1684 to 1708. His two best plays are "Le Joueur" and "Le Legataire Universel," the former naturally and forcibly sketched, the latter a sad style of farce, neither of them to be compared to the writings of his great predecessor.

A great deterioration now occurred in the productions of the French stage for a considerable period. The high comedy, in which the principal characters were drawn from

the upper classes or the noblesse, where it was *de rigueur* that each principal personage should carry a hat under his arm, a sword by his side, and appear in full dress, degenerated into lax morality, and the representation of adventurous heroes. The man of the world, such as "l'homme de Bonnes Fortunes" of Bezenval, and the "Chevalier à la mode" of Dancourt, became the type of the first parts, and injured very much the tone of the comedy of the age. Destouches, who next appeared, though no wit, was yet moderate, quiet and perfectly honorable in his views, and helped very much to redeem the sinking character of the drama. He had been originally in the army, and present at the siege of Landau, under Louis XIV. Retiring from that profession, he set about writing some pieces, one of which, "Le Curieux Impertinent," caused a great noise in Switzerland about the year 1710. He subsequently went to England with the cardinal Dubois, and aided the latter very much in obtaining the desired position of archbishop of Cambrai. He was offered the post of minister at the court of Russia, but declined it, preferring to employ himself in the production of comedies, two of which, his best, "Le Philosophe Marié," and "Le Glorieux," obtained considerable celebrity in their day, though not at all approaching the standard set by Molière. The academy honored him by electing him one of their members.

Marivaux, a contemporary of the last, brought out a very peculiar species of comedy, nearly approaching to those which had appeared in the French theatres before Molière's time. He was reckoned one of the "bêtes" of Madame Tencin, who had replaced the *precieuses* of the Hotel Rambouillet, by a coterie of wits of nearly as extravagant a character. Fontenelle and the philosopher Helvetius shewed a strong friendship towards him, the latter having settled upon him a considerable pension. He produced a vast number of plays, all nearly of the same character, the best of which, "La surprise de l'Amour," in 1727, may be taken as a type of the rest. His manner is not without some charm, but it is so enveloped in a superfluity of words that it falls flat upon the ears of the audience. There are no distinct characters, no intrigues to give interest to his pieces, and the sharpness of his wit is blunted by the minuteness of diction into which it is carried away.

This style has received from the name of its author the appellation of *Marivaudage*, which spoiled the taste of French comedy for nearly half a century. It was of him that the Abbé des Fontaines said "*Marivaux brodait à petits points sur des canevas de toile d'araignée*," (Marivaux embroidered with a fine needle cloth made from a spider's web). Another saying of him by a lady has been also preserved, "He fatigues himself and me by making me walk a hundred leagues on a stage bill."

Lagrange the actor gained some reputation by a farce named "*Le Roi de Cocagne*," of too burlesque a character to be placed in the same category with classical comedy. Of the same description are the productions of Dufresny, who was Comptroller of Gardens under Louis XIV., and tried his hand at small comic pieces. His "*Chevalier Joueur*" and "*L'Esprit de Contradiction*" are said to have sparkled with wit, and the wit absolutely original. Though Voltaire may be placed in the second rank as a tragedian, below Racine and Corneille, yet he cannot hold even so devoted a place in his comedies. Other names, such as La Fontaine, Subligny, Champmeslé, Palaguat, J. B. Rousseau, Le Sage, De Moissy, and Bouciquault, who enlivened the stage for a short time, may be mentioned here, but any notice of their works or lives would take up too much space for our short limits.

Two other authors deserve to be noticed here; Piron, who produced "*La Metromanie*" in 1738, and Gresset, the contributor of "*Le Méchant*." The former began life in Paris as a copyist at forty sous by the day, under the chevalier Toquet, and throwing up this employment in disgust, was engaged by Francisque to compose some pieces for the Opera Comique. The first of these, "*Arlequin Deucalion*," he finished in three days. Crebillon, however, managed to persuade him to change the direction of his talents to a nobler aim, and he produced, in 1728, "*l'Ecole des Pères*," a respectable comedy, and subsequently several tragedies. His chef d'œuvre "*La Metromanie*," in which he ridicules the mania, at that time common, of writing verses, to which he was himself strongly addicted, has been recognized by critics as full of intrigue, style, comic wit, and gaiety. It holds, however, only a second rank, as the subject is not one calculated to produce any high description of character.

Piron was famous for his epigrams, in which he indulged at the expense of his most intimate friends, amongst the rest the Abbé Desfontaines.

He joined Voltaire, La Mothe, Gresset, and other authors of the time, in a league against the comedians, who endeavoured to restrict the remuneration given for stage pieces, and to keep all the profits to themselves. The two Crebillons and several other men of letters united to form a society, which held periodical suppers at *le Caveau*, whence all pretensions and pedantry were banished, and wit reigned uncontrolled. Piron was asked once to correct his play of "Ferdinand Cortes," as Voltaire had often done before. He refused, however, peremptorily, saying, "Parbleu, gentlemen, I'm satisfied he does, he works in marquetry, whereas I cast in bronze." He had many friends, who gave him assistance from time to time; the Comte de Livry a rent-charge of 600 livres; another funded charge for 600 livres, by an anonymous correspondent, through the hands of a notary; and Montesquieu obtained for him a pension of 1000 livres, on his being disappointed of entrance into the Academy. He married Mdlle. Quenaudon, then fifty-three years old, who possessed an annuity of 2000 livres, and lived very happily in her company for many years.

Gresset, born at Amiens, obtained great celebrity at first, in 1735, by a burlesque poem called "Ver-Vert," in which the adventures of a famous parrot of Nevers were rehearsed in a most agreeable style of *badinage*. Jean Baptiste Rousseau admired this performance so much, and was so much struck with its originality, that he called it a literary phenomenon. He wrote, also, several comedies, the best of which, "Le Méchant," is remarkable for the superiority of its verses over those of the other productions of the age, many of them having since become French proverbs. It paints, with considerable force, the manners, tone, jargon, and character of the upper classes, both before and after the regency. He was admitted to the honours of the Academy, and enjoyed, for some years, the esteem of Louis XVI.

We shall mention the names of only two actresses of this age, who are not spoken of in the Memoirs of M. Fleury, Mdlle. Gaussin and Adrienne Le Couvreur; the former

gained her principal reputation by playing some of Voltaire's tragedies. On one occasion, a sentinel who was placed at the side scene became so affected by her touching expression that he burst into tears and let his firelock fall from his hand, more attentive to the actress's part than the duties of his position. A famous Cræsus named Bouret, who had given her a bank draft signed, in blank, in his youth, when he became financier was very much alarmed at the use which Mdlle. Gaussin might make of it: she, hearing of his anxiety, sent him back the note with these words written into it, "Je promets d'aimer Gaussin toute ma vie." Bouret sent her back a porringer full of gold double louis, as a recompense. She did not often play in comedy, but even at the age of fifty she was charming in the parts of young heroines, particularly in that of Lucinda in *L'Oracle*. She retired from the stage, with Mdlle. Dangeville, in 1763.

Adrienne Le Couvreur, whose name has come down to us in a recent well-known drama, became a very principal actress in her time. At fifteen years of age she performed in private circles, and was much applauded. She particularly distinguished herself by acting the part of Celimène, in the "*Misanthrope*," and her high attainments in tragic representation. It was said of her, as of Baron, that she spoke tragedy in a natural unaffected tone, without any trivial familiarity, and unencumbered by the emphasis of declamation. Her devotion to an admirer, the Comte Maurice de Saxe, is well known. On one occasion she sold all her jewels and ornaments to raise a sum of which he was in need, some say 40,000 livres. A strange rumour on which the subject of the drama, above alluded to, is founded, has assigned her sudden death to her being poisoned, either by her lover in a fit of jealousy, or by some one of her rivals in the histrionic art. This is not, however, consonant with the fact; she met her death from an inward hæmorrhage, which carried her off quite suddenly, in the year 1730. It was with great difficulty, that her friends could procure a place of burial for her body, at the corner of the Rue de Bourgogne, on the banks of the Seine.

The notices of actors and actresses, who adorned the French comedy before the time of Fleury, are so scant and uninteresting, that it would be useless to waste any more space in running over their names. This celebrated come-

dian flourished from the year 1757 to the end of the century, and consequently was a contemporary of some of the greatest artistes which the Theatre Français ever produced. The names of Mdlle. Dumesnil, Mdlle. Clarion, Préville, Dugazon, Molé, Mdlle. Contat, Sainval, Mdlle. Mars, Talma, and a variety of others, occur dispersed through his pages, which may be considered as a species of chronicle of the stage occurrences in France, during the lapse of half a century. He made his debut in the character of the "Laquais mal Vêtu" in the "Le Glorieux" of Destouches, before the ex-king of Poland, Stanislaus Leckzinsky, who at that time (1757) held his court at Nancy. Although only seven years of age at the time, his performance gained him some notoriety. A charming sister of his, named Felicité, inspired a young noble, the Vicomte Clairval de Passy, with a violent passion, to such an extent that the Vicomte married the young lady, but instead of raising her to his rank, lowered himself by taking up the profession of comedian, and assuming the name of Sainville.

Fleury was engaged by Voltaire, along with other members of his company, to proceed to Ferney, and perform some of that author's pieces there. The young actor, however, seems to have taken great liberties with the philosopher, pulling his wig, and otherwise disregarding his pretensions to respect. These escapades only produced a mild reprimand, accompanied by a curl of the mouth to the side of the face.—"*Per-met-tez moi, mon-sieur, de Fleu-ry,*" (and then he added in a milder tone) "to tell you, that I am not royal enough to understand pages tricks. Remember that at the court of Ferney, wigs are respected, in consideration of what may happen to be within them." Fleury afterwards went to Troyes, where he fell in with a strange player, named Paulin Goy, for whom he conceived a great friendship, and in whose company he had the following amusing adventure :

"One day we had a very droll quarrell but comical as its subject was, it might have had a tragic termination, We lodged together, and everything we possessed was common property between us. I know not whether it is on record, that Orestes and Pylades wore each other's tunics, but Paulin and I united our wardrobes together, and wore one another's clothes indiscriminately. Our wardrobe thus united, was by no means badly stocked ; and it enabled us to dress, not merely in respectable style, but even to exhibit a degree of ele-

gance, when occasion called for it. Among our best articles of dress were two pairs of inexpressibles, the one of black cloth, the other of black silk; and we entered into a mutual agreement, that the most elegant of the two pairs, viz., that of the black silk, should be worn by each of us alternately. Paulin adhered to the compact with the strictest fidelity, but my honour yielded to the promptings of vanity. I violated the treaty, and sported the silk inexpressibles three times in succession. Paulin took no notice of this, but having received an invitation to dine out, he very civilly asked me to surrender up the visiting suit. He fixed upon a most unfortunate day for making his request. I had learned that Mdlle. Clermonde, a provincial actress of great celebrity, was that day expected to pass through Troyes, on her way to Amiens. Her beauty was not less highly extolled than her talents. A feeling which I cannot define, a sort of presentiment prompted me with the idea of going to meet Mdlle. Clermonde, and I determined to station myself at the door of the Inn, at which she was to stop to change horses. On such an occasion, I was of course fully alive to the importance of being elegantly dressed, and accordingly I resolved once more to usurp the black silk shorts. Paulin asked me to surrender them to him, but I met the request with a blank refusal. He reproached me with the violation of our compact and declared that thenceforward there must be an end of all friendship between us.

“One angry remark led to another, until at length we both placed our hands on our swords, and sallied forth into the high-road, which was but a few yards distant from the house in which we resided. This was the very spot on which I had proposed, a few hours afterwards, to present myself to the beautiful Clermonde. I heaved a deep sigh as this reflection crossed my mind. My antagonist and I withdrew to a meadow, which lay a little to the right, and there, burning with impatience, we drew our swords. We were on the point of advancing upon each other, when we were suddenly arrested by a piercing shriek. We looked round and beheld a lady advancing hurriedly towards us. She was pale and terrified, yet at the first glance her beauty made a profound impression on me. ‘Stay,’ she exclaimed, ‘stay, I conjure you! Is this like gentlemen?’ (Paulin and I it must be confessed, succeeded admirably in giving ourselves the air of young men of fashion). What, fighting without seconds! Is it for a woman to remind you of the laws of honor? Recollect, gentlemen, that if one of you had been killed, it would have been nothing less than murder!”

The tones of that voice, the beauty of the speaker, a certain air of dignity, of authority in her deportment and manner, overawed us, and we instantly sheathed our swords. I was captivated by the beauty of the lady, and stood gazing at her in an ecstasy of admiration. But Paulin soon recovered from the surprise caused by this unexpected interruption, and assuming his usual lively and jocose tone, he said, ‘Truly, my dear Fleury, there never was a more ridiculous affair than this quarrel of ours. To fight for a petticoat might be perfectly natural, but who ever heard of a duel for a pair of black silk shorts? Ah, Madame, could you have believed it?’ There was

something so irresistibly droll in Paulin's manner of uttering these words, that I could not repress a hearty fit of laughter. Next moment we cordially embraced each other. Our conciliatress seemed quite at a loss to comprehend this extraordinary scene. We were about to explain it, when some one came to tell her that the post-chaise was waiting, and all was in readiness for her departure. She smiled, curtsied, and bade us adieu. A thought, a presentiment, suddenly occurred to my mind—

‘Can it be,’ I exclaimed, ‘Mademoiselle Clermonde?’ ‘The same,’ she replied. And while she waved to us a most gracious salute, her glove dropped from her hand. I darted forward and picked it up.

‘Take it, take it, my lad,’ said Paulin. ‘If the lady’s eyes speak truth, the challenge was not thrown to me.’

“I will bring it to you, madame, exclaimed I.” Whether or not she heard me, I cannot say. In another moment she was seated in her post-chaise, and a few minutes more, out of sight.”

This is very nearly as absurd a scene as can be found in the pages of Sterne. This Mdlle. Clermonde afterwards brought Fleury into another scrape, which resulted in a duel with one of her admirers, the Comte de la Touche-Treville; and, finally, she abandoned the poor actor for another rival, Desforges. This occurred in consequence of her jealousy of Mdlle. Montansier, a lady of forty years of age, the female manager of the theatre at Versailles, attached to the court of Louis XV., then near the end of his luxurious reign, and under the influence of the famous Dubarry.

The first acquaintance which Fleury got of the principal actors of French comedy of the day, was at a dinner given to celebrate the birth-day of Mdlle. Danguerville, a celebrated actress, then about sixty years of age. Here he met St. Foix, Dorat, Mdlle. Drouin, Mdlle. La Mothe, Lekain, and Preville, all famous names on the French stage. These friends enabled him to go to the Theatre Français to improve himself in acting, and to make himself fit to enter as a *sociétaire* in that distinguished company. Mdlle. Dumesnil and Mdlle. Clairon were, at this time, as always, rival actresses in the great *roles* of Racine’s tragedies. The former had been supported at court by Madame Dubarry, and the latter by Madame de Villeroi, who obtained for her protégée the part of Athalie, at the court fêtes. Marie-Antoinette, the young Dauphiness, appeared at the fêtes of Versailles, and produced a marked impression on all beholders, by her beauty, exceeding youth, dignified manner

and amiability. Mdlle. Dumesnil at one time threw so much fiery energy into her acting of Cleopatra, that the front rank of the pit drew back, and an empty space was left between the spectators and the orchestra. In the fifth act of that play, she delivered several dreadful imprecations which so roused an old soldier, stationed at the side-scene, that he gave her a blow in the back, crying out at the same time, "Vas-t'en, chienne, vas-t'en à tous les diables." Being principally a tragic actress, any further mention of her would be out of our subject. She died at Boulogne in 1808, having nearly completed her 90th year.

Mdlle. Clairon, her rival, was born at Condé, in Flanders, the native country of Mdlle. Dumesnil, and having acted for several years in the provinces and at the Opera Comique, obtained at length the privilege of *double* to Mdlle. Danguenville, in the parts of servant maids and such like characters. It was, and still is, customary at the Theatre Français that each first-rate actor or actress should have a *personnaire*, who could play his or her part in the absence of the principal player, and was thence called the *double*. The play-bills were made out only with the names of the characters, and not of the performers, at this period, so that it was impossible on any particular night to discover who were the actors. Mdlle. Clairon afterwards insisted on taking up several of the parts played by Mdlle. Dumesnil, and although she never attained the same eminence yet she obtained great celebrity. She was once put in the prison of Fort l'Eveque, for refusing to act along with Dubois, retired immediately after from the theatre, went to live at the court of Margrave of Anspach, and published memoirs, in which she attacked Mdlle. Dumesnil, who answered her. They both died in the same year.

Mdlle. Danguenville, of whom we have spoken above, was celebrated for her acting of *petits rôles*, *soubrettes*, and such like characters. Her manner has been very well described by Dorat in the following lines :—

" Il me semble la voir, l'œil brillant de gâité,
Parler, agir, marcher avec légèreté ;
Piquante sans apprêt, et vive sans grimace,
A chaque mouvement decouvrir une grace,
Sourir, s'exprimer, se taire avec esprit,
Joindre le jeu muet à l'éclair du débit,

Nuancer tous ses tons, varier sa figure,
Rendre l'art naturel, et parer la nature."

Molé pronounced her eulogium at the Lycée des Arts in 1794, and her bust was crowned in the October following.

Fleury hoped, in the year 1771, under the auspices of Lekain, to become a member of the Comédie Française, but Bellecourt, Molé, and Monvel, the three reigning artistes of the day, opposed it, and he was obliged to go to Lyons, to take up an engagement there, at the theatre of which Madame Lobreau was manager. This lady had been deprived of her situation by means of an intrigue got up by some of her enemies with an under-secretary of the famous Turgot. A douceur of 8000 livres per annum was promised to the understrapper to complete the job; but Louis XVI., to whom the queen represented the matter, dismissed his minister, and reinstated the lady-manager. The celebrated Malesherbes resigned at the same time, on account of the dismissal of his friend.

The first part acted by Fleury on the boards of the Theatre Français was the character of *Egysthe* in "Mérope." He felt when he came on the stage perfectly confounded and bewildered, until Mdlle. Dumesnil, who played along with him, suggested the opening words of his part, when he went on smoothly. She afterwards gave him a bottle of *bouillon de poulet*, (chicken broth), mixed with some wine, (her usual beverage) to keep up his nerves and spirits. Bellecourt was, at this time, one of the leading comic actors. He had succeeded Grandval, and being patronised by M. de Richelieu, endeavoured to rival Lekain, but felt himself obliged to give up the trial. With a handsome person, he became a correct and pleasing, though never a brilliant, actor, and could dance a minuet in almost faultless style. He was old, and about to retire, and to him Fleury hoped to succeed. Molé proved a very difficult model to imitate; he had a hesitation in his speech, and an unpleasing delivery; yet he continued to be the idol of the public, and an especial favorite with the ladies, who flocked at one time to his house in such numbers, when he lay ill, that the street was crammed with emblazoned carriages. Louis XV. himself sent twice to enquire after his health, because M. Dubarry favored him. Monvel was diminutive without dignity, his voice

harsh and very thin, yet he rose very nearly to the height of Lekain in tragedy. Preville was an universal actor; he had originally run away from his father's house, became an apprentice to a mason, afterwards a clerk to a notary, and finally, through admiration for the acting of Poisson, took to the stage, on which he shone for many years.

Lekain, a great friend to Fleury, is represented by Mdlle. Clairon, in her memoirs, to have been very plain in face and figure, vulgar in his manners in private, and somewhat ungainly; he was, however, the great tragic performer of the age. On the 3rd February, 1778, he appeared at the Theatre Français, in "Vendome," which character he performed to perfection. At this time he lived with a very intimate friend, Madame Benôit. Another lady, with whom he formerly had had a *liaison*, was present in the theatre that evening, and thrown into raptures by the action of the player. Madame Benôit conceived some jealousy on account of this, and received the actor on his return with a storm of tears. The consequence was that he got a fit, which carried him off in a few hours, in his 49th year. Voltaire came to Paris the very day on which Lekain was buried, after an absence of twenty-seven years, to see his own tragedy of "Irène" performed. The death of the principal supporter of it, in whom he relied, affected the Philosopher of Ferney so much, that he is said to have fainted. He was, however, consoled shortly after, at the fifth representation of the play, by his bust being produced on the stage and crowned by the actors, amid a burst of enthusiasm from the audience.

Molé had taken some unfortunate dislike to M. Fleury, and prevented for a long time his being admitted as a *sociétaire* of the Theatre Français. At length this was arranged by Madame Campan, by introducing Fleury to Marie Antoinette, who commanded his reception. The first effect of this success was that he had a duel with Dugazon, each new actor being obliged to serve his noviciate in the sword exercise, before he was acknowledged to be worthy of the troupe. The two became at once great friends.

The green-room at the Theatre Français became the resort of all the élite of men of letters of the day, among the rest Beaumarchais and Goldoni. Two actresses, Mdlle. Sainval and Madame Vestris, were rivals, and divided com-

pletely adverse parties in the capital. The former had some intimacy with the Duke de Duras, who wrote her some letters privately, supporting her claims. She was injudicious enough to publish those; the Duke de Duras became so indignant at the disclosures that he used his influence at court, and had the fair offender sent into exile at Clermont in Beauvoisin, a species of punishment reserved for disgraced ministers. She was degraded from her place as *sociétaire* and forbidden to act in the provinces. Her sister having been appointed to play in her stead, when she appeared in the piece of "Tancrède" the audience became so enthusiastic, that she was borne off the stage in a state of insensibility. The pit raised a shout for "Les deux Sainval," which the guards could not quell.

Marie Antoinette conceived the project of getting a wife for Fleury. She proposed Mdlle. Racecourt, to whom the actor politely objected. This lady, when seventeen years of age, had been so aspersed in her character by a letter of Voltaire, that she fell into a life of great expense, and getting into debt to the extent of 100,000 crowns, was obliged to fly into the Netherlands. Subsequently the queen insisted on her being received again into the theatre, paid her debts, and wished her to marry Fleury; she, however, relieved him, by running away with the Prince d'Hénin. At this time Bellecour died, and Fleury succeeded to his position in the company.

Private theatricals now became very much in fashion at the court, without the knowledge or approval of the king. The Comte de Provence, and the Comte d'Artois, afterwards Louis XVIII., and Charles X., used to perform at them, but privately, and behind a screen, so that if any person not initiated happened to come in, the scene was closed by a sliding panel, and the company began to play at battle-door and shuttlecock. Marie Antoinette at length obtained the consent of the king to these representations. He even attended the rehearsals, but objected to the kissing scenes, and coughed loudly to prevent any repetition of them. The queen's appearance is very well described as follows:—

"Her eyes, though not large, had a power of expression which rendered them a perfect index of her mind. Her skin was delicately fair, and the contour of her neck and shoulders exquisitely formed. Her mouth, though stamped with that peculiarity which has been

termed the Austrian lip, was exceedingly pretty, and had that pouting expression which was peculiarly appropriate in many of the characters she personated. In "*Blaize et Babet*," for example, nothing could be more charming than her manner of half-reciting, half-singing, the following lines :—

' Le soir on dansa sur l'herbette,
Blaise et moi nous dansions tous deux ;
Mais il me quitta pour Lisette
Qui vint se mêler à nos jeux.' "

The Comédie Italienne now became a rival of the Comédie Française, throwing overboard its own language, and bringing forward farces in the vernacular. This caused a counteracting influence by the latter company, in which Fleury was ably assisted by Mdlle. Contat, a pupil of Prévile. She had been received into the Theatre Français at a very early age, and played Suzanne in Beaumarchais' "*Marriage of Figaro*" with great effect. Marivaux's plays, to which she gave some vogue, suited her exceedingly well until her person attained too much enbonpoint for the *petit rôle* of these pieces. Marie Antoinette ordered suddenly the comedy of "*La Gouvernante*," of which the actress knew not one single line ; she was obliged to learn off 500 verses in the short space of twenty-four hours, and performed her part in first-rate style. The occasion suggested to her the following witty saying, "*J'ignorais où était le siège de la mémoire, je sais à présent qu'il est dans le cœur.*" She died in 1813, of cancer, having become a perfect saint at the end of her life.

It might be well to notice here the different migrations which the French comedy underwent from the time of Molière. His troupe was at first stationed in 1658, by a grant of Louis XIV., at the Petit Bourbon, near the Louvre, and, two years after, went to the theatre of the Palais Royal, which had been erected by Richelieu in 1634, for the use of Rotrou and Pierre Corneille. The death of the great dramatist sent his company to wander, first to the Rue Guénégaud, next to the Rue des Fossés St. Germain, and to the Tuilleries, where they were in 1770. Twelve years afterwards the "*Odéon*" began to be built, and they established themselves in it, under the name of the Theatre Français. Again they changed to the Theatre de la Nation in 1790, and finally the present Theatre Français, built in 1787, was ceded to them in 1799, where they have remained

since, sometimes under the appellation of "Theatre de la Republique," and sometimes simply called, "la Comédie Française." An allowance for its support has been made by the state of 200,000 francs a year, under the superintendence of a royal or imperial commissioner. We have before noticed the difference of *sociétaires* and *pensionnaires*, besides which it would seem that there are now *élèves*, or pupils, who bind themselves to the theatre, which has a right to their services, to the exclusion of any other stage within the confines of France. Mdlle. Rachel, who, it is believed, became a pupil of the institution, at one time resisted this ordinance very strenuously, but was obliged to fly to England or America, in order to make use of her talent outside the theatre.

When the company transferred themselves to the new theatre of the "Odéon" in 1782, it was considered a great innovation to provide seats in the pit. La Harpe, the famous critic, shewed himself one of the most strenuous advocates for these, on the ground that no first performance had a chance with a standing pit, liable to cabal at any moment, and enough to mar the success of any piece. He brought out at the new theatre, with unexampled success, a piece entitled, "Molière à la nouvelle salle," and fell in love with a young lady, Mdlle. Cléophile, a third-rate dancer at the opera, because she applauded it. La Harpe was, however, generally disliked; his egregious vanity rendered him generally ridiculous. A witty writer of the day made the following epigram upon him:—

" Si vous voudrez faire bientôt,
Une fortune immense autant que légitime,
Il faut acheter La Harpe ce qu'il vaut,
Et le vendre ce qu'il s'estime."

Dugazon endeavoured now to negotiate a marriage for his friend. The object was a Mdlle. Luzi, who had retired from the stage at fifty years of age, with a moderate fortune of 18,000 francs per annum, and turned devotee. Fleury, however, after a few visits, broke off the connexion, saying "that it was infinitely easier to become a martyr than a saint." He afterwards gained further promotion as a senior associate in the company by the departure of Monvel for Stockholm, at the instance of the court of Sweden.

In the year 1784, Beaumarchais first produced his "Marriage of Figaro." The success of the "Barber of Seville" prompted him to go on with the piece, notwithstanding that it had been forbidden by the court. This remarkable man, born in 1732, was the son of a watch-maker, in which trade he invented a peculiar species of escapement, which was disputed with him. He pleaded his own cause before the Academy of Sciences, and gained his first laurels. He obtained an intimate acquaintance with the daughters of Louis XV., by whose means he was able to influence the king to many benevolent actions, among the rest that of visiting and approving the Ecole Militaire, which had been founded by Paris Duverney, the patron of the future dramatist. Beaumarchais entered into several large speculations as a merchant, one of which, the supplying the North American colonies, at that time in revolt, with arms and provisions, brought to him a considerable fortune. His first essay in the dramatic art was crowned with success. Up to his time, from that of Molière, there had been no author, as we said before, of more than mediocre talent. It would be useless to repeat the list of those who essayed French comedy during that period; their names are too numerous, and their works too little worth noticing. Suffice it to say that the taste of the public had become completely degenerate, as were their manners. Absurdity and extravagance had possession of the stage, as well as of the salons, in which a witty word with a *double entendre* was never to be heard. Beaumarchais undertook to do away with the false customs and the servile spirit of the age. He commenced with the piece of "Eugénie," which, however, must be said to be somewhat improper in its plot, wherein a young lady, who believes that she is yielding herself to a legitimate husband, finds that she has fallen into the snares of an artful seducer.

Of a different character was his second piece, "Les Deux Amis," in which he depicts the mutual affection of a youthful pair who had been brought up together from their infancy; and the joy of the parents of each at the happiness of their children. Neither of these plays, however, were calculated to produce any great effect, being rather of a serious and afflicting kind. He was engaged besides in some lawsuits, which brought out his talent before the

public, and showed his power of comedy. This induced him to turn his attention to the laughable side of the drama, and he prepared the "Barber of Seville," at first a comic opera, in which several pretty Spanish and Italian airs were introduced. The Comédie Italienne, to which it was offered, refused to bring it out, so that he found himself obliged to retrench the arias, cut it down to four, instead of five, acts, and hand it over to the Comédie Française, where it obtained very considerable success. It has been pretended that Beaumarchais intended, by the character of Figaro, to depict much of his own manner, and some of the incidents of his life, yet it can scarcely be supposed that he would personify himself by a personage so gross and full of effrontery.

As we said before, Beaumarchais brought out his comedy of the "Marriage of Figaro," in the year 1784. The manners and fashions of this age, in Paris, were monstrously ridiculous. "Young girls in hoops, married ladies in frocks, fashions à la Marlborough, scarlet coats with black buttons, little hats, enormous masses of frizzled hair, and pictorial waistcoats (*gilet de grands hommes* covered with the portraits of Destaing, Broglie, Condé, and La Fayette)." The curés even turned *marchands de modes*, and established bazaars to sell millinery. All these things were fair objects of satire; while the taste of the public in comedy became completely effeminate; incapable of appreciating the manly plays of Molière, or even Regnard. The "Marriage of Figaro" was first read at the house of the Duchesse de Villeroi, but the king refused his consent to its performance. It had been, however, attempted to produce it at the Theatre of the Menus Plaisirs; Mdlle. Contat was consulted on the cast of the characters, when the king's order again arrived, prohibiting its being played. Five or six hundred carriages were turned away from the door of the Theatre, and Beaumarchais was obliged to pay the expenses, 10, or 12,000 livres, out of his own pocket. M. de Vaudreuil obtained permission to have it acted at his country residence at Genevilliers, after a revision by M. Gaillard, of the French Academy. The Queen, the Comte d'Artois, and other court personages, were present. The Baron de Breteuil, Minister of the Interior, had been the great opponent of the piece, but Beaumarchais managed to get round him, by reading the play to him, adopting some of his *bon mots*,

and taking the colour of a page's ribbon from Mme. de Matignon. It was announced at length in the bills, the 27th of February, 1734, and half Paris flocked to obtain tickets. Titled ladies descended from their carriages, and begged the crowd to allow them to pass. Many dined in the boxes they had hired; the house being nearly transformed into a restaurant. Preville, Mdle. Sainval, Molé, Dagincourt, and Mdle. Olivier, supported the acting ably, but the great success was due to Mdle. Contat, who played Suzanne, the *soubrette*, and so enchanted Preville, that when the play ended, he ran up and embraced her, crying: "This is my first infidelity to Mdle. Danguerville." The first twenty nights of the run brought into the treasury of the Comédie Française, 100,000 francs, and the rage for it scarcely abated during eighty more representations.

The reason of the success of this piece, is that which gave éclat to Molière's and others, that it lashed the morals of the time, and spoke in unrestrained freedom of the government, bastille, press, police, and censorship. It was subsequently performed privately before the king, by the queen and the Comte d'Artois, who acted Figaro with considerable talent. Beaumarchais has been since considered the precursor of the great French revolution. He afterwards produced "*La Mère Coupable*," a continuation of the former Spanish subjects, and an imitation of "*Tartuffe*;" also "*Tarare*," a comic opera of very little note. He lost his fortune by an endeavour to publish a magnificent edition of Voltaire's works, and by other speculations during the Revolution, which all but took away his life, with that of many other remarkable men. He died suddenly in 1799, without any previous illness.

François de Neufchateau, the author of the celebrated comedy "*Pamela*," had been originally brought up to the law. He was, however, so unfortunate as to marry the niece of an actor, and consequently being obliged to give up his profession, contented himself with an appointment of *ballage* in the provinces, which he purchased. His wife relieved him shortly after of her sinister influence by dying; on which he went to Paris to seek his fortune. This came to him very soon in the shape of a young lady, for whom he proposed and was accepted. On the day of his marriage, when the bridal feast was ready, his father brought him

into the garden for a short stroll, and, producing a pistol, gravely announced that that should be the last day of his own life, as he had fallen in love with the young lady to whom François was about to be married. This so horrified the young man, that he fled from the scene, and could not to be heard of for many years. He was supposed dead, and an edition of his works about being brought out by the Abbé Geoffroy, when he reappeared, and offered himself as a member of the Legislative Assembly, for which he was elected. He shared the imprisonment of the French comedians in the Luxembourg, and being afterwards raised to the Imperial Senate by Napoleon, became one of the principal persons who assisted in reviving the French drama, after it had been crushed and disgraced by the barbarities and terrors of the Revolution.

Préville and his wife, Brizard, and Mdlle. Fanier, all retired from the Theatre together. The first two removed to a small estate near Senlis, and had a box in the private Theatre of the Prince de Condé. Here they once received the royal honors of an obeisance from the actors in a piece, with the prince at their head, in the same manner as if the king were present. Brizard set himself about collecting a large library, binding the books with his own hand. He invented a curious system of paying himself every Saturday evening, for his labour during the week, and handing over the proceeds to the poor.

At this time a very good moral comedy, "l'Ecole des Pères," by M. Peyre, was brought out by the company, and so pleased the court, that it was ordered to be played at the private royal Theatre, a magnificent sword presented to the author, and a splendid dress coat sent to Fleury, to be used in his part. Unfortunately this required a plain one, but the king expressed a wish that some play should be performed, in which it might be shown to advantage. Fleury chose "Turcaret," in which he performed the Marquis, a drunken character, and so much to the life, that the Count d'Artois exclaimed: "I have seen Molé in the Marquis de Lauret, but he seemed to have got drunk only on piquette; Fleury's drunkenness was the drunkenness of champagne."

A strange incident occurred to Mdlle. Contat one day. She was driving over the Pont Neuf in her whisky, a species

à gâg then the rage, and ran against a gentleman, who endeavoured to apologise for being in the way. She, however, resisted the apology, saying that she had cried out "*gare*" and he had never looked round. He retorted "Truly, Madame, you have more need to say *gare* now, when I do look round. The danger is in looking at you." This compliment produced some curiosity in the actress to find out her admirer, who sent her a note a few days afterwards, signed "Henry," and requesting her to attend a rehearsal of a small piece at the Comédie Italienne. She discovered subsequently that the personage was no less than Prince Henry of Prussia. The piece, afterwards brought out under the auspices of Mdle. Contat and Fleury, was entitled "*Les Deux Pages*," founded on an incident in the life of Frederick the Great, where he placed a rouleau of ducats in the pocket of a page, while sleeping, who had been in the habit of sending his pension home to his aged mother. It produced a very favourable impression in Paris at the time, notwithstanding the publication of a book, by Mirabeau, containing many scandalous and libellous matters concerning the court at Berlin. Prince Henry caused a gold snuff-box to be presented to Fleury on the occasion, surmounted with the portrait of the great Frederick, surrounded by brilliants; assuring him at the same time, that he had completely fulfilled a saying of the illustrious captain; "*feeling is the mainspring of every great effort.*"

During the severe winter of 1783-4 the Comédie Française brought out "*Coriolanus*," by La Harpe, for the benefit of the poor. There was a full house, although the play met but a very cold reception, and gave rise to a witty epigram by M. de Champcenetz:—

" Pour les pauvres, la comédie
Joue une pauvre Tragédie;
C'est bien le cas en vérité,
De l'applaudir en charité."

A fête was also got up for the same benevolent purpose at the winter Vauxhall, where all Paris, and all grades of society evinced great liberality. La Harpe met his enemy, M. de Champcenetz, there, when a laughable incident occurred. At one of the lottery tables the Marquis de Malseigne, an officer of carabiniers, won a small china

figure, which represented an old shivering man trying to warm himself. He held it up to the company, and asked aloud, "What do you call this?" "A Coriolanus," replied a voice from the crowd. La Harpe, who was standing near, immediately fastened on M. de Champcenetz as his reviler, and a lively altercation occurred between them, much to the amusement of the company. The sum of money collected at the different theatres for the relief of the poor amounted to 36,679 livres; but the curés of the different parishes would not receive it from the hands of the actors. They were obliged to hand it over to the lieutenant of police.

We have now arrived at the period when the revolutionary spirit appeared in Paris, and the clubs began to be held in all parts of the city. The tone of society became completely changed; every one talked of constitutions, laws, the rights of the people, &c., even the green-room of the Comédie was invaded by the mania. It was then that Chénier's famous tragedy of "Charles IX." appeared on the scene. Like the "Marriage of Figaro" of Beaumarchais, it may be said to be the precursor of the revolution. The play, however, produced a species of earthquake in the theatre; Fleury, Dazincourt, Contat, and Rancourt, at one side, demanded a certain cast of characters; Talma, Dugazon, and Madame Vestris, insisted on another. In fact Chénier had given over to Talma the principal part in the play, as some said, merely because Saint-Fal had refused it. It was looked upon by some of the sociétaires as a feudal assertion of right on the part of the elder members of the company, and as such resisted. The subject of "Charles IX." was the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and introduced a cardinal on the stage, an unheard-of novelty. Its other name, "l'Ecole des Rois," and many incidents in the drama, caused it to be displeasing to the court, which forbade the performance. The company fell into disrepute with the public, and were accused of keeping back Talma in order to bring forward Larive, who reappeared at this time on the stage, for, as Fleury says, "Larive was a theatrical Montmorency—an actor for the aristocracy; Talma was the actor of a revolutionized people."

Talma, whose father was a dentist, was born in the year 1763. He resided for a considerable time in London, and

evinced so much talent that Lord Harcourt shewed a great desire to have him brought up for the English stage. He removed, however, to Paris, and being very much struck with the playing of the most popular actors of the day there, took lessons in declamation from Molé, and held Dugazon as a model in acting before his eyes. He made his debut as "Séide" in the tragedy of "Mahomet," in 1757, producing only a very ordinary impression on the public. What brought him first prominently forward, and made him exceedingly popular, were his extreme republican opinions, and the affair of the play of "Charles IX.," which we shall now relate.

Mirabeau, the famous orator, visited the foyer of the Theatre Français, and endeavoured to obtain the performance of "Charles IX." for the fête of the Fédération, when the Provencal Deputies were to be present in Paris. Molé tried to support Mirabeau's proposition, as he admired the man extremely, but the whole company decided on refusing the request of the orator. The deputies themselves wrote to demand the representation, but it was again politely declined. The Fédéralists took umbrage, and threatened to call the actors to account. On the evening of the 21st February, 1790, the Deputies were at their posts in the theatre, and when Naudet appeared in the play of "Epiménide," loud cries were raised for "Charles IX." Naudet stated that it could not be played, as two of the principal actors, Madame Vestris and St. Prix, were ill. Talma, however, came forward, and said the audience should have "Charles IX." performed, as Madame Vestris was in the theatre and willing to play her part, while that of St. Prix might be easily read. It became absolutely necessary now for the corps dramatique to yield to the popular voice and bring out the forbidden tragedy.

It went off as was expected, in first-rate style, Talma surpassing himself in the representation of his rôle. A curious incident, however, occurred at it. It had been customary for all persons in the pit to take off their hats. One athletic figure appeared with his head covered, and was saluted with a tremendous roar from the house. He fixed his *couvre chef*, however, only the more stoutly on his head, declaring it to be as "firm as the hat of Servandoni," (a *soubriquet* for one of the towers of St. Sulpice), and defied

the audience, who dragged him out to the Hotel-de-Ville. This individual's name was Danton, one of the most terrible stains on that dark page of history. Talma, not content with his triumph over the other *sociétaires*, engaged in a paper warfare on the subject, and so mishandled Chénier, Naudet, and others, that they judged it necessary to dismiss him from the company. Fleury was the man who proposed the measure, notwithstanding the great danger from the republican party. The actors were treated as *aristocrats* and *inciviques*, and threatened with denunciation at the Legislative Assembly. On the 16th September an enormous crowd invaded the theatre and demanded Talma; Fleury endeavoured to brave the storm, and explain that Talma had broken the regulations of the company. Dugazon came forward to support the dismissed actor, and the stage would have been pulled down by the mob, but for the interference of the military. Bailly, the mayor of Paris, caused the whole company to be brought before him, and insisted on their receiving back their associate, which they were obliged to do. Some of the actresses retired under protest, and resigned their appointments.

In November, 1790, La Harpe came before the Legislative Assembly with a petition that several companies of comedians should be licensed to act the plays of all authors, living or dead. His propositions produced a revolution in the theatrical world. Fleury fell suddenly into a violent fit of sickness; Talma, with Dugazon and Madame Vestris, renounced their rights as associates, and went to the Rue de Richelieu. The Comédie Italienne joined the Comédie Française, and every species of performance was brought out at either theatres; a complete *bouleversement* occurred. It may be easily remembered, by any one who has studied the history of these times, what an amount of license was granted to the populace in their places of amusement, and what infamous pieces replaced on the various stages the productions of the best dramatic writers. In fact these were the dark ages of classical comedy, which could only be revived under the strong hand of the Empire.

Préville, the comedian, had retired a very considerable time before, and lived at Senlis. During one of the revolutionary scenes in that town, a ball, which killed a man at his side, grazed the eye of the actor and took away his sight

completely. He lost, besides, his pension, on account of the embarrassments of the public treasury, and bethought himself to re-appear at the Comédie Française. He was received with open arms, came out in "Le Mercure Galant," one of his best parts, but his age and infirmities were too great and he found himself obliged to resign. He went then to live with his daughter, Madame Guesdon, who possessed a beautiful country seat near Beauvais. A short period of mental aberration preceded his death. This man was of a most benevolent and kindly disposition, even to weakness, harbouring the unfortunate, and spending his means on former associates. A provincial actor named, St. Arnaud, in distressed circumstances, came into him once in the middle of the night, when M. and Madame Prévile were in bed together, and asked for hospitality; it was granted to him; a fine bed-room up stairs being made ready for his use. He remained there, however, nineteen years, on the most free and easy terms with his host.

One of the play-bills of the Revolutionary period may be considered to form a portion of the history of the time. They usually ran in this form:

BY ORDER OF THE PEOPLE!

The Comedians of the National Theatre

Will this day perform,

For the Benefit of the Widows and Children

Of our brethren who fell on the 10th August,

GUILLAUME TELL.

&c., &c.

Every play should bear the stamp of Republicanism, and the commune were the censors.

The Theatres were infested by three sorts of critics, the *Beaux*, who were the dramatic commentators, and affected the elegance of revolution, and afterwards degenerated into the *muscadins*, an effeminate offspring; while the *Tape-durs* (hard hitters) were the janissaries of the stage, singing, roaring, and shouting their boisterous patriotic songs, to the annoyance of every person. They had a strange costume;

wide trowsers, a short waistcoat, a cap covered with fox-skin, and falling on the shoulders, and a large knotted stick, appropriately termed a "constitution." Such was the audience, which for the most part constituted the supporters of the Theatre. A change, however, for the better came about after the terrific days of September, and the struggles of the Girondists bound families together and revived a feeling of security. A young author named Laya, had the hardihood to produce a comedy, "*l'Ami des Lois*;" which being approved of by the reading committee of the company, they determined to bring it out. The Jacobins, afraid that it might produce a strong impression against them, applied to the Commune to have it prohibited. It was not, however, until the house became crowded to suffocation, that the order of the municipality for its suppression arrived. The audience shouted for its performance, and paid no attention to the Commandant of the National Guard, or Chambon, the mayor of Paris, who presented himself. They told him to go to the convention, to which body, then sitting on the trial of Louis XVI., Laya sent a vigorous address, stating his wrongs and those of the actors. It was of Chambon that Madame de Stael said: "he is like a rainbow; he never makes his appearance until the storm is over." On this occasion he got into the very midst of the storm; the convention, repelling the statement of the Jacobins, that the minister Roland had commissioned Laya to write "*l'Ami des Lois*," ordered the play to proceed, as the Commune had no authority to violate the liberty of the Theatres.

Another play which produced great excitement at this time was "*Pamela; ou, la Vertu Récompensée*," evidently taken from Richardson's novel, by François de Neufchateau, whom we have already noticed. An order came to suspend its representation, on the ground that it favoured the re-establishment of titles of nobility. The author refused to withdraw the piece, and only changed a few of its scenes. He had it announced again for the 2nd of September, but the following notice was put at the end of the bill: "In conformity with the orders of the municipality, the public is informed that no canes, sticks, swords, or other offensive weapons, are to be brought into the theatre." This looked like a challenge to a row, yet, when the curtain rose, a most respectable audience in powdered wigs appeared

through the house. One sinister looking man alone was seen in the boxes. Mdlle. Lange played Pamela very gracefully; Fleury, the part of Lord Bonfil. The sinister person, however, interrupted him in the middle of a sentence, declared he declaimed prohibited passages, condemned the play as anti-revolutionary, and when the audience turned him out, he went to the Jacobin club, and denounced the Theatre François as a den of aristocrats. The military surrounded the theatre; Fleury managed to get home, to embrace his sister Felicité and his infant daughter; on the next evening he and several of his comrades were arrested by the order of the Commune, and sent to the prison of the Magdelonnettes. Thus was the Comédie Française, the creation of the great Molière, made the victim of revolutionary barbarity.

In prison the comedy met many of the celebrated characters of the day, and enlivened their dull time by the relation of anecdotes, the hazards and escapes of their friends, and their own projects for the future. The celebrated Malesherbes was, for a short time, a partner of their confinement. Disease got into the prison in the shape of small-pox, and prevented the authorities from meddling with it for some time. The doctor, Dupontet, adopted very good sanitary measures, thorough ventilation, and obtaining liberty for exercise for those confined, who marched and counter-marched through the corridors, under the direction of an old general and St. Prix. M. de Crosne, an inculpated Lieutenant-General of Police, happened to be there; and while playing one day at Tric-trac with M. la Tour-du-Pin, his name was called out for execution. Everyone shuddered: he rose calmly and said; "Well, I am ready; farewell gentlemen; I thank you for your kind attention. You have soothed the last moments of my existence." And he walked forth coolly to the guillotine. Subscriptions were got up within the gaol for the poor prisoners, amongst themselves, and a regular organised relief set on foot.

The comedians were shortly removed to a more comfortable place of confinement, and many efforts made for their release. Fleury's sister, Felicité, had at one time aided Collot d'Herbois in a perilous situation, and conceived that he might in turn assist her brother. When she applied to him, his short answer was: "Your brother is an aristocrat,

he must suffer like the others." Danton, being also solicited, refused to interfere, and Fouquier-Tainville, the famous attorney-general-butcher, was written to by Collet to have judgment passed quickly on six of the actors. The names of Dazincourt, Fleury, Louise Contat, Emilie Contat, Raucourt, and Mdle. Lange, were marked with the ominous G (guillotine), and the following postscript appended :

"The committee sends you, citizen, the documents relating to the actors of the Comédie Française. You know, as all patriots do, that their conduct has been anti-revolutionary in the extreme. You must bring them to trial on the 13th Messidor. With regard to the others, there are some among them who may be punished with banishment. But we will see what can be done with them after the others have been tried.

"Signed,

"Collot d'Herbois."

The actors owed their safety to the interference of M. Charles de Labussière, who held a post under the Committee of Public Safety. He had been himself at first suspected, but his friends, in order to shield him, procured him first a place in the Bureau de la Correspondance, and then in the Bureau des Pièces Accusations. Through his hands passed many of the documents in which the denunciations and arrests were founded, as also the justifications of prisoners. He found that many persons were condemned without papers, others liberated on sound accusations, and others brought to trial on unfounded charges. The confusion of the office in which he was became so great, that no record or list of documents was kept, no inspection attempted. He managed, therefore, cleverly to abstract many important papers, which saved the lives of several heads of families. These documents he soaked in water, until they were converted into paste, when he rolled them into balls, and carrying them off, threw them into one of the baths in the Seine. Fouquier-Tainville found that many of his victims escaped him, and made a complaint to the Committee. The cases of the Comédie Française were to be brought forward on the 13th Messidor. Labussière managed to abstract the acts of accusation on the 9th, and destroy them on the 11th, but ran great risk in doing so. He came out of the Tuilleries late at night, with the papers in his pocket, and was arrested by a revolutionary agent named Aillaume, on

the Boulevards, because he refused to give his name. But for his address in the corps-de-garde, showing his official card, and the names of some of the committee on the papers he wished to destroy, he would inevitably have been himself brought to the guillotine. Among others saved by this man were Latour du Pin, Florian, and Madame de Beauharnois, afterwards the Empress Josephine.

After their liberation the comedians endeavoured to recommence business in their old theatre in the Faubourg St. Germain, which had been successively honoured with the titles of *de la Republique* and *de l'Egalité*. The plays of Marivaux, Gresset, Dorat, &c., were revived; Mdlle. Contat shone in the exquisite finesse of these pieces, but the benches were empty. They were obliged to transfer their services to Sageret, the director of the Salle Feydeau, M^{lle}. Raucourt, Devienne, and others, being separated on the other principal stages. Sageret divided the company into two sections, and made them work in two houses at the same time, often in the same piece at both. His speculations, however, caused him to break, and the old company of the Comédie Française at length joined together, and was revived.

Charles Maurice, whose name is subscribed to one of the books at the head of this article, had been the editor of the Journal, le Courrier des Theatres, for many years. He was himself a dramatic author, having composed, as he relates in one place, eighteen comedies, of which "Les Consolateurs," "La Partie d'Echecs," "Le Parleur Eternel," and a fragment by Regnard, finished by Maurice, called "Le Bailly d'Asnières," may leave some remembrance of him on the French stage. His book is made up of a mass of anecdotes, the greater part of them trivial, from the year 1782 to its date, mixed up with a great number of autograph letters from some of the most celebrated men of the day, literary, theatrical, and otherwise. The whole forms such a mass of confusion, and the subjects so different, that no one could collect from it any connected narrative. In fact it is a made-up book, though called in high-flown French phrase, "Histoire Anecdotique," fit only to while away an hour. The incidents of the author's own life, which he runs over in small separate chapters dispersed through the two volumes, amid a chaos of facts of different dates, cannot be

said to be very interesting, excepting this one, that he was imprisoned by Louis Philippe, in 1844, for rather too bold a letter which he wrote to the head of the state on the subject of the liberty of the press.

It would be impossible to trace the history of the French comedy from the time when Fleury's memoirs end until the establishment of the empire, as all facts on the subject are so confused, scattered, and partake so much of the nature of the times, that all connexion between them is lost. We have, to be sure, the lives of many of the chief actors of the day, Talma, Dugazon, La Rive, Molé, Mdle. Bangouin, Mdle. Rancourt, Mdle. Contat, Devienne, &c., but the details of biography are not suited to these pages. The first of these very nearly fell a victim to the Reign of Terror and the enmity of Marat. At his house, Rue Chantier, which afterwards became the property of Buonaparte, he gave a fête to Dumouriez, who had just come back victorious from the army of the north, at which were present Chénier, Méhul, Ducis, Chamfort, and all the deputies of the Gironde. Marat came there suddenly, attacked Dumouriez, and continued to dispute with him in a low voice, while Dugazon commenced to throw incense on a brazier in the room, as he said "to purify the air from the infection of the monster." These words, heard by Marat, rankled in his bosom; he denounced Talma and his guests the next day as conspirators; they were all placed on the list of proscriptions, and in constant expectation of being arrested. Talma was also accused of causing the arrest of his brother comedians, mentioned above, and became for some time very unpopular. He obtained, with great difficulty, from the curé of St. Sulpice, leave to marry a lady who went by the name of Julie, and in whose salons he met the most celebrated men of the day. They were separated afterwards, by divorce, in 1801, when he married Charlotte Vanhove, a distinguished actress of the Theatre Française. An absurd rumour was at one time spread about him—that Buonaparte took lessons from Talma in declamation, and even that he practised with him to play his part of emperor. On this subject Talma says, "he played it well enough without me! surely he did not require a teacher." When Buonaparte was coming back from Egypt, after his conquest of that country, a scene occurred

at the theatre at Lyons, of an amusing kind, which is thus ascribed by Ch. Maurice :—

"I was at Lyons, attending to my duties in a solicitor's office, when the general, Bonaparte, arrived from Egypt, and stopped in the town. He put up at the hotel just next the Theatre des Celestins, on the square of that name. When the news spread, the whole town crowded thither, and demanded to see the hero so perseveringly, that he appeared on the balcony, although it was very late in the evening. Without mentioning everything I saw, and passing over the official demonstrations, Bonneville, the manager of the theatre just named, went at once to look for Martainville, who was vegetating in that climate, in order to induce him to compose a piece *à propos*, which should be played on the morrow. The time for delay was very short, but this did not frighten the adventurous mind of the author, who at once set his wits to work. On his side, Bonneville paid a visit to the General, to make a request that he would be present at the performance, which was granted.

"Great was the haste in getting up the piece. A large table, laid with a supper, at the same time simple and abundant, was prepared upon the stage. Martainville was seated there, scribbling away what two copiers could snatch from him, and then distribute piecemeal to the actors, who devoured with avidity their double food. At five o'clock in the morning, the various portions of this labour, approved of, rejected, mangled, scratched out, learned, forgotten, and finally pasted into the memory, were finally dignified with the title, 'The Hero Returned; or, Bonaparte at Lyons;' and each person went off to his bed. Martainville kept a part for himself. As soon as he got up, he went to search in the store-room for something with which to dress up, in any way, his characters.

"The hour is come; the theatre is choked with spectators. The General and his staff occupy the range of boxes, to the left of the audience, at a slight elevation over the stage. The actors come together and endeavour to remember, to recall to their recollection how in the piece, one is a father, another a young officer returning from the army, a third the rival, and such a lady the betrothed of the officer. But terror paralyses them, they can no longer remember what they thought they knew before. Too great a desire of succeeding, that powerful reason for acting worse than usually, caused a dreadful confusion in their minds. What is to happen? The bell rings three times; the curtain is raised.

"In his character of father of a family, born the day before, Bonneville opens the play. He tries to go through his part, but he forgets it; he articulates all he can think of, thinks of what he can, and run out in his invention, approaches the side scene to beg of Martainville to relieve him by coming forward. 'Keep up the glib,' answers the latter, always joking; 'I'll be with you in a moment.' At last he enters. For him the improvisation was easier; besides he acted the part of the officer, whose couplets, crammed with warriors, laurels, glory, and victory, only required a slight efforts of mnemonics. He stops suddenly and cries out, 'Behold my intended.' The actress

understands him, and appears completely confused, she mixes up what she has to say, with something which occurs to her out of one of her old parts. Her companion, happy at invention, suggests some expressions which recall her character; while Bonneville, who had some time to recover himself, assists both with some useful commonplace phrases. When the father and daughter are run out, the officer speaks and sings, and in order to annoy perfectly his odious rival, it suffices for him to interrupt the monosyllables, which the poor actor has scarcely strength to pronounce. So far everything went on beautifully, the piece might have been said to be a regular hit. The *apropos* succeeded one another rapidly, applause resounded through the house. At each *encore* which was called for, Martainville responded by a different couplet, which passed for a premeditated compliment, and the transports of the audience only burst forth still more madly. It was necessary, however, to make an end of it. How were they to come, without too sudden a finish, and always under the auspices of the hero, to the marriage, which was to relieve so many persons from embarrassment? No one could tell. The poetry was becoming languid, the music had lost its charm; the General, for whom the fête was given, had his thoughts bent on the Directoire; the actors cast furtive glances at each other with the greatest anxiety; but happily the audience still remained enthusiastic, when a great noise is suddenly heard. It comes from the side-scenes. Is it a part of the play; an unexpected incident?

"Suddenly a woman appears, her hair flying about, her dress deranged; it is evident that some one endeavored to restrain her. She holds in her hand a paper, which, running beneath the box, she throws to General Bonaparte, who stoops and takes it up. Then she falls down almost insensible, and is assisted by the actors and a crowd of persons who followed her on the stage. Martainville discovers in a few words what is the matter, and explains it to the audience. This woman's husband, condemned to death for uttering base coin, is to be executed on the morrow, and she profits by the unhopèd-for presence of the great captain, in order to save him.

"It may be well conceived with what a powerful degree of interest the scene is at once animated. The General casts his eyes over the petition, gives his assent to it by a nod, accompanied by a gesture of the hand, which leaves no doubt as to the issue; and while a fearful burst of shouts, applause, and *vivats* resounds even out to the square, the play is either finished or not, but every one weeps, sings, or blesses the conqueror of Egypt, and from a foolish undertaking, unexpectedly arises one of the most *piquante* historical scenes, which no premeditation could have at all produced.

"The next morning Bonaparte received Bonneville and his troupe, in which was a young girl, now Mme. Hervey, commissioned to recite to him a piece of poetry, with which he appeared very much pleased, although completely taken up with more important business."

Every one knows how much the theatres in France owe to Talma, in the improvement of costumes, especially in

subjects taken from ancient history. He studied in the most minute form ancient statues and other sources, the dresses of different ages, and adapted them to his parts. Vanhove, the father of his second wife, could not understand the sense of this improvement; "A fine step, indeed," said he, "they don't even put a pocket outside the thigh, in which one might keep the key of his box." Talma walked every evening to the comedy, with his wife leaning on his arm, from the Faubourg St. Germain, where he lived, a cotton cap pulled down on his ears to prevent himself from catching cold. In advanced age, when obliged to take a fiacre, he thought that he was going altogether too fast. During his great intimacy with the First Consul, he often went to the Tuilleries to breakfast, and discussed political affairs, as well as theatrical, with the head of the nation.

One of the most remarkable writers of French comedy at the end of the last century, and even to nearly our own day, has been Nepomucene Lemer cier, whom many have thought to be a madman or fool. He began by a piece, styled "Meleager," under the auspices of Mme. de Lamballe, and Marie Antoinette. This was never printed, and died a natural death. His second, "Clarisse Harlowe," in 1792, had some success; he became a thorough Revolutionist, attended the sittings of the convention, and from his sunken eyes, stupidity of expression, and the cries of anguish which the horrors of that assembly wrenched from his bosom, caused the women who attended the sittings to nickname him *L'Idiot*. This soubriquet is said to have saved him his life. He produced in 1795 the "Tartuffe Revolutionnaire," a good imitation of the original, and afterwards several tragedies, one of which, "Agamemnon," was crowned by the Directory in the Champs de Mars. In 1795, he became very intimate with Bonaparte, and afterwards often made use of that acquaintanceship, to speak out his mind pretty clearly. His knowledge of Beaumarchais led him to undertake a new species of Comedy, named "Pinto," under the Directory, in which he placed the Revolution and Republic in a most ridiculous point of view. It was forbidden, but the first consul demanded to have it read, and ordered its performance. Lemer cier afterwards set about writing several poetical pieces, some of which he dedicated to Mme. Bonaparte.

When the Legion of Honor was created, the first consul ordered a brevet of it to be sent to the dramatist, who received it with pleasure and took the prescribed oath, but when the Empire was proclaimed in 1804, he sent back his brevet to Lacépède, with a letter to the citizen Bonaparte, first consul, to whom he had said three days before; "you are amusing yourself in making the bed of the Bourbons; well! I predict that you will not sleep in it during ten years." At another discussion between them, Lemercier became quite red from irritation, when Bonaparte asked, "what is the matter with you, you have become quite red?" "And you are perfectly pale," answered Lemercier, "each of us has a peculiar manner, when anything irritates either of us two, I become red, and you grow pale." Bonaparte always designated him afterwards as a fanatic.

He produced in 1808, "*Plante, ou la Comédie Latine*," in which he introduced the Latin dramatist, conducting a piece, and introducing the personages. It had not much success, notwithstanding the efforts of Talma. When Napoleon returned from his disastrous campaign in Russia, he met Lemercier, and asked him, when he was to give them another fine tragedy. The reply; "*Bientôt j'attends*," (soon, I am waiting,) was strange, when coupled with the odd species of prediction given before respecting the bed of the Bourbons. Several other comedies were brought out by him, one "*La Panhypocrisiade*," in which M. Victor Hugo says, "man is given by God as a spectacle to the devils." His last piece, "*la Heroine de Montpellier*," in which he depicts in a faithful and animated style, the manners of France at the commencement of the 18th century, was performed at Paris, in 1836, and at first not duly appreciated. He had been long a member of the French Academy, and put himself up for the representation of one of the arrondissement of Paris in 1831. Since his birth almost he had been subject to attacks of that frightful disease, paralysis, which carried him off at length in 1840. To it has been ascribed by many, some of the most striking defects in his plays, as well as several singular actions of his life.

Bonaparte was the first to appoint a commissary from government, to inspect the affairs of the Theatre Français. It was he also who united the two companies after the Revolution, in the Rue de Richelieu, and not perceiving the name of St. Prix, whom he had seen playing in the *Mort d'Abel*,

on the list, he cried out for him "Cain, ! Cain, !" and insisted that he should be of the troupe. It may be remembered by every one how he commanded the attendance of the Comédie Française, at Dresden, to drive away *ennui* from his army, and astonish two emperors and empresses and innumerable German princes. He caused Talma and Mlle. Mars to play at Erfurth in "la mort de César," a rather ominous piece, before the Emperor of all the Russias. The members of the Theatre Français, who went to Dresden, had lodgings provided for them before hand, and 1,500 francs, each, for general expenses. They played three times a-week, were well received, and courted every where, and Fleury says :—that he, Talma, Mlle. Mars, and a few others, received 10,000 francs each, afterwards for their services.

When Mlle. Mars was going into Dresden, her carriage was overturned, and she suffered some slight injury. Napoleon at once sent his physician, Desgenettes, to her assistance. This man, being very polite, after doing his medical office, entered into conversation with the actress, and displayed all the gallantry he was possessed of, accompanied by a peculiar manner, and gestures, for which he was remarkable. Fleury, who perceived this, studied the Doctor's style, and at a party in the evening, reproduced the gestures and manner so faithfully, that the guests cried out it was Desgenettes, to the life. The Doctor, hearing of it, insisted on seeing his own portrait acted, invited Fleury, and had the whole scene with Mlle. Mars done over again, to his own infinite delight, and that of the party present.

Dugazon, whose name appears so often in Fleury's memoirs, was celebrated for his playing characters in private.

He was once invited to dine with Barras, but at the time appointed, in his stead appeared an old peasant woman, who spoke a villainous *patois*, and bursting through the servants, went up to the Director, and gave a long history of her only *fils* (fils, son,) who had been taken for the proscription, and begged that he would allow her to get him back. Barras, who wished to proceed with his dinner, at length granted her request, on which she went out, and shortly afterwards Dugazon came in, and addressed the host in the same pathos which the old woman had spoken. Another time he presented himself before Napoleon, as a *curé*, but the Emperor recognized him, and though he did not show any anger at

the time, yet he never forgot it. Dugazon's description of Mlle. Georges, was rather odd; he always designated her from one of her principal characters, as "the Queen of Carthage eating salad with a tin fork."

The names of celebrated actors and actresses of the time of the Empire are so numerous, and the remarkable traits and stories concerning them so minute and varied, that it would be impossible to hint at even a tithe of what is related. Notwithstanding the great rivalry existing among them a strong esprit de corps bound them together; they were ever ready to assist one another, or any of their friends. Among the latter was one much respected, the celebrated Delille, author of the *Dithyranibe*, at the time of the *Deesse de la Raison*. He had earned the title of *Abbé*, by his age, good qualities, and general pleasing manners. His friends, the actors, got up the following scene for his amusement.

"In the quiet of his last years, the Abbé Delille ranked among his old culinary pleasures, the dinners which he had consumed at the *Cadran Bleu*, on the Boulevard du Temple, near the Rue Charlot. At St. Prix's house, where I have seen him often enough, he showed one day, so lively a desire to try them again, that a party was arranged at once for the following week. But afterwards, fearing that he might not enjoy himself there so much as in his youth, an idea was hit upon and carried out in the following manner. It must be remembered that M. Delille was almost completely blind.

"On the day fixed, a fiacre brought the Abbé, his wife, and Tissot, the *suppléant* of Delille at the French college, to the house, Rue du Cherchemidi, belonging to M. and Mme. St. Prix, which had been prepared on purpose. Scarcely had the Abbé alighted from the vehicle under the gateway, than he was delighted by the odour of 'the kitchen, whose perfume only exists among the restaurateurs.' This was the smell of a boiled outlet, which the porter was told to have, on his passing by, while the woman cried out, 'Fine oysters all fresh, my fine gentleman.' 'Yes, yes,' answered Delille, 'open some of them, my good woman.' They ascended to the first floor, the suite of apartments was all open. Tables of two, three, or four persons were ranged along, occupied by the actors of this comedy, which might have been called, 'Delille in the Tavern.' Each one had his part allotted to him, from which it was agreed not to deviate, in order that the illusion might be carried as far as possible. Picard was a captain of a vessel, crying out starboard, larboard, &c., and dining by chance at the *Cadran Bleu*. Barré, Radet, and Desfontaines were good citizens, who understood nothing of theatrical affairs, but great lovers of the pleasures of the table. Chambon, the treasurer of the Vaudeville, had come to Paris to learn arithmetic, and was going away afterwards to keep the books of a grocer at Quimper-Corentin. Etienne Jourdan, the ballad singer, was a misanthrope, who was annoyed at fun, and thought that there was too

such noise continually made in the room. I, myself, was called Guilbert de Pixérécourt, and I roared at the slowness of the waiters, who would prevent me from being present, when the curtain was raised at the performance of one of my melo-dramas at the Ambigu. So on with the other guests, eating, drinking, speaking loud, and clinking their glasses, bottles, and plates, in order to produce a general impression of reality in the scene. But it may be easily supposed, that the best of these accidental comedians was Baptiste, junior, in whom nature was personified. He had taken on himself, accordingly, several characters and even the most difficult of those in our *scenario*. The first was that of the tavern waiter, whose duty it was to attend the principal table, where St. Prix, Mme. St. Prix, Delille, his wife, and Tissot were sitting. He sustained his part so well, varying it with changes of voice and manner, that not only did the Abbé Delille believe that there were several persons, but even we ourselves did not recognise him.

"From an apparently neighbouring room, there resounded sharp, broken words, sometimes ireful, sometimes respectful, in two different accents, one English, the other French. The first was that of a young lady, trembling, uneasy, and irritated; the second seemed like that of a son of Albion, amorous, beseeching, begging for silence in a low voice; both most agreeable in their tones. Everyone is silent and listens. Delille is the first to perceive the existence of this Britannico-Gallic tête-à-tête, in which the feminine portion is exposed to the rash attack of a merciless assailant. The Abbé, on his side, begs that no one should speak, in order that they might the better hear, 'what only occurs in taverns.' The dispute is renewed in the room; *milord* perseveres, *Lodoiska* resists; she is about to cry out; curses, tears, oaths succeed one another. The sound of golden pieces is followed by an evident treaty of peace. Then the bell rings and the waiter comes in, appearing not to perceive the disturbance of the furniture. Baptiste had played all that, and in such a comic, true style, that without having lost sight of him, we thought that something similar had happened in the side-room. Our suppressed laughter was only the more ticklesome; Delille participated in it with complete confidence, felicitating himself on his idea of revisiting his dear *Cadran Bleu*.

"A hurdy-gurdy is heard in the court-yard, which itself acts the part of boulevard. A singer accompanies it, playing on the violin. It is proposed that the latter should come up by himself. He arrives, and Delille asks him to give us a specimen of his best collection. Off goes Baptiste, junior, a *Stradivarius* with a maimed hand, scraping, grinding out impossible sounds, and chaunting the lay of the 'Little Collet and the post-donkey.' This is the story of a poor young man, belated on his journey, and obliged, for want of the diligence, which passed while he was asleep, to try and follow up his road by riding. But, alas! he is a *seminariste*; how is he to get along? The cursed ass, who perhaps feels the inexperience of his rider, hoises, rears, only advances a few paces, and always goes back to his stable. As each couplet is sung with a most comical voice, the Abbé Delille cocks his ear, expresses his surprise in monosyllables, remembers the

occurrence, and at length cries out: 'That's mine—'tis to me that happened—between Beaucaire and Tarascon, in 17—,' and he could not understand either what had led to the telling of the story, or who the person was who had chaunted it so exactly. Radet, Desfontaines, and Barré made a sign to us that they wished to keep it secret. The singer, handsomely rewarded by the whole company, goes away with many demonstrations of gratitude, and making us burst laughing by his drollery.

"When the dinner was over, Tissot asked Delille if he would like to go and take his coffee at the *Jardin Turc*, which he knows the Abbé has heard much about. 'That will be so much the more easy,' said he, 'because we can go thither on this floor.' Delille accepts the proposal. After bringing him through the same rooms, they come to the last of the suite, in which Mme. St. Prix, sitting at something which passes for a counter, and changing the tone of her voice, plays admirably the character of the handsome lemonade-woman, in the midst of us, who continue to act our parts, suiting them to the pretended locality. Mine had become easy, and full of invention, on account of the supposed holiday which had been given at the Ambigu, and which put off my melo-drama for a week.

"When going away the Abbé Delille declared, that he amused himself more than he had expected, and that he would never forget it. He never found out of what elements his pleasure was compounded; he was too great a favorite to be told it; it was a mark of respect towards him to keep it a secret."

We have before spoken of the rule at the Comédie Française to have two actors or actresses for each rôle, the *premier sujet*, and the *double*. This caused a vast deal of rivalry and often ill feeling in the theatre. Mlles. Dumesnil and Clairon were rivals, as we have seen; so were Mlles. Mars and Bourgoin, Bourgoin and Volnois, and numbers of others. The *premier sujet* had a right to play, if she liked, though her *double* was appointed to appear in the piece. This occurred once between Mlles. Bourgoin and Volnois; the latter was announced for Zaire, but the former, thinking herself slighted, dressed for the part, and came on the stage before her *double*, who was obliged to retire. This kept back often for a long while, very good actors behind older ones of little merit, and has led to a great falling off in the performances. Talma and Fleury were thus put out of sight for a considerable time by Molé, Dugazon, and others; in fact, the age of love had almost past for the latter, before he was able to attain standing sufficient to entitle him to play the part of a lover. There were, and are still, certain recognized general characters, such as *jeunes-premierès*, *jeunes-princesses*, *ingénuités*, *soubrettes*, *amoureuses*,

met, &c., some one of which each actor and actress was supposed to do better than others, and to fulfil which, he or she was assigned. This limited very much the talent of each, though perhaps it occasioned a greater perfection in the particular part, on the principle of the division of labor.

Notwithstanding Napoleon's great expression of friendship for Talma, the latter did not seem to regret him much; he was the first actor of the Theatre Français to read on the stage the verses of Briffaut against the fallen conqueror. At the end of the recital, he waved his hand and cried "Vive le Roi." On the 8th April, 1814, when the Emperor of Russia went to the theatre, Talma and Fleury were deputed to present an address. They were both dressed in black coats, *à la Française*, but the first appeared to be very anxious to be remarked and taken notice of by the great sovereign, while Fleury handed the play-bill to the prince, with a noble, respectful, and sad air, with which the whole house appeared to be struck.

A great peculiarity has been observed in the manner of several actors, in studying their parts. The ordinary comedians learned them off quite glibly, and while the play was going on, chatted at the side scenes, and strolled about while awaiting their moment for entering on the stage. Not so with Talma, Fleury, Molé, Dugazon, and other great actors, who were never visible for two days before they acted any important character, no matter how often it had been produced. Even during the performance Talma had the book always in his hand, and putting it now and then close to his eyes, on account of his short sight, exercised his memory continually; made himself master of his rôle, and then strode on the stage thoroughly imbued with it. Once, when just about to enter in the tragedy of Hamlet, he seized his own valet by the collar, shook him violently, and pitching him away from him, rushed upon the scene, with all the marks of madness which were required to fulfil his part. "That gives me," said he to Maurice, "the nervous irritation required to commence with."

This great performer played, for the last time, in Lemer cier's "Charles VI.," on the 13th June, 1826, and died the October following, rather suddenly, of some internal malady, after thirty-six years of continued success in his profession. His body was transferred to Père la Chaise,

amid all the honors which the literary men of Paris could bestow upon it. His bust, by David d'Angers, occupies a very prominent position in the foyer of the Theatre Français. Though a good actor of comedy, yet his forte lay in tragic parts, like his contemporaries, Mdlles. Duchesnois and Georges, both of whom made their debut in 1802, and were almost exclusively confined to tragedy. Once only did either of these actresses attempt a comic character, and though neither failed, it was evident that their talent lay principally in the serious drama.

Our short space will not allow us to give any lengthened sketch of the state of French comedy, from the period of the first empire. Anyone, who is at all familiar with the French stage of the last half century, must easily recognise the names and works of the principal dramatic authors. If we run our eye over the rôles which Mdle. Mars played since 1803, we shall find the chief contributors to comedy, within that period, to be Collin d'Harleville, Duval, Lemerrier, Andrieux, Roger, de Lesser, Désaugiers, Arnault, Mme. Gay, Scribe, Casimir de la Vigne, Picard, Alfred de Vigny, Frederic Soulié, Victor Hugo, &c., in fact their name may be called legion, and their pieces reckoned by hundreds. Scribe alone has written some 300 plays, besides vaudevilles, eighty of which have been brought out at the Theatre Français. Mediocrity is the only general characteristic of these productions, coupled with this, that many of them outrage all decency and morality, and take too great an advantage of the liberties of the *Romantique*, to destroy all unity of time, place, or action. The answer of the presiding judge of one of the criminal courts in Paris, to Alex. Dumas, who was produced as a witness in a trial for murder, will serve to show the estimation in which some of these writers are held in France. When asked what was his profession, Dumas replied bombastically: "*Monsieur, je dirais auteur dramatique, si je n'étais dans la patrie de Corneille.*" "*Mais, Monsieur,*" replied the witty president, "*il ya des degrés.*" Victor Hugo's play, "*Le Roi d'amuse,*" produced in 1832, is a burlesque on the historical heroes of France, and rejected by the public, was prohibited by the government.

Of the comedians who have appeared during the last half century many of them are celebrated names, such as

St. Prix, the two Baptistes, Laffon, Jouy, Arnault, Devigny, St. Phal, &c., fit to rival Molé, Monvel, or Fleury. Our space will not, however, allow us to notice more than two, and these actresses, Mdles. Mars and Rachel. The former, daughter of the famous Monvel, made her debut in 1793, at the Theatre Montansier, and shortly afterwards became a pupil of Mdle. Contat. The latter found her rather extravagant in gesture, and tied up her right arm with a small cord, but as the young actress became excited with her part, the bond was burst and full liberty given to her action; "Bravo," cried Mdle. Contat, "that is the full expression of good comedy—little or no gesture until passion breaks the bond of appearances." She became a *raisonnaire* of the Theatre Française in 1799, and two years afterwards a *sociétaire* for the character of *ingénues*, which the famous critic, Geoffroy, declares she performed to perfection. The retirement of Mdle. Contat in 1810 gave free scope for her talent in the parts of the *grandes coquettes*, and the roles *habillés*. Her great talent consisted in her perfectly natural style, although she studied thoroughly every portion of her play, left nothing to chance, and yet concealed completely the effect of preparation. Many historiettes have been told about this great comedian, her frequent attempts at marriage, her liaisons with Napoleon, and in particular that she always wore violets on the 20th March, the day of her death, and the saying attributed to her, "Il n'y a rien de commun entre Mars et les Gardes-du-corps." These are generally unfounded inventions of the feuilletonists. One anecdote is, however, recorded by Maurice: Louis XVIII. sent her a magnificent pair of earrings after one of her best performances, on which she remarked, "l'autre (meaning Napoleon) n'aurait pas fait autant," at which one of the actresses present remarked, "mais il vous a souvent donné plus qu'il ne fallait pour avoir de meilleurs." She died in 1847, having long before retired from the stage.

Mdle. Rachel's death has been so recently before the public, with many different accounts of her life, that it is completely unnecessary to do more than allude to her position. She was principally remarkable for her performance of tragic pieces, although her first tastes were directed towards the most piquante female characters of Molière

M. de St. Aulaire, her instructor, perceived her greater adaptability for the former class of characters, and endeavoured to confine her to them in vain. Her debut was made in 1837, in the "Vendéenne." She appeared, for the first time, at the Theatre Français, in "Les Horaces," in 1838. Her peculiarity consisted in not declaiming, but speaking her part in the most natural and unaffected manner, at the same time often with tremendous energy. Her income, at first only 4000 francs a year, mounted in two years to 20,000, and has since attained the figure of 300 or 400,000 francs, chiefly earned during the congés allowed to her of six months out of twelve by the Theatre Française. Her father, who was originally a Jew hawker in Switzerland, has been for several years living magnificently on her bounty at Montmorency.

This subject has been already drawn out to too great a length, although the matter with which it might be amply filled, is sufficiently abundant to afford several successive papers. The difficulty of dealing with it lies more in the necessity for compressing and putting it into a connected form, in which a writer might be very materially aided by any book in our language which would treat of the French drama historically as a whole: no such work exists in English, or at least is not easily discoverable by any one who may have need thereof; and those which have appeared in France, are either out of print or very difficult to be got at. This, however, is a subject which would well repay the labours of any eminent literary man.

A word more as to the present position of the French drama. The revolution has caused such a change in public opinion, and has emancipated so much the ideas of the habitués, that authors must run along with the age, and endeavour to find out something novel and striking in every piece they produce. Utility and morality are thrown overboard, scenic representation, and strange positions and characters have obtained a mastery over everything rational and natural: hence arise the curious incongruities and absurdities which encumber the Theatre Français at the present day, the outré style of drama, which is produced to agree with the corrupt taste of the times. Our own stage is becoming infected with this species of malady, through the numerous translations which come across the

channel; the French have the merit of invention, and the English are fools enough to choose the most deleterious of their compounds to minister to the British nation. It is true that now and then a spark of national taste is revived, and the French comedy brings out the master-pieces of her best dramatists, but there is no excitement attendant on them, the house does not fill—the public would prefer a good vaudeville or the nonsense of an opera comique. Everything human must decline, but it is hoped that when this age of novel-writing, bloody-drama-concocting, extravagant revolutionizers, has passed away, there may dawn another era, when the classical comedy in France will become worthy of its great founder, Molière.

ART. V. —PATRIOTS AND PROSELYTIZERS.

A Letter to Lord St. Leonards on the Management of the Patriotic Fund, and the Application of Public Moneys to Proselytizing Purposes. By the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. Third edition, enlarged. Dublin: James Duffy, 7, Wellington quay, Publisher to his Grace, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. 1857.

Scarcely had the festivities attendant upon the proclamation of peace with Russia concluded, when England was again disturbed from the repose she had just begun to enjoy by intelligence of a mutiny amongst her native troops in India. At first it was supposed to be only the disaffection of a few companies, which the authority of their officers, backed by the vicinity of the European soldiers, would suffice to quell. But on receipt of more precise information, it was discovered that the insubordination was more extensive than the people of these countries could have imagined. Every mail brought accounts of some fresh outbreak. The mutineers murdered their officers, took possession of the military stations, expelled the royal forces, and committed the most frightful ravages. Neither age nor sex afforded any protection from their unbridled fury. Tender babes, feeble old men, and delicate females, were alike the victims of their brutal violence; and those who escaped with life from their ruthless persecutors, carried with them painful reminiscences of the appalling scenes through which they had passed. . So serious did the danger appear to many, that it was at one time feared the power of England in India was at an end. But the vigour of the government at home, and the good feeling manifested by the native population in India, combined to extinguish the flame of insurrection, which otherwise might have been attended with most disastrous consequences. For it is to be observed that the native population, except in Oude, refrained from taking part in this revolt, and that whatever atrocities have been committed, are attributable solely to the savage cruelty of the Sepoys. But although this attempt has been repressed, and order partially re-established, the

sufferers, from the excesses of these military rebels, were found to be reduced to almost utter destitution. To alleviate the misery of their condition, and to compensate, as far as possible, the losses they had sustained, it was determined that a national subscription should be organised to provide a fund for the relief of our fellow-countrymen in the East. Accordingly a committee was appointed and authorised to receive contributions, from those who desired to participate in so praiseworthy a project. This was the origin of the "Indian Relief Fund," which, benevolent in its inception, may, if judiciously and impartially administered, achieve the most beneficial results. To this fund the people of England contributed with their characteristic generosity. Nor were they alone in this good work. Foreigners, emulating the bright example, hastened to contribute, desirous thereby to testify their detestation of the cruelties which had been practised, and their sympathy with those who had endured such hardship through the inhumanity of the Sepoys. One class of the community, however, kept aloof, and refrained from co-operating in this great undertaking. The Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom, but chiefly the Roman Catholics of Ireland, refused to contribute to this fund. Such conduct naturally excited considerable comment, and a portion of the press did not hesitate to brand us as "Sepoys" in feeling, wanting only an opportunity to re-enact, in these countries, the frightful scenes by which the revolt in India had been characterised. No doubt they hoped, by aspersing our motives, to weaken the effect and detract from the value of any representations we might make, as to the causes which had induced us to act in this manner. Undeterred, however, by any such disheartening anticipations, the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, addressed from Rome, whither he had gone on business connected with his diocese, a letter to the Very Rev. Monsignor Yore, than whom there is not a more liberal-minded, generous, saintly priest in the Irish Church, intimating his Grace's satisfaction at learning that a subscription was about being made, for the relief of our fellow-countrymen who had been reduced to destitution by the revolt in India. Having expressed his Grace's abhorrence of the outrages perpetrated by the Sepoys, his sincere sympathy with the

sufferers from these excesses, and his hope that the efforts made to relieve them might be attended with success, the Archbishop thus proceeds :—

However, before we take any step in the matter, or call on our flocks to do so, perhaps it would be well to inquire how the fund about to be raised is to be managed, and whether there is any danger that it may be applied by bigots to proselytizing purposes. The recollection of late transactions excites doubts in my mind on this head. In the year 1854 you subscribed to the Patriotic Fund, and you were kind enough to hand in my contribution for the same object. I think, also, that on the same occasion the Catholics of Dublin subscribed very generously according to their means. Now, how was that fund managed? You recollect, and Canon Grimley recollects, that Catholic clergymen of Dublin applied to the managers of the fund in favour of the widows and orphans of soldiers killed in the Crimea; yet, as far as I could learn, not one shilling was then obtained by such applications. When relief was granted in Dublin, a parson was always employed to administer it; and I have heard that he generally selected a Protestant church or vestry as the place for doling it out, thus compelling poor Catholic widows to undergo the mortification of visiting a house of worship which it is against their feelings and conscience ever to enter, and perhaps of waiting for him there before they could see the agent from whom they were to receive assistance. You will also recollect that the good Sisters of Mercy, and of St. Clare, and other religious communities, offered their services to the managers of the Patriotic Fund, for the education, at a very trifling expense, of the female orphans of the Catholic soldiers. Answers were sent to their proposals, but I believe there was not one single orphan committed to their care in Dublin, and I suppose the same may be said of the rest of Ireland. Nor is it to be imagined that the proposals of the good sisters were rejected for want of funds. There was an abundance of money in the hands of the committee; but in the impartial exercise of their powers, they thought fit to apply it to the erection or endowment of Protestant institutions. The *Times* of the 9th of June, 1856 (if I well recollect) informed us that the committee assigned £140,000 or £5,000 per annum, for the education of 300 daughters of sailors and soldiers, together with £20,000 for a house and grounds. As nearly one-half of the army consist of Catholics, very probably one-half of the orphans to be received in the projected house will be of the same religion. Now, let me ask, how many Catholics will be employed in superintending the education of these Catholic children? Most probably there will not be even one; and, under such circumstances, what chance will the poor children have of retaining the religion of their fathers?

“ Besides the grant of £160,000, just mentioned, the *Times* of the same date informs us that an endowment of £25,000 was granted to the Wellington College; £3,000 to the Cambridge Asylum for widows; to the naval school at New Cross; £5,000 to the female school at Richmond; and £5,000 to the naval and military schools at Plymouth and Portsmouth.—These seem to be all grants to Protestant institutions and for Protestant education.

Not a shilling voted, it would appear, to give a Catholic education to Catholic orphans !

I am most anxious that everything possible should be done to relieve the sufferers in India ; let us, however, have some security that the funds collected will not be applied to the foundation of Protestant asylums for the perversion of poor Catholic orphans. The management of the Patriotic Fund shows how necessary it is for us to be cautious. The continual complaints of Catholic bishops and missionaries in India about the attempts made by the East India Company to proselytize, should increase our alarm. Read Doctor Fennelly's late pamphlet, and you will see to what an extent that Company has attempted to promote Protestantism by perverting the orphans of Irish Catholic soldiers. It appears to me that the proper time for coming to a fair understanding about these matters is before any fund is collected.

✠ PAUL CULLEN.

The Canon Grimley here referred to, is a highly respectable and most estimable clergyman, who officiates as Roman Catholic chaplain to the Dublin garrison, we may say without remuneration, for there is, we believe, no specific sum allotted for his services, and the paltry pittance annually paid by government to the parish priest for the use of his church, is by him, with Canon Grimley's assent, handed over, minus the income tax, which the authorities deduct, to an institution devoted to the education of deaf and dumb children. This letter of the Archbishop created not a little sensation. The press ransacked its vocabulary of vituperation for insulting epithets to heap upon him. "The Ultramontane Sepoy," was too mild a term to be applied to one who had presumed to question the management of a fund administered under a Royal Commission. His style was criticised, but his facts could not be disproved. There they are, challenging denial, yet remaining uncontradicted. If his Grace's statistics, extracted from the authorised report of the Royal Patriotic Commissioners, published in the *Times* of the 9th of June, 1856, be true, his accusation is well-founded ; if false, they can be easily shown to be so, not, however, by a vague assertion of his being ill-informed upon a subject with which every reader of the *Times* must have been acquainted, but by the production of the correct report, stating the manner in which the various sums, at the disposal of the Royal Commissioners, were allocated. The latter course has not, and could not, have been pursued, and, therefore, we are justified in regarding his Grace's

statement as true. If so how do the Commissioners stand in relation to the public? The Commissioners were appointed by her Majesty, as the head of the state, trustees, to administer a fund, subscribed by the nation, for certain specified purposes. How has that trust been carried out? Was it the intention of the contributors to that fund, that it should be allocated to Protestant institutions and to Protestant purposes *solely*, or was it not rather intended to provide for the education or maintenance of those who had been deprived of their parents or husbands by death in battle, or while on active service in the field? Surely the latter. And if so then the Commissioners were thereby placed in the position of those protectors whom death had taken away, and were bound to see that the survivors, the objects of national bounty, should not be prejudiced by the loss they had sustained, which loss the Commissioners were appointed in some measure to supply. If then the Commissioners in the discharge of their duty, considered it competent to them to allot nearly a quarter of a million to institutions confessedly Protestant, surely it was within the scope of their authority to allot a proportionate sum for the maintenance or education of the Catholic widows and orphans of Catholic soldiers who fell in the Crimea. This they did not do, and what appears as the result? Out of seven hundred orphans, dependant upon the charity of the country, six hundred and eighty-six have been sent to these schools endowed by the Commissioners, while but fourteen have been permitted to be educated in Catholic institutions and this not without a struggle.

Such is the report up to November last; since then a few more children have been rescued from these patriotic proselytizers. Now estimating at the lowest calculation the relative numbers of Irish Catholics in the English army (say one third) and certainly it will appear that the number of children educated as Catholics shows a startling disproportion, a disproportion not borne out by the statistics of any other class of her majesty's subjects in which a similar relativeness exists. We would not object to the course adopted by the commissioners had we any guarantee that Catholic teachers would be appointed in proportion to the Catholic pupils. But even this poor consolation is denied us. And what, let us ask, will be the character of the reli-

gious education, without which all secular teaching is worse than useless, given by Protestants to Catholics? How can the former conscientiously teach the latter doctrines they believe to be erroneous? Can it be supposed that the deportment of these Protestant teachers while discharging this, to them irksome duty, will be such as to impress their hearers with a proper respect for those sacred mysteries which Catholics hold in such deep reverence, but which they have been taught to scoff at and ridicule? How will these teachers be able to define "Faith," which Catholics look upon as a gift from heaven, a divine virtue which can come only from God, whereas one of the great luminaries of the church of England,* an archbishop, has declared it to be merely a "*fairness in listening to evidence, and judging accordingly without being carried away by prejudice and inclination?*" How could they explain to their class that tremendous mystery in which Catholics believe the living God to be offered up, in an unbloody manner, as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world, when their principles compel them to regard the "Sacrament of the Lord's Supper" as but a memorial of that great sacrifice consummated on Calvary? The effect of Baptism, the efficacy of penance, the authority of the church, the necessity of good works, the number of the sacraments, devotion to the ever Blessed Virgin, &c.—these being matters in regard to which both parties are at issue, sound views according to Catholic theology could not be infused into the minds of Catholic pupils by Protestant professors. And then what influence would such teaching, even supposing it to be given with accuracy, from such lips have upon the moral sense of the pupils? Would it not be calculated to infect their youthful minds with indifferentism or infidelity when they heard doctrines opposed to the principles of their masters, promulgated for money? And further will it not occur to the most shallow thinker that Catholics would not be justified in permitting their children to be taught by such masters? It may be said that Protestants, believing their religion to be the true one, are bound to make every effort to induce those not belonging to their communion, to renounce the errors in which they have been brought up, and enter within that fold wherein is safety. But the answer to this is plain and

* Dr. Whately.

simple. In the first place, Protestants hold that salvation is attainable outside their church. In the second place, Catholics believe as firmly as do Protestants, that *their* church is the true church, "the pillar and the ground of truth," and are therefore as anxious to preserve their children in that faith as the Protestants can be to induce them to depart from it; and finally, the patriotic commission was placed by the country *in loco parentis*, and therefore it was the business of this body to enquire into the religious belief of the parent whose paternal care and duty they were elected to discharge, and it was one of the obligations contracted by the committee on accepting the appointment, to see that the children who had been made a charge for them should be placed in such institutions as those in which, had the father survived, they would have been placed; that they should receive such an education as their fathers would have desired, and that such a sum should be allocated as would be sufficient to carry out these objects.

The commissioners should never have allowed the authority with which they were invested, and the influence which the power of the purse too often, unhappily, confers, to be wrested from the legitimate purpose for which they were intended, to the accomplishment of the aims of a bigoted faction. But we fear that the characteristics of political ambition which the dramatist describes when he says

"Comprendi
Che l'uomo ambizioso é uom crudele
Tra le sue mire di grandezza e lui
Metti il capo del padre e del fratello
Calcherà l'uno e l'altro : e farà d'ambo
Sgabello ai piedi per salir sublime,"

may with equal truth be attributed to religious fanaticism. For that, too, tramples under foot all the relations which society considers binding, disregards the obligation of the most sacred trust, and perverts man's noblest tendencies to the accomplishment of its nefarious projects.

The question of the truth or falsehood of particular religions was not intended, and should not be permitted, to be an element in the allotment of the patriotic fund. Had these children been the offspring of Mahomedan parents, we conceive the committee were bound to have them reared in those particular principles.

If, on the other hand, the Commissioners, in a spirit of compromise, order that there shall be no religious teaching in those schools, but that each may pursue his own course without let or hindrance, what an awful responsibility do they not contract. "Train up a child," says the wise man. Yes, like a tender sapling he must be trained. The evil excrescences which a nature prone to sin necessarily produces must be pruned, the wayward tendencies of childhood must be checked, in his weakness he must be propped up: the irregularities incident to youth must be corrected, and the emotions, the feelings, the talents, the aspirations, must be watched, cherished, directed to just purposes, and limited within proper bounds, to the end that a well-ordered and healthy maturity may be developed. This desirable result can be attained only by a religious and literary education combined. So necessary indeed has this combination been considered, that some of our ablest statesmen have not hesitated to declare religion an *essential* part of everything worthy of the name of education. In a debate in the House of Commons, on the subject of separate grants to the schools of each religious denomination, Lord Morpeth (now Earl of Carlisle), is reported to have said: "We might have taken a uniform scheme, in which we might have prescribed the same course to all alike without adverting to the existing methods, and without adopting any special method of religious teaching; but I believe, in my conscience, that such a plan would not have met with the consent either of parliament or of the people." The religious education here mentioned and alluded to by those to whom we shall immediately refer, does not consist in merely telling children "to be good," they must be taught how. Strong principles of virtue must be inculcated; the temptations and difficulties which beset the path of life should be pointed out; courage to resist and fortitude to bear with those besetting evils of their career, should be carefully instilled into their youthful hearts. In the same debate Lord Mahon said: "For his own part he considered that if the state should confine itself to secular education, without associating it with religion, it would be doing absolutely worse than nothing." Lord John Russell said: "I do not think that the future minister, contemplated by the honorable member (Mr. Roebuck), is likely to have a very long tenure of power, if

‘vote for education without religion’ should be placed on his banner, and that schools entirely secular should be established by the state.” Sir Robert Peel thus spoke : “ I am for a religious, as opposed to a secular, education. I do not think that a secular education would be acceptable to the people of this country. I believe, as the noble Lord (John Russell) has said, that such an education is only half an education, but with the most important half neglected.”

Need we add anything to these observations. Surely nothing can be more conclusive. And the necessity of a religious education being admitted, the question arises, does the term “religious education” apply to every other sect, and exclude only the members of the Catholic persuasion. We apprehend that such a distinction was never contemplated by the legislature, for in the measure which gave rise to the above quoted speeches, the rights of the Catholics are fully recognised. The teaching in their schools, endowed by this act, is Catholic, and everything connected with the system Catholic. Yet in this great public body, acting under the sanction of a royal commission, the rights of the Catholic children of Catholic soldiers are disregarded. It is a principle of the constitution that the child should be brought up in the religion of the father, but notwithstanding this well-established rule, the children of poor Catholic soldiers are seized upon by the proselytizing agents of the commissioners, and compelled either to forfeit all chance of protection or abandon their faith. Such is the fate which England has ordained for the children of those brave soldiers who have shed their blood in copious streams to defend her empire, increase her dominion, and exalt her power.

The letter of his Grace the Archbishop, above quoted, drew forth from Lord St. Leonards a statement, in the form of a note, addressed to the Editor of the *Times*, and published in that influential and authoritative journal. This statement attributes to the Archbishop, notwithstanding his Grace’s express declaration to the contrary, a desire to “induce Roman Catholics to withhold their aid from the Relief Fund for the sufferers in India.” Lest we might inadvertently omit any material part of this statement, we give his lordship’s letter in extenso :—

To the Editor of the Times.

"SIR,

I have just read with much surprise and regret the contents of a letter in your journal of this morning, written by Archbishop Cullen, dated from Rome, and addressed to one of his vicars-general, with the object, as it seems, of inducing Roman Catholics to withhold their aid from the Relief Fund for the sufferers in India. If he really believes that there is danger that the fund may be applied 'by bigots to proselytizing purposes,' his better course would be to raise by the subscriptions of Roman Catholics a separate fund for the relief of the sufferers of their own persuasion, in that respect following apparently the example of a higher authority in the Roman Catholic Church. But could anything be more unwise? Is this a moment to add a drop to the cup of bitterness between the two churches? The heart of every man beats warmly in favour of our suffering and brave soldiers and fellow-subjects in India, without reference to creed. I cannot believe that any subscriber has considered whether his donation will relieve a Protestant or a Roman Catholic. The Sultan of Turkey has set us an example in his munificent subscription which may make us Christians ashamed of insisting upon differences between our churches as a ground for not subscribing to the general fund. Roman Catholic equally with Protestant blood has been freely shed with a noble daring in defence of our sovereignty in the East. Christians of all denominations have suffered torture and death in their most savage forms, and the object of the subscribers is to alleviate the suffering of those who survive. It is treason to humanity to suppose that the fund will not be honestly dedicated to the sacred purposes for which it is designed. Still, I should not have felt it my duty to make any remark on Dr. Cullen's letter, had he abstained from attacking the management of the Patriotic Fund as regards the widows and orphans of Roman Catholic soldiers during the period I had the honor of being chairman of the executive and finance committee. According to his statement, applications were made by Catholic clergymen of Dublin to the manager of the fund, in favor of the widows and orphans of soldiers killed in the Crimea, yet, as far as he could learn, not one shilling was then obtained by such applications. Now, I assert that no application for the relief of any widow or orphan of a soldier killed in the Crimea was ever rejected or neglected, although I think it probable that applications by Roman Catholic clergymen of Dublin for money to be remitted to them for distribution by them among claimants of their own creed were not complied with. But I say, without fear of contradiction, that in distributing relief no question ever arose as to the religious persuasion of the claimant, except so far as to make the mode of payment as agreeable as it might be to the recipient. Archbishop Cullen then states that when relief was granted in Dublin, a parson was always employed to administer it, and he had heard that he generally selected a Protestant church or vestry as the place of doling it out. I never heard, during the many months of my attendance on the duties of my office as chairman of the committee, any complaint of the manner

of the distribution, and the payments were made by the paymasters of pensions wherever their services could be obtained, and always so as to meet the convenience of the claimants as far as might be. Dr. Cullen then refers to the manner in which the funds were ultimately allotted, and he says that they seem to be all grants to Protestant institutions and Protestant purposes. This only proves that Dr. Cullen is writing from Rome upon a subject dear to England and Ireland, in regard to which he is ill-informed. At every step care has been taken to extend the same relief to the widows and children of Roman Catholics as to those of Protestants. But while religious belief forms no element in the claim to relief, due regard has been paid to the religious feelings and education of the Roman Catholics. Some attempt was made to obtain a separate allotment out of the fund, to be managed by a committee of Roman Catholic gentlemen, for the relief of Roman Catholic objects in Ireland; but this was resisted, and I certainly understood that the arrangements as they now stand satisfied all classes and every denomination of Christians. If the charge of unfair conduct in regard to relief from the Patriotic Fund should be persisted in, it may be found necessary to enter more particularly into facts, in order to vindicate the conduct of the committee, which, up to this moment has never been impeached.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

"ST. LEONARDS.

"Boyle Farm, October 5."

This letter it will be apparent does not touch the real point at issue, it keeps wide of the question, it indulges in imputations for which there is no ground, and proposes that a course should be adopted which the writer immediately scouts as most unwise. His lordship charges the Archbishop with "treason to humanity" in supposing that the fund will not be properly applied, and asks, "is this a moment to add a drop to the cup of bitterness between the two churches?" The insinuation contained in this question is most unfair, for it assumes that the Archbishop intended to produce, by his letter, such an effect. To us, who have attentively read his Grace's communication to the Very Reverend Monsignor Yore, it seems that his Grace's intention was quite the contrary, and that his desire, as manifested by his letter, was, that in the removal of the doubts entertained by his flock as to the proper administration of the patriotic fund, such an explanation of the course pursued by the commissioners and their agents might be afforded as would extinguish that "bitterness" which his lordship affirms to exist between the churches, and dispose the Roman Catholics to contribute to the Indian relief fund. His lordship proceeds, writing at random, upon this subject. The

manner in which he tries to evade the statistics of his Grace is really unworthy of a person occupying the high position of his lordship. He says, "Dr Cullen then refers to the manner in which the funds were ultimately allotted, and he says, 'that they seem to be all grants to Protestant institutions and Protestant purposes.' This only proves that Dr. Cullen is writing from Rome upon a subject dear to England and Ireland, in regard to which he is ill-informed." Any unprejudiced person can see the drift of this observation: it is a base attempt to pander to the anti-Roman passions of Englishmen. How locality can affect the existence or non-existence of a fact we are really at a loss to determine. But his lordship, seeing he could not deny the statement made by the Archbishop, and knowing the antipathy that exists in the minds of most Englishmen towards any person or anything connected with Rome, hoped to escape from the difficulty in which he found himself by an appeal to the fanaticism of English bigots. Such a subterfuge will not avail; for, though at particular periods opposition to Romanism may cloud the judgment and obscure for a time the reason of the English people, still their sense of justice and love for impartiality is too deeply rooted to permit any mere feeling of antagonism to impede the due course of unbiassed opinion. The English people value too highly the privilege of free utterance which they possess to allow themselves to be induced to yield up that right by the cajoleries of the most skilful charlatan. The Archbishop, confident in the correctness of his figures, tries to convince their judgments and their reason. Lord St. Leonards, conscious of the weakness of the cause he has undertaken to advocate, appeals to their prejudices and their passions. Let us not be supposed to question the right of the English people to indulge feelings of dislike towards Rome as the city of the Pontiffs; we consider the feeling as the result of a groundless prejudice, but they no doubt think themselves justified in fostering that sentiment; we do, however, most strongly object to public men endeavouring to excite those feelings by inconsequential reasoning, seeking to import partizanship into a case from which it should be sedulously excluded. To prove that we were justified in attributing to his lordship a desire to enlist the popular prejudice in his favour, it will be sufficient for us to point out the character of his argument. The Most Reverend Dr. Cullen made a certain

statement which his lordship does not attempt to displace, but contents himself with saying, "this only proves that Dr. Cullen is writing from *Rome* upon a subject dear to *England and Ireland*, in regard to which he is ill-informed." How such a deduction can be drawn we cannot conceive. What proves that "Dr. Cullen is writing from Rome?" The statement? If so it would follow that a fact, which is admitted to be a fact by the Report of the Patriotic Commissioners, ceases to be such when the person who reiterates the fact dates his letter from "Rome." If his lordship mean this it is absurd; if he do not mean this, he means nothing. But his lordship, we are sure, never contemplated any such fallacy; the predominant idea in his mind was, to create against the writer such a sentiment in the minds of his readers as would disincline them to lend a favourable ear to any future representations. This was the reason why his lordship placed in antithetical proximity Rome and England. Then comes the appendix "in regard to which he is ill-informed." This is only filling stuff, for his lordship knew very well that his Grace, in common with others, her Majesty's subjects at least, was in full possession of the facts disclosed by the report, perhaps signed by his lordship, and it would be rather too much to expect an intelligent reader to believe that his Grace was ignorant of the contents of a report in which so many of his flock were concerned, published in the newspapers fifteen months previous to the date of his Grace's letter. It was a nasty little trick, natural enough, perhaps, in a petty fogging attorney of the Old Bailey, but most unbecoming in a distinguished member of the House of Peers.

With regard to his lordship's understanding that the arrangements satisfied all classes and every denomination of christians, "we fear *he* was ill-informed;" if indeed his lordship includes Roman Catholics in any denomination of Christians. Any delusion under which his lordship may have laboured on this subject must have been removed by the letter of the Duke of Norfolk, which we subjoin:

" Norfolk house,

Wednesday, October 7, 1857.

" MY LORD,

" I have just read your lordship's letter to the *Evening Mail* animadverting upon a pastoral issued by the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen. I do not write for the purpose of commenting upon the general merits

of the Archbishop's pastoral, or of your lordship's letter ; but I cannot allow your lordship to continue in the belief that the arrangements of the Patriotic Fund, as they now stand, satisfy all classes and every denomination of Christians. To the Roman Catholics those arrangements are exceedingly unsatisfactory, and I shall feel much obliged to your lordship if you will in the ensuing session of Parliament move for returns upon the subject, so as to lay before the public the manner in which the large sums intrusted to the Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund have been dealt with, and thus to show how far Catholic feelings have been respected in their distribution. I feel it my duty to make this statement with reference to your lordship's letter, and to give it similar publicity.

" I have the honor to be, my lord, faithfully yours,

" NORFOLK.

" The Lord St. Leonards, etc."

The returns recommended in this letter, and afterwards in Lord St. Leonards' reply, partially promised, we believe have been prepared, but as they are not yet before the public, we cannot comment upon them. To the above letter of the Duke of Norfolk, Lord St. Leonards sent the following answer :—

" Boyle Farm, October 10.

" MY LORD,

" I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's letter. I believe that the manner in which the sums intrusted to the Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund have been dealt with, as far as they have been finally appropriated, is already before the public ; but the Royal Commissioners will, no doubt, reassemble before the meeting of parliament, when your Grace's letter to me can be brought under their consideration.

" I have the honor to be, my lord, your Grace's faithful servant,

" ST. LEONARDS.

" The Duke of Norfolk."

We give this correspondence at large, in order that the public may understand the condition of the question, at the time the Archbishop addressed to Lord St. Leonards the letter which we have placed at the head of this paper.

Such, then was the position in which matters stood at the time, when the Archbishop, having returned from Rome, published an answer to the observations of Lord St. Leonard's. His Grace's long absence in the Eternal City, and the time required to collect, and arrange the documents upon which his allegations were founded, prevented his Grace

from replying to the statements of his Lordship as speedily as was desirable. This delay led those journals hostile to his Grace to indulge in many a sneer at his Grace's want of prudence in preferring charges he was not able to substantiate, and many of them declared he had abandoned the contest: boldly asserted that his accusations were groundless, and vauntingly dared him to the proof. Had his Grace allowed the letter of Lord St. Leonards to remain unanswered, abandoned things to their natural course and left the vindication of his first letter to time and the progress of events, he would have been justified in so doing. For his Grace's statements had not been denied, nor his allegations disproved. But his Grace considered that he might be thought wanting in courtesy to the Commissioners, did he not proclaim the circumstances which had induced him to make so serious a charge against a public body. Little did those newspapers which prematurely proclaimed a victory understand the character of him over whom they rashly triumphed. Fear he knows not. His Grace is not one to stultify himself, by statements unadvisedly put forward and hastily withdrawn. He never complains without cause; never makes a statement, the accuracy of which can be questioned, nor prefers a charge, the validity of which can be impugned. He thoroughly sifts the circumstances of every case upon which he is required to form a judgment, and convinces himself, beyond the moral possibility of doubt, that the representations made to him are true, before he endorses with the sanction of his name assertions liable to be controverted. And it is meet it should be so. For there are so many ever on the watch, for opportunities to criticise, nay not unfrequently to distort, expressions for the furtherance of their malignant hostility, that it behoves one in his Grace's position to be wary lest by an incautious phrase or an indiscreet assertion he may give a topic to his opponents upon which they may descant to the prejudice of that authority with which every averment emanating from his Grace should be attended. And well does the Archbishop observe this caution. To him we may look with confidence, in him we may repose with safety, well assured that his authorities have been collated, his facts certified and his opinions formed upon data, that cannot be controverted.

The Archbishop's letter appeared on the 21st November, 1857. Great was the dismay felt by that portion of the

press, which with profligate mendacity, had not scrupled to designate his Grace's statements as false, and with characteristic prescience had predicted that he would not dare to confirm by proof, what he had so rashly volunteered to assert. Sad was the reverse which those writers experienced when "the reply to Lord St. Leonards" which publicly they boasted they so much desired, but which in reality they anticipated with great apprehension, appeared; and it should prove a warning, to those who indulge so freely in nocturnal vaticinations not to permit a personal hostility to lead them beyond the bounds which prudence prescribes. Thus it was in this case:—Imbued with the greatest animosity towards the person and the profession of the Archbishop, these writers hoped that his Grace would pursue that course which would have been most pleasing to their party, and as it not unfrequently happens that individuals who wish a certain course to be adopted become so engrossed by the desire, that they imagine what they wished for has been done. Besides, there is another reason, and even a stronger one, to account for the conduct of these journals. Most people are apt to fashion the conduct of others upon the model of their own under similar circumstances. And from a recent occurrence we have every reason to believe, that the manner of proceeding pointed at as that which the Archbishop was about to adopt, would be the very manner in which these newspapers would act, even were their charges as false as his Grace's have been proved to be true. As we before said, his Grace's letter appeared, and certainly we may say without any danger of been called a flatterer, that a more calm, dispassionate, impartial statement, it has rarely been our lot to hear or read. It displays an honest wish to have a fair investigation of the various circumstances he therein details. His Grace does not condescend to indulge in empty threats, fruitless warnings, or claptrap appeals to passion and prejudice; his sole object is to arrive at the truth, and he declares his willingness to correct any error into which through inadvertence or prepossession he may be betrayed. With a moderation that cannot be too highly commended, particularly as his subject might have justified some warmth of expression, involving as it does, interests of vast and vital importance to the members of his Grace's flock, the Archbishop has laid before the public the case upon

which he relies, furnishing evidence sufficient to vindicate his Grace's conduct in publishing certain allegations in his former letter, and sufficient also to show that his Grace's assertions prove something more than "that Dr. Cullen is writing from Rome upon a subject dear to England and Ireland, in regard to which *he is ill-informed.*"

Passing over then the early portion of his Grace's letter, which is occupied with a brief account of the progress of proselytism in this country, the methods by which these Christian (?) ministers inculcate by their example the doctrines of the gospel of charity, and how they strive to foster a feeling of brotherly love amongst neighbours. These being matters with which Irishmen are well acquainted and which Englishmen cannot comprehend,* we do not think it judicious to enter upon any subject which would be at all likely to withdraw the attention of our readers from the topic in the discussion of which we are at present more immediately concerned. In order then that we may understand the points at issue, it will be necessary to state them fully. For it is perfectly useless to argue if we do not know what we are arguing about, and there can be no hope of arriving at a just conclusion unless the subject be clearly understood and fully agreed upon.

To this end we must beg our readers to disabuse their minds of the erroneous impression which some of the public prints have, no doubt for a particular purpose, sought to disseminate, viz. that our object is to impede the success of the collection for the relief of the Indian sufferers. Such an impression, besides being erroneous, would be most pernicious in its effect, as it would by enlisting the sympathies of those who feel warmly on this subject against our reasoning, disincline them to give to the views which we are propounding that impartial attention which the importance

*An English gentleman, a Protestant, who had previously enjoyed a blissful ignorance, with regard to the character of the proselytizing schools which are so numerous in this city, being brought by a friend to visit one, was so disgusted at the appearance, the demeanour of, and the answers given, to some of the pet questions usually propounded on the occasion of such visits, by, these converts (!) that he requested his friend to bring him to some Roman Catholic school in order that he might rid himself of the unpleasant impression which his visit had made, and begged his friend never to ask him to go to such a place again.

of the matters under our consideration will require. We have no such object in view, for that indeed would be "treason to humanity," but what we wish is simply to shew, from the facts which the Archbishop, brings forward and from others which must have attracted the attention of the public, that the Archbishop having regard to the knowledge he then possessed, was justified in warning his flock against the danger of permitting their compassion for the sufferings of their fellow countrymen to beguile them into conferring upon an irresponsible body, a power which might be employed to the spiritual injury of their brethren in the faith, unless some safeguards were afforded, other than those which on a former occasion had been found insufficient, to protect them against the recurrence of the evils of which in the management of the patriotic fund, his Grace had had reason to complain. The enquiry will thus naturally divide itself into two heads.

1st. Whether there existed any grounds for suspicion of proselytism in the management of the patriotic fund, enabling Catholics to consider that their interests had not been regarded in the disbursement of the funds at the disposal of the commissioners, and calculated to render them satisfied with the allocation of the surplus funds.

2nd. Whether Catholics had any guarantee that the money collected for the Indian relief fund might not be similarly applied.

The second point will follow as a corollary to the first, as the funds were pretty much in the same position, except that in the former a greater confidence was induced by the sanction under which the administrators acted, than can be claimed for the latter. If then we can prove that the Patriotic commissioners, or their agents, or both, were obnoxious to the charge of partiality in the distribution of relief to the persons committed to their care, or of bias in the selection of certain institutions as objects of their generosity in the allotment of the surplus funds at their disposal, we think we shall have established a sufficient vindication of the conduct of the Archbishop in recommending caution, and a sufficient justification of those who believe with him in withholding, under the circumstances, their aid from the fund for the relief of the sufferers in India. If the Catholics of this Empire have refrained from subscribing to the Indian

relief fund, all the blame must be laid at the door of that short-sighted bigotry, which, for the attainment of an ephemeral triumph, risks the success of every scheme of national benevolence, destroys the faith of a large portion of her majesty's subjects, in the existence of any security for a due regard being had to their religious feelings, in the distribution of public funds, and widens that gulf between the churches which good men deplore, and into which those who desire to promote the prosperity of the country would gladly pour their richest treasures, could they hope thereby to close it for ever. Now let us be clearly understood, and we are most anxious about this matter; we arraign not the management of the Indian relief fund, with which, as yet, we have had no reason to quarrel, but we do arraign the Patriotic Fund for using, or permitting to be used, the public money for proselytizing purposes, and for having allotted a large surplus of that money without regard to Catholic wants or Catholic wishes, to Protestant institutions and Protestant purposes.

These preliminaries being settled, we shall enter upon the consideration of the Archbishop's letter to Lord St. Leonards. After referring to the unfortunate condition of things in this country, where, on the one hand, the grossest abuse is daily heaped upon the religious creed and the religious observances of the Catholics, the former stigmatised as a fable, the latter ridiculed as a mummary; and on the other, the greatest inducements held out to tempt the poor to desert the faith of their fathers and adopt a form in which they cannot believe. We say cannot believe, for it is Dr. Johnson, we think, who says, that the sincerity of a conversion from Protestantism to Catholicity can be easily credited, for in this case it is only believing what has been already taught, and something more; but how a change from Catholicity to Protestantism can be the effect of conviction, he cannot understand; as, in the latter case, the convert has to disbelieve everything, which, up to the period of his change, he has been taught to believe, and adopt a new system opposed to all his preconceived ideas. Having related how, at the time when our Catholic soldiers were fighting side by side with their Protestant companions, and shedding their blood freely on the burning sands of India, to sustain the glory of England, and avert the fate which was supposed to impend, those apostles of intole-

rance did not hesitate to denounce the religion of these brave men as idolatrous, and themselves as little, if at all, better than those infidel Mahommedans against whom they were contending. Having deplored the existence of this unchristian warfare waged with such violence by persons claiming to be ministers of a gospel of peace, on the members of the Catholic church, and having shewn that he, on his part, has done all in his power to lessen the hostility between the churches, his Grace goes on to say :—

Now, having a knowledge of the party and the feelings which I have described, was I not, my Lord, justified in inquiring by whom the funds about to be collected, were to be managed,—whether by men of honour and character, or by men who on other occasions had not hesitated to traffic on human misery? Had I not a right to ask, without incurring the guilt of treason to human nature, what protection was to be given to poor Catholic orphans, in whose souls a traffic, worse than the slave trade, is sought to be established?

I perceive that an inquiry almost similar was considered expedient by a colleague of your Lordship in the management of the Patriotic Fund—Sir John Pakington. “There exists,” so we read in a letter of his to the *Times*, “in the public mind, in combination with a desire to subscribe, a feeling that no adequate security has yet been offered with respect either to the responsibility under which the fund is to be administered, or the principles, regulations, or conditions under which it is to be applied.” When such an uneasiness about the fund existed in England, where fair play is the general rule, and where no attempt is ever made to injure the religion of the great mass of the people, could it be considered strange that doubts of a similar nature should be raised in Ireland, where bigotry and intolerance have left indelible traces on the soil?

Nor, my Lord, was the management of the various funds, collected for the relief of the sufferers in the late Russian war, calculated to make us place unbounded confidence in every future collection. In many cases, the sums raised were openly applied to the purposes of proselytism. A respectable lady living in Ireland, the widow of an officer, assured me some time ago, that, having applied to one of the societies established for relieving sufferers in the army, she was promised the means of educating her son and daughter, but was informed, at the same time, that they would be obliged to attend Protestant service at the school in which they were to be placed. I believe some of the public committees, and the founders of Hampstead School, did not attempt to conceal their proselytizing tendencies.

Greater regard to justice and charity was certainly displayed in the management of the Patriotic Fund, and undoubtedly your Lordship and your colleagues undertook that work of benevolence in a most impartial spirit. That, however, in carrying it out, grounds for complaint have been given, and arrangements attributed to your body or your agents, have been looked on justly with dissatisfaction, I trust I shall give you convincing proof. Far be it from me, how-

ever, to charge you or your colleagues, with a desire to do anything unfair, though I cannot but condemn some of the proceedings for which you are held responsible. Probably, whatever was defective or reprehensible in your administration, is to be attributed to under-agents of biased minds, whilst all the good that was done is to be referred to the direct agency of the Commissioners themselves.

It may be true, and no doubt it is, that the commissioners entered upon their duties with the very best possible intentions of acting with impartiality, but, it is clearly manifest that these intentions were not, in the sequel, carried out. It may be that the functions of this commission were, like those of other similar public bodies, in reality discharged by one or two working members, the others merely assenting to their acts, quite satisfied with the representations made to them, and it may be that these representations were not always in strict accordance with truth. It may be that the Commissioners, relying on the statements made to them of the favor and approval with which the conduct of their agents in Ireland had been regarded by all parties, considered that these officials had in every matter acted with fairness and impartiality towards the applicants for assistance, and were therefore entitled to the support of the Commissioners against the groundless clamour which discontented and ill conditioned persons sought to excite. The idea prevalent amongst English people, that Irishmen, but particularly Irish Catholics, so love grievances that they cannot live without them, and oftentimes themselves create the evils of which they complain, may have induced the Commissioners to pass unnoticed the many demands for redress. But this is no apology, for the commissioners were bound to see that the money was properly distributed, and should not have allowed their names to be used without the strictest investigation. We set a high value upon the honour of English gentlemen, and cannot believe that they would be, knowingly, parties to what, in the mildest terms, must be called a fraud upon the public ; but, if they desire that their high reputation for probity should continue unimpeachable, they must themselves be careful not to allow their characters to be trifled with, nor permit their names to be associated with proceedings more than suspicious. Spotless reputation is the highest boast of man, the purest treasure mortal times afford ; as the poet says :—

“ Mine honour is my life, both grow in one,
Take honour from me and my life is done.”

A fair name, without which, "men are but gilded loam and painted clay," should not causelessly or unheedingly be endangered by a rash adoption of statements open to contradiction. This is even more needed in public men; occupying, as they generally do, positions challenging public confidence, any failure on their parts tends to throw discredit upon every enterprise undertaken under their auspices. Besides being brought prominently before the country, their conduct is open to such severe scrutiny and their motives so often canvassed, that it is incumbent upon them to be careful so to regulate their lives that no imputation can be cast upon the integrity of their motives and the uprightness of their acts. The evil which results to the middle and lower classes from the corruption of those in high places, has been, in every age and in every country, too plainly exhibited to require notice. There is such a spirit of imitation in man, and such an absorbing sentiment of adulation for the aristocracy, in these countries, that the follies, the eccentricities, nay, the very vices of the great, are, by the little, aped, copied and exaggerated.

There is also this to be noted, that every evidence of the absence of those high principles, which should be the rule of all, afforded by the exalted and the noble of the land, weakens the prestige by which rank is hedged round: and every gap thus created presents an opening for the encroachment of those levelling doctrines which are dangerous even to democracies, and would be destructive of that mixed government under which we live. It behoves, then, those entrusted with public duties to perform them with honesty and fidelity. The neglect of this precaution, which is so necessary, even in our private relations, has involved the commissioners of the patriotic fund in a very serious difficulty, from which they will find it no easy task to extricate themselves with personal credit and public approbation. There must be no shuffling, no quibbling, no shifting of blame from one to the other, from principal to agent, from agent to principal. The public will not be trifled with. A great question is at issue. Did the commissioners faithfully administer the trust on which the public money was confided to them, or suffer it to be diverted to dark dishonour's use? Was it treated as a memorial of a nation's gratitude towards those who fell in defence of that nation's honour, or regarded only as a testi-

mony of partizan zeal for the promotion of sectarian purposes. Let the facts speak. Here is one:—

Among the many brave soldiers who lost their lives in the service of their country during the late Russian war, we find the name of Serjeant John Kirley, of the Fourth Dragoon Guards. Kirley was a native of Louth, and a Catholic. When dying, he left behind him in this country, a wife and three children. Unhappily, her afflictions preyed upon his wife's mind, and after some time she was placed in a lunatic asylum in this city. In the mean while, the report having gone abroad that the children were about to be sent to Protestant schools, at the expense of the Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund, the Rev. Canon Grimley, a clergyman who had devoted many years to the religious instruction of the Catholic soldiers in Dublin, wrote to Major Harris of the Royal Hospital of this City, agent to the Commissioners, informing him that the young Kirleys were Catholics, and protesting against any unjust interference with their religion. Major Harris did not give a decisive answer to Canon Grimley's letter, but stated that he would refer the case to the consideration of the Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund.

The question of the education of three Catholic children was thus fairly brought before the Commissioners, or those who were acting in their name. What their decision was, we learn from a letter of Major Harris, in reply to Canon Grimley, who, having waited for several weeks without hearing anything further about the fate of the young Kirleys, begged of the major, in a second communication, to let him know what was the decision of the Commissioners. Here is Major Harris's letter, of which I hold the original:—

“Royal Hospital, Dublin,

“April 26, 1857.

“SIR,

“I have the honour to acknowledge your note of the 19th inst. It does not appear that the children of Serjeant Kirley were ever, at any time, brought up by their parents in the Roman Catholic faith, and therefore they have been sent to a Protestant school where they will be well taken care of by the Royal Patriotic Commission. Had these children been Roman Catholics, they would have been sent to a Roman Catholic school, and the same care would be taken of them.

“Should any further correspondence on this subject appear to you to be necessary, I beg you will be so good as to address it to the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Patriotic Commission.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) “R. R. HARRIS,

“Major and District Officer.

“Rev. Thomas Grimley, etc.,

“St. Paul's Church, Dublin.”

Here let us pause to direct the attention of our readers to the letter of the gallant major.

The Reverend Canon Grimley, is a most estimable clergyman, universally respected by all parties for his zeal and piety; he has devoted much of his time to the religious instruction of Catholic soldiers, and in the discharge of the many duties incident to his position must have had some official intercourse with the major. This Reverend gentleman, hearing that the young Kirleys had been sent to a Protestant school, wrote to the major, as the agent of the Patriotic Commissioners, informing him that these children were Catholics. To this letter an evasive answer was returned. After some time, Canon Grimley wrote again, and in reply, received the note to which we wish to draw the *particular* attention of the reader. The major knew Canon Grimley to be a Priest, a gentleman of high honour and of unimpeachable veracity, yet with a want of courtesy difficult to understand, the usual style of address adopted towards clergymen is departed from, probably through inadvertence; but it is strange that a tone so different from that which was exhibited in Major Harris' former letter should be so suddenly manifested. It suggests the idea that the Commissioners may have had a wish to snub any intermeddling Catholic Priest whose troublesome enquiries might disturb the even tenor of the course they had resolved to pursue.

This officer then proceeds with his letter in these words: "It does not appear that the children of Serjeant Kirley were ever at any time brought up by their parents in the Roman Catholic faith, and *therefore* they have been sent to a Protestant school where they will be well (!) taken care of by the Royal Patriotic Commission". This is another of those little courtesies which abound in the major's "complete letter writer" under the heading of "reply to a letter from a popish priest." Civilians usually indulge in the habit of softening down the asperities of a correspondence in regard to a matter in which there may exist a difference of opinion, and when they wish to intimate a doubt of the truth of any statement made by the writer to whom they are replying, generally convey their disbelief, in that well understood, but still inoffensive phrase, "we fear you are ill informed." But the major, with that military frankness and soldierlike disregard for the amenities of social life, goes straight to the point, and on the principle of when you mean a thing, say it in the plainest way, and in the fewest

possible words, he tells Canon Grimley plumply, "he lies." "Sir, you lie." Nothing is simpler, nothing more daring, and like other simple and daring things, nothing more dangerous. The major is now "in position," he cannot retreat. Oh yes he can. He is too clever a tactician to be trapped so easily. He only wrote as agent of the Patriotic Commissioners, and acted on "instructions from head quarters." Very well, major, we are content, every latitude will be given to you. It will answer our purpose as well to have it so. No doubt you conveyed to the Commissioners, all that Canon Grimley wrote to you. We should like to see that letter, and the answer the Hon. Sec. sent to it. The Commissioners then were in full possession of all the facts of the case, and they directed their Secretary to direct you to write the letter of "April 26, 1857." Every enquiry was, of course, made to discover in what religion the Kirleys had been brought up. The authorities in Dundalk were written to; the Rev. Mr. Hort, Chaplain of the Dublin garrison, was consulted; the records of the penitentiary were searched to discover the religion of the surviving parent; and all concurred to shew that the parents were not Catholics, and that the children were never at any time brought up by their parents in the Roman Catholic faith. Had they been, "they would have been sent to a Roman Catholic school, and the same care would be taken of them." Major, previous to your writing this letter, had you been at the Grange Gorman Penitentiary? If you had been, you knew that Mrs. Kirley was entered there as a "Roman Catholic." Did you ask the Chaplain, in what faith the children had been brought up? If you did you would have been informed "in the Roman Catholic faith." If you did make these enquiries, and still wrote what you did write, you acted very improperly. If you did not make these enquiries, and wrote the letter of the 26, of April, of your own mere motion, in contradiction of Canon Grimley's statement, you have placed yourself in a most unenviable position. Should it so happen that you continue in that ignorance which to you, under the circumstances would be bliss, we regret that duty obliges us to deprive you of your enjoyment. It is a fact that Serjeant Kirley was a Catholic, his father and mother, now dead, were Catholics, his brother and sister still living are Catholics. Kirley attended mass in Dundalk, and performed the other duties required of him by his Church. This you might have learned from the

Chaplain at that station. Whilst stationed there he placed his children in the school attached to the Convent of the Sisters of Mercy in that town, as proved by a letter of the superioress, which we insert.

“ St. Malachi's,
“ October 26, 1857.

“ MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,—
“ In reply to your Grace's kind letter, which I received this morning, I beg to say that Margaret, Patrick, and Alice Kirley, attended our schools during the months of June, July, and August, 1854. The father, a soldier, brought them himself, and was most anxious they should be instructed in the Catholic religion. . . .
(Signed) “ SR. M. DE SALES VIGNE.”

Had you consulted the Rev. Mr. Hort, he would have told you that when he proposed to Kirley sending one of his girls to England to a Protestant lady, the Serjeant stipulated that the girl should be brought up a Catholic.

Now for Mrs. Kirley. Some of our good friends of the press made great fun of this poor woman. They referred with great glee to the number of times she had been in prison. But now she is on the high road to respectability, she has become a Protestant. But what was she at the time the children were about being sent to school? Here are the letters of the governor and of the chaplain of the Penitentiary.

“ Grangegorman Prison, Dublin,
“ November 4, 1757.

“ REVEREND SIR,
“ With reference to your letter just received, I beg to state that you shall have the same information as that given to Major Harris, concerning the prisoner Kirley.

“ Major Harris called here early in the summer of this year, and told me that the object of his visit was, if possible, to ascertain the religion of the children of the woman Kirley, who was then in my custody as a lunatic ; that he was anxious to do something for them on the part of the Patrotic Fund Committee. I at once complied, and in the Major's presence directed Mr. Warren, the chief clerk, who has charge of the registries, and who is a most correct officer, to refer to them, which he did, and I think he traced herself and children back, in the Beggar's Registry, for four, but I am quite certain for three times or committals, and in each of these they were entered ‘ Roman Catholics,’ and, if I mistake not, Major Harris did not consider it necessary to trace them farther back. I then sent for Kirley, who made some rambling remarks. I, however, told the Major that I would get a certificate from the medical officer, to say whether she was capable of making any statement which could be relied upon ; this I did, and forwarded it to him ; but the doctor's opinion was that she was a mere lunatic.

“ On her last committal as a lunatic, she was also entered as a Roman Catholic.

“ I have the honor to be, Reverend Sir,
“ Your obedient servant,
“ Rev. Canon Grimley.” “ THOMAS L. SYNNOTT.

“ 19 Cabra Parade, Dublin,
 “ November 4, 1857.

“ DEAR MR. GRIMLEY,

“ In answer to your queries I have to state that Mrs. Kirley and her children were in the penitentiary of which I am chaplain. They were Catholics. I instructed the eldest child in her religious duties, and she went several times to confession.

“ Believe me to be

“ Your faithful servant,

“ THOMAS WHYTE,

“ Roman Catholic Chaplain to Grangegorman
 Penitentiary.

“ Very Rev. Canon Grimley,

“ etc., etc.”

Lest there might be any doubt of the religion which Mrs. Kirley professed, we subjoin a set of affidavits sworn before M. Kelly, Esq., J. P. for the county Louth, testifying to the fact of the religion of parents and children being the same.

“ I, Elizabeth Quinn, of Lisdoe, county Louth, do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I am sister of the late Serjeant John Kirley, of the Fourth Dragoon Guards; that Margaret M'Cormick, my brother John's wife, lived with me for four months; that she and her children attended Mass while stopping with me, and that said Margaret M'Cormick, my brother John's wife, told me she was at confession with Father Kieran of Dundalk. My brother John Kirley expressed in my presence that he wished his children to be educated in the Convent School of Dundalk.”

“ I, Patrick Kiernan, C.C. of Dundalk, do solemnly and sincerely declare, that Mrs. Kirley, wife of the late Serjeant Kirley, of the Fourth Dragoon Guards, presented herself for the reception of Sacraments in the Catholic Church at Dundalk.”

“ I, Mary Macken, of Dundalk, do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I lived in the same house with Mrs. Kirley, wife of the late Serjeant John Kirley, of the Fourth Dragoon Guards, about three months; that I heard her frequently say she was a Roman Catholic; that she could have got her eldest child provided for by a Protestant lady in England, but she would not consent to have her child brought up a Protestant.”

“ I, Rose Martin, of Seatown, county Louth, do solemnly and sincerely declare, that Mrs. Kirley, wife of the late Serjeant John Kirley, of the Fourth Dragoon Guards, lived in my house in Seatown; that I saw her and her children at Mass; that I heard her say she was a Roman Catholic; that I heard Serjeant Kirley state he wished above all things his children would be educated by the nuns.”

Now what becomes of the major's, "It does not appear that the young Kirleys were ever at any time brought up in the Roman Catholic faith." Had one of the parents been a Protestant, there might have been some colour for the supposition that they had got no religious education at all, for mixed marriages oftentimes produce indifferentism in both parents, or matters are arranged between the parties by a compromise. But when both parents were Roman Catholics, married by a Roman Catholic Priest, it does appear rather absurd, to suppose that the children of such a marriage should be brought up not in the Roman Catholic faith. But we have shown by the strongest evidence, that these children were Catholics, and therefore the major's assertion is proved false. Now these matters have been known to the major for some time, yet he has neither withdrawn or explained his statement, but like a true hero is resolved to die at his post. As soon as these facts came to light, the Patriotic Commissioners immediately sent the children to a Catholic school, in accordance with the major's promise? Nothing of the sort. They have the children, and they have the mother, and they declare the mother wishes the children to be brought up Protestants. The wishes of a lunatic are certainly sure guides, and safe ones, to indicate how the children should be reared. Should her madness assume a different form, what will be the fate of the children? Thus these "Patriots and Proselytizers" take advantage of the position in which the country has placed them to defeat the purpose for which they were appointed. Hitherto it had been but too apparent, how the most awful calamity which had ever afflicted a country could be used as a means to rob the poor of that religion, to which through ages of persecution they had clung with wonderful tenacity, and that under the guise of private benevolence, individuals could avail themselves of the destitution of many to tamper with the faith of a few. But it remained to be proved, that a great national body organised for a noble purpose could degrade its high mission to accomplish the base ends of misguided zealots. It had been hoped that the blood so freely shed for England's glory, would have put an end to the distinctions which party feeling had created, and that the companionship of labour, of suffering, and of victory, abroad would have been the forerunner of union at home: that

henceforth all differences of creed, should merge in the undivided effort to promote the prosperity of the country, and that the time, ingenuity, and energy previously expended in fostering religious rancour, and sectarian bigotry, would be for the future employed to maintain and increase the acknowledged interests of the community, and the ancient power of these realms. But vain were such expectations, for the conduct of the Commissioners has revived the old enmities, which were fast disappearing, and has added to these feelings the consciousness, that not even the sacred name of Royalty can ensure to the Catholic that even-handed justice to which long-tried fidelity to the sovereign ought to have entitled him, nor preserve him from a persecution more odious than the most bloody enactments, which penal legislation devised. The love of the Irish people for learning is well known, and universally admitted. In the olden time, this country produced many great scholars, who carried to foreign climes, a knowledge of those sciences and that literature which else had perished, amid the darkness which overhung the then known world. In the eighth century, indeed, the high reputation of the Irish for scholarship, had become established throughout Europe. England herself owes to the piety and learning of Irishmen, her preservation from that total ignorance, which the convulsions, caused by internal dissensions and foreign invasions, were calculated to engender.

When more recently, the unjust and abominable enactments of a penal code inflicted the greatest hardships upon the native population, the denial of the privilege to obtain an education at home was felt most galling. Many who possessed the means to do so, sent their children to foreign seminaries, and thus enabled them to receive that instruction which, at home, it was forbidden to afford. Even the mass of the population, though unable thus to gain knowledge for their children, sent them to some obscure scholar, who, under the guise of far different avocations, evaded the vigilance of the officers of the law ; and many a man who, with the last generation has passed from amongst us, could recall the spot where beneath the hedgerow that skirted some lonely roadway, he imbibed the first rudiments of those ancient languages in which the leading spirits of Greece and Rome were wont to ridicule the follies, denounce the

act, or arouse the enthusiasm of their countrymen. When, however, a milder tone, more in accordance with the advancing spirit of the age, pervaded our laws, and those restrictions, which before, had repressed the tendency of our race, were removed, the genius of the youth of Ireland asserted its pre-eminence, and proved that centuries of penal laws had not dimmed the lustre of its hereditary glories. Now, this brave old land presents a picture unparalleled in the history of any country on the face of God's earth, a people long enslaved, proscribed, nearly exterminated, springing into new life and vigour, overcoming by the mere force of its talent, its integrity, its perseverance, every obstacle which jealousy and power could oppose, and wresting from the hands of a long dominant, and still hostile faction, those rights from which it had been so long deprived. Still hostile do we say? Yes! for, finding repression unavailing, knowing that penal laws cannot now be reinforced, they seek to render ineffectual the rights they have been forced to concede; by jibes and jeers they seek to lessen the authority of our ministers; by insidious schemes of mixed education they try to sap the foundation of our religious belief; and to cap the climax of their iniquity, they divert the pure stream of national benevolence into the foul and fetid sink of sectarian proselytism. Is there no law to touch these men? Shall private speculation and personal dishonesty be amenable to justice, and those who have violated the most solemn obligations of a public trust escape with impunity? Shall these be permitted to carry on a trade in souls, more heinous than that accursed traffic, which erewhile excited the indignant vengeance of the English nation? That trade in human blood which enlisted the principles and feelings of our common nature against it, was less cruel, less unnatural than the system authorised by the commissioners, which deals in the souls of men. The former affected only the body, and influenced only the temporal condition of the sufferers; the latter affects the very soul, and will influence the eternal destiny of its victims. It behoves, therefore, those who are members of the Catholic Church, and who are placed, by Providence, beyond the reach of these ravening wolves, to help their weaker and poorer brethren, by every means within their reach; and as the law has been invoked to protect those evil-doers, let us, too, put that

law in motion to discover how far such misconduct will be permitted. Let us meet them on their own ground ; let us seize every opportunity to trace and bring to light their deeds of darkness ; let us not be discouraged by one failure or twenty failures, but persevere, confident in the conviction that " God will defend the right."

We have a little above asked this question—should Mrs. Kirley's madness take a different course, what would be the fate of her children ? And to this we had intended to reply by analogy, judging from the conduct of a certain institution in England with regard to the children of corporal Guilfoyle. Whilst writing this paper, any necessity for a hypothetical answer has been removed by the occurrence of a case, the particulars of which we have just read, and to the circumstances of which, we shall venture to call the attention of our readers. We extract from the " Weekly Register."

We do not certify the facts, but we have every reason to believe they are true ; for we cannot imagine that a respectable newspaper would, knowingly, state a falsehood. And this recital is so circumstantial, that, until there be an official contradiction of the statement, we must give it credence. In stating that a matter did *not* occur, which has happened, the party may not be guilty of any wish to misrepresent, and if the occurrence have taken place at any considerable distance of time, a justification may be found in that defectiveness of memory, to which we are all, in a greater or less degree, liable ; and this is the view commonly taken by juries when deciding upon testimony of a contradictory character, as to events which may or may not have happened ; but when a person states a fact to exist, which does not exist at all, he renders himself obnoxious to the charge of grossly and wilfully perverting the truth. Now, this journal is either telling a lie, or asserting a fact ; if the former, why has it not been contradicted ? if the latter, then we are bound to give the narrative our entire belief. We give it for what it is worth, let the reader judge of its value.

As we before stated, the commissioners bound themselves to educate the children in the religion of their fathers, having regard to the rights of the surviving mother ; and they have also admitted that they were *in loco parentis*, and bound to enquire what was the father's religion,

not to take it on trust. Now, let us see how this principle is acted on when a Catholic is the subject of their jurisdiction. We give the facts in our own language :—

Private Nelson of the 95th regiment, a Catholic, had four children, aged respectively (in 1855), nine years and a half, six years and a half, five years, and three years. He died in the Crimea ; his widow is a Catholic ; the four children were sent to a Protestant school. Recently, several Catholic children have been removed from Protestant to Catholic schools, on the demand of their mothers. There was some chance that Mrs. Nelson might do the same. How was this to be avoided ? It seems there was some rule made by the commissioners, according to which every application for the placing of a child at a Catholic school, is rigidly refused, if the child want a day of being seven years old ; but if the Catholic mother permitted her child to be sent to a Protestant school, this rule was relaxed. One of Mrs. Nelson's children is still under the prescribed age ; she was therefore told at the office, some months ago, that she must remove it from this school, in which it had been placed, and keep it at home. She perfectly understood, that if she left her children at the Protestant school this notice would be allowed to remain a dead letter. For many months it continued so ; this poor woman applied to have her four children sent to a Catholic school ; the request was refused. " There is yet another remarkable fact," says the writer, and we shall now let him speak for himself :—

" There is yet another remarkable fact in the case of those poor children. When the mother went down in person into Hampshire to remove them, all the children, including the youngest (only five years old), refused to go with her, and she was compelled to return to London without them. This, we doubt not, will be represented by the agents of the Patriotic Fund as a signal triumph : they are heartily welcome to it. It shows what sort of training Catholic children receive at the schools to which they are consigned by Captain Fishbourne—how much more carefully they are instructed in theological controversy than in filial duty. The poor widow ascertained that notice had been sent to the managers of the school, some days before she came with Captain Fishbourne's order for their removal. The time thus gained had been carefully made use of. To speak on the representation of children is never safe ; their account may materially differ from the representation which the managers of the school would give of the same facts. Their account, true or false, is, that they were sent for by the lady who keeps it, and alarmed by being told of the treatment they would receive if they went. They even go into particulars, and say they were warned that they would be shut up, and not let to get

out, with other details of cruelty so strange as to sound like a child's misunderstanding. That it was suggested by any ill-will towards their teachers is unlikely, as they give the highest account of their good and kind treatment by them. In the end, after a second journey from London, the poor widow, not without considerable difficulty, recovered her children. On all this we would make only one comment. It explains Captain Fishbourne's obstinate refusal of any clue to the particulars of his proceedings; the names, ages, &c., of the children whom he has placed in different schools, how long they remained there, and where they now are, &c. If our parliament or her Majesty's ministers are really desirous of fair play, it will lead them to compel him to give that information. But, be this as it may, the Catholics of the Empire have much in their own hands. Somewhere around us are the mothers of the poor children whom he has kidnapped. They feel more than any one else, the sin against God, and the cruelty towards their children, which they have reluctantly been induced to commit. All that is necessary is to find them out; to explain to them their rights, and to assure them of influential support in demanding them, and they will only be too glad to remove their children."

Here is another example of how the public funds are disposed of. Every inducement is held out to poor Catholics, to cause them to allow their children to be brought up Protestants, and every impediment thrown in the way of their rearing them in their own religion. How is it reconcileable with a due execution of the trust reposed in the commissioners, that they should have one rule for those who wish to have their children educated in Catholic schools, and another for those who are willing to sacrifice them to the tender mercy of zealots. Many a poor woman overcome by her afflictions, and worn out by her poverty, may have been terrified by the prospect of having to charge herself with the maintenance of a child whom probably her means were inadequate to support. The want of courage, to view without flinching, such a prospect, might have induced weak mothers to neglect their offspring. The children would, in this way, have been left at the school, reared Protestants, and the reply to any indignant demand on the part of the members of her creed, would have been, the children were here by their mother's wish. The scene which took place on the demand of Mrs. Nelson for her children, is only one out of the many instances which might be adduced to prove how the managers of the Patriotic Fund have been able to sustain their statement with regard to the paucity of Catholics in the British army. But their triumph will be short lived. The country is at length awake; the indignation of the people

is enkindled, it will descend in thunder, and scatter this guilty traffic to the winds.

We shall just mention one other case, and then revert to the Archbishop's letter on the allotment of the surplus funds.

William Norris of the 90th Regiment, was a Catholic. He married a girl named Margaret Donovan, also a Catholic. They had children, and when Norris was leaving this country with his regiment, under orders for the East, he begged of Canon Grimley, who acted as Chaplain to the Catholic soldiers in the Dublin garrison, to take care of them, to look after their education, and see that they were religiously reared in the old faith. Poor fellow : he died in the Crimea. His widow, anxious that her children should be well taken care of, applied to have them placed in Catholic schools. No attention was paid to her request. She repeated her application again and again, specifying that she desired Mary-Ann Norris to be placed either at St. Clare's Orphan school, Harold's Cross, or in the school attached to the Convent of the Sisters of Mercy, Baggot-street.

Still her demand was neglected. Worn out by these reiterated refusals and reduced to extreme poverty, she again waited on the agent of the Commissioners, and stated her wish to leave the selection of a school to him. Immediately the agent wrote, and by return of post, an answer was received from Captain Fishbourne stating that the girl should be at once sent to London, and a sufficient sum of money placed at the disposal of the mother to enable her to come up to London with her child, and to pay her expenses back to this country. They went to London. The child was placed at a Protestant school ; the mother returned, and heart broken at the fate to which the pressure of want had induced her to commit her child, died in a short period. She is no more. May her poverty plead an excuse for this her grave dereliction of duty. But it affords no excuse to the Commissioners. The agent here can offer no apology for such conduct. He well knew the religion of the father. There was no stain on the moral conduct of the mother ; her wishes upon the subject were known ; they were in accordance with those long before expressed by the father, and her wishes being in such perfect harmony with his

desire, his religion was the religion in which, according to the express declaration of Captain Fishbourne, the children should be educated. What now becomes of the assertion of Major Harris in the case of the Kirleys? "Were they known to be Roman Catholics they would be sent by the Commissioners to Roman Catholic schools and well taken care of." It just occurs to us to ask who is this Fishbourne? There was a Fishbourne in Carlow of whom we in our youth heard much, who, with four other Magistrates, was struck off the roll on a representation to the Lord Chancellor for having interfered with the civil rights of one or two hundred Catholics. We wonder is the gallant Captain any relation of this ex-Magistrate. It would be well to know this, for we might then be able to estimate the justice of the Commissioners, and be enabled to understand much which is at present incomprehensible. If he be a relative we cannot congratulate the public upon the selection of such a man to administer a fund in which Catholics are interested. Out of this case of Mrs. Norris arose an amusing correspondence which we shall insert, in order to relieve the tedium of this matter of fact paper. The Archbishop interested himself in this poor Mrs. Norris, and referred to her case in his letter to Lord St. Leonards. The reference attracted the attention of a gallant Major, not the Kirley's Major, but another Major, Mrs. Norris's Major: and he wrote an indignant letter to the Archbishop in the following terms.

Royal Hospital, Dublin, December 10, 1857.

MY LORD—I have the honour to state for your information, that, as I was the only person in Dublin acting for the royal commissioners' Patriotic Fund that had any right to forward any application for Mrs. Norris, the woman alluded to by you at page 38, in your letter to Lord St. Leonards, I therefore consider I have a right to demand from your Lordship to state whether or not I am the official alluded to at page 38 who treated Mrs. Norris so uncivilly, as described by your Lordship? I have the honour to be, my lord, your most obedient servant,

OWEN LLOYD ORMSBY.


Major, and O.S. 2nd Dublin District.

The Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Roman Catholic Archbishop,
&c., &c., 55, Eccles-street, Dublin.

To this note his Grace returned a very proper and becoming answer, informing Major Ormsby that his knowledge was derived from two gentlemen who had the facts

from the lips of Mrs. Norris herself. Here is the Archbishop's letter.

55, Eccles-street, 14th December, 1857.

SIR—In reply to your letter of the 10th instant, with which I have been honoured, I beg to state that I have given all the information of which, when writing, I was possessed regarding Mrs. Norris, at page 40 of the third edition of the letter to Lord St. Leonards, published a day or two before your letter reached me. By referring to that page, you will perceive that my information was derived from a gentleman who, in company with another, had received it from the lips of Mrs. Norris herself. My informant, in his letter, does not mention the name of the official who treated with Mrs. Norris about sending her child to a Protestant school; but he declared that he and his friend are ready to verify this statement, of which I gave a condensed account, before any tribunal or commission deputed to examine the case. Since my letter to Lord St. Leonards was published, another gentleman has informed me that he had also a conversation with Mrs. Norris, and that in course of it she referred to a letter addressed by herself to the commissioners, and to an answer she received from them early in November, 1856; also, to another letter addressed to the commissioners about the middle of said month, and to an answer received to the same letter. If these four documents, and all the correspondence that passed between Mrs. Norris and the commissioners be produced, perhaps the name of the official she mentioned may be discovered, and her own feelings more fully understood. It appears that Mrs. Norris is dead. The high character and unbounded integrity of my informant leave no room to doubt that she made the statement given in my letter. If she brought an unfounded charge against an official of the commissioners, she has already rendered a dreadful account for having done so; if, on the contrary, her statement be correct, the official will, in his turn, have to answer before a just Judge, who is no respecter of persons, for having induced a poor woman to act against her conscience, and to sacrifice the faith of her child, which should have been dearer to her than life itself. As I am only anxious that the full truth should be known, I have waived all controversy about the right which you assume of putting me questions, whilst these whom you represent have given no answer to a plain statement of facts sent to them. I have the honour to be your obedient servant. (Signed)  PAUL CULLEN.

Major Owen Lloyd Ormsby, O.S. 2nd Dublin District.

The Major grew pugnacious, and like most persons who lose their temper lost his head, for we cannot believe that "an officer and a gentleman" having full possession of his faculties could have penned such an effusion as the following.

Royal Hospital, Dublin, Dec. 21, 1857.

MY LORD—In reply to letter of the 14th inst, have the honour to acquaint you, as you decline to say whether or not the statement

published by you. relative to a Mrs. Norris, alluded to me, I have now to state in the most positive manner, that the statements referred to are utterly without foundation, if intended for me. I have the honour to be, my lord, your most obedient servant,

OWEN LLOYD ORMSBY,
Major and O.S., 2nd Dublin District.

The Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Roman Catholic Archbishop,
55, Eccles-street, Dublin.

We venture to say that the veriest tyro just entering upon a course of "Lindley Murray" would have blushed had such a letter been attributed to him. Leaving out the parenthesis, we are enabled to behold more clearly the beauties of this epistolary gem. It will run thus—"My Lord, In reply to your letter of the 14th instant, I have the honor to acquaint you, I have now to state in the most positive manner &c., &c."

What an extraordinary sample of military letter writing. The manner affords an example of a disregard for the ordinary rules of composition, as the matter does a neglect of those of propriety. Judging from this sample we would advise the Major to give a lecture on the personal pronouns for the benefit of the "Patriotic Fund." He would eclipse Blair, and might become the head of a new school of composition. It is fortunate for the benefit of "the Service" that competitive examinations were not known when Major Ormsby was gazetted, or we fear he should have been to use the techinal term, "Spun," and thus the Military branch of "the Service" would have been deprived of a most intelligent officer, and the Patriotic Commissioners would have lost the assistance of this invaluable official.

Notwithstanding this "bit o' writin'," his Grace, not heeding this ungrammatical scribbler, but anxious that the public mind should be satisfied as to the bona fides of his Grace's statements, sent a reply asking for the production of the letters which passed between the Major and his masters in reference to the case of the widow Norris, and calling the Major's attention to some letters which his Grace thought might be within Ormsby's reach.

55, Eccles-street, December 24, 1857.

SIR—I have had the honor of receiving your communication of the

21st instant, in reply to my letter of the 14th. I am happy to perceive that you repudiate any participation in the unworthy proceedings by which Mrs. Norris, according to her own statement, was induced to sacrifice the faith of her child; but I regret that you have not produced the correspondence which passed between her and the Royal Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund. She received from their secretary or agent, a letter, dated November 5th, 1856, in reply to a memorial addressed by her some months previously to them. She received another letter, dated 25th of the same month and year, which was a reply to a second letter addressed by her to the Commissioners on the 13th of November. These documents are, I presume, within your reach; and if you produce them in an official form, they will undoubtedly tend to remove all controversy on the matter under examination. I am informed that Mrs. Norris's letters, or memorials, show a decided anxiety on her part to place her child in a Catholic school. This being the case, the question naturally arises, by what agency, and by what official, was the poor woman induced to act against her conscience, and to consent to have her daughter educated in a religion which herself did not believe. It appears to me that gentlemen connected with the management of the Patriotic Fund ought to be anxious to have the fullest light thrown upon the matter, in which they cannot but feel that they may be compromised before the public. If you do not think fit to produce the correspondence, perhaps it may be brought to light in some other way. I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

✠ PAUL CULLEN.

Major Owen Lloyd Ormsby, O.S. 2nd Dublin District,
Royal Hospital.

The production of these documents was refused, without an order from the Commissioners, and the agent proceeds to charge "Dr. Cullen" with having published, "false and anonymous statements."

Dublin, 29th December, 1857.

MY LORD—In reply to your letter of the 24th instant, I have the honour to state that I have no authority to produce any official correspondence that may be in my office relative to Mrs. Norris, but shall be happy to do so if commanded by the Royal Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund. I beg to enclose a copy of a letter addressed by me to the Hon. Secretary, Royal Patriotic Fund, on my attention being called to your letter to Lord St. Leonards, together with a certificate from both my staff serjeants—men of high character and undoubted integrity—which, I have no doubt, will satisfy the public that the false and anonymous statements published by you can in no way allude to me.

O. L. ORMSBY.

The Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, 55, Eccles-street, Dublin.

We have often read an angry correspondence, but it has never been our lot to peruse communications displaying so much ignorance and its usual concomitant impudence as those of Major Ormsby. The Archbishop calm and col-

lected wounds his adversary at every pass, whilst the Major wildly thrusting in his blind fury injures only himself and leaves his opponent unscathed. Not satisfied, however, with thus smashing (?) "Dr. Cullen," the Major felt it necessary to justify his conduct to his master, and accordingly, addressed a report to Captain Fishbourne on the subject of Mrs. Norris, in which with a rashness totally irreconcilable with that self-possession and imperturbable calmness which should characterise a commanding officer, he distinctly brands "Dr. Cullen" as a *liar*! What a pity this fiery Hotspur was not sent to cool his heels in the Crimea; a little Muscovite phlebotomy might tone down to a healthy flow the impetuous torrent of his ardent blood. What a pity that this o'ermastering energy should have been wasted in a controversy with a Popish priest, which would have been so useful at the Redan, and would doubtless have succeeded in gaining that prize of which the English were so wrongfully deprived. The poor Major—

"Dressed in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assured—"

has the hardihood to cast upon a clergyman an insult which if offered to one of his most junior subordinates might have had a by no means pleasant result. But

"That in the *Major's* but a choleric word,
Which in the soldier is rank blasphemy."

It is strange to observe that the two Majors shine in the same style of epistolary elegance. Was there not something in our suspicion with regard to the "complete letter writer?" Major number one tells the priest he lies. Major number two tells the Archbishop the same thing. Still we must not criticize, but be content:

"Great men may jest with saints: 'tis wit in them,
But, in the less, foul profanation."

Let us come to this Report. Here it is.

The official report of Major Lloyd Ormsby, addressed to
Captain Fishbourne:—

Royal Hospital, 2nd Dublin District.

SIR—My attention having been called to Dr. Cullen's letter to Lord St. Leonards, page 38, where he alludes to a Mrs. Norris, I have

the honor to acquaint you. for the information of the Royal Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund, that the remarks made by Dr. Cullen, relative to the treatment received by Mrs Norris from an official, are utterly false, if intended for me. It is true Mrs. Norris applied to have her child sent to the Protestant school at Hampstead; and I remarked to Mrs. Norris, at that time, in the presence of my two staff serjeants, both Roman Catholics, that I considered it a most extraordinary proceeding on her part to send her child to a Protestant school, as she stated herself and husband were Roman Catholics, and I advised her not to do so without due consideration. I wish to add that my staff serjeants are ready to certify that this statement is correct, and that no influence whatever was used by me to make Mrs. Norris send her children to a Protestant school; and I beg to suggest that the Royal Commissioners will call upon Dr. Cullen to name the official he alludes to, that treated Mrs. Norris so uncivilly. I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

OWEN LLOYD ORMSBY,

Major and S.O. 2nd Dublin District.

Captain Fishbourne, 19, New-street,
Spring Gardens, London.

“Royal Hospital, Dublin, 11th December, 1857.

“We, the undersigned, do certify that we have attentively read the letter addressed by Major O.L. Ormsby to Captain Fishbourne, Hon. Secretary Royal Patriotic Fund, dated 2nd of December, 1857, and hereby testify to the *truths* therein stated,

(Signed)

“JAMES BISSETT, Staff serjeant,

“JAMES JONES, Quartermaster Serjeant.”

The Major is caught, he fell into a trap. His triumph was a little premature. “I wish to add that my staff serjeants are ready to certify that my statement is correct.” Indeed they are not. They are prepared to “testify to the *truths* therein stated,” they will certify that whatever is *true* in your statement is true, but they cannot certify that your statement is correct. It is too bad to see a Major out-manœuvred in this way by staff Serjeants; it is subversive of all discipline, and they should be tried by Court Martial and degraded. But perhaps the Major is cleverer than we thought, and this is only a ruse; that he knew very well, what the serjeants signed and let them sign it, because they would not sign anything more explicit; probably the Major thought it might escape the general run of Newspaper readers, and as to Fishbourne “he is all right.”

“Utrum horum mavis accipde.”

Take the benefit of the doubt. We are done with you. We shall merely say “we know what we know.”

TO MAJOR OWEN LLOYD ORMSBY, O.S., 2ND DUBLIN DISTRICT.

55, Eccles street, 1st January, 1858.

SIR—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ultimo, which I perceive you, without giving time for a reply, have published in the *Evening Mail* of this date, and which I therefore answer through the press.

In that letter you have altogether lost sight of the questions really at issue, and you seem only intent on supporting your own veracity by the authority of your two sergeants.

The questions really at issue were:—

1st—Did Mrs. Norris make the statements attributed to her in my letter?

2ndly—If she made those statements, was she worthy of credit?

3rdly—If she were worthy of credit, by what agency, and by what official, was she induced to betray her conscience by allowing her child to be educated a Protestant?

As to the first question, though you assert, with official arrogance, that the statements made in my letter are “false and anonymous,” you will be reluctantly obliged, when you read the names and declarations of my informants, who are as well known and as veracious, at least, as you are, to admit that your anxiety to shield your own character has placed you in a position which you cannot sustain. The public will see that my informants are gentlemen of unsullied honour and unimpeachable integrity, that they had not been engaged in schemes to convert public funds to purposes of vile proselytism, and all will admit that I was justified in receiving their statements without the slightest hesitation.

2ndly—As to Mrs. Norris herself, there is no apparent reason why credit should be denied to her. It is certain that she waited several times on Canon Grimley to consult with him on the best means of securing a Catholic education for her child. It is also certain that Canon Grimley read the letter which she had addressed to the Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund, to their committee, or to their agents, expressing a strong desire to have her child placed in a Catholic school, and that he saw her sign the letter in question in the presence of an alderman of this city, a precaution which she adopted in order to secure authority for her statements. From the letter here appended of Mr. Star it appears that she assured him and Mr. Lynch, the gentleman who accompanied him, that she had been most anxious to have her child placed in a convent school; and she added that it was in consequence of the opposition and annoyance which she met with from an official, that, in her weakness, she consented to abandon her project.

Such are the statements undoubtedly made by Mrs. Norris. Are they in conformity with the letters or petitions which she sent to the Commissioners, or to their committee, or agents? If her letters

are really in contradiction with her statements, then her credibility is affected. But if the statements referred to be confirmed by her letters or petitions, we have a strong ground for giving credence to her narrative of the unworthy proceedings of an official, by which she was induced to sacrifice the religion of her daughter. If you, Sir, wish the truth to be known, publish at once Mrs. Norris's letters, and do not shelter yourself behind official reserve. If that correspondence be not produced, must it not be said that there is something very mysterious in this case which it is not your interest to bring under the public eye?

As to the third question, viz., "by what agency was Mrs. Norris induced to betray her conscience?" it is evident that strong means must have been employed to make her change her mind; it is certain that she consulted Canon Grimley several times about the education of her child; it is certain that she wrote several times to the Commissioners, or those employed by them, on that important matter; it is certain that she went before an alderman to sign her letter, in order to give an authenticity to it; it is certain that she employed every possible means to secure the Catholic education of her daughter. Having acted in this way, it is evident that she was sincere and determined in the wishes which she expressed. Now, Sir, you tell us that a woman thus disposed presented herself to you, and pressed you to allow her to have her child educated a Protestant. Of course, as you are a gentleman, and as your authority is confirmed by that of two sergeants, it would be uncourteous to contradict you. Yet it remains to be explained how a poor woman, previously so determined in acting in accordance with the dictates of her own faith and her own conscience, suddenly changed her mind, and acted in opposition both to faith and conscience. Such changes, Sir, cannot be accounted for without supposing the existence of serious pressure from without. How many private interviews may have passed between this woman and those who were anxious to betray her into a crime against her faith? Perhaps artful insinuations induced her to believe that she would be stripped of the little pension she enjoyed if she did not show herself very pliant to the urgent wishes of officials. A thousand other terrors may have been brought to bear on a mind accustomed to suffer, or to see others suffer, from the despotism of certain authorities. If Mrs. Norris were prepared by some such agency to act the part she did in your presence, and in the presence of two sergeants, her change of mind is quite intelligible. But if no influence was used upon her, that change must be considered most mysterious, and scarcely compatible with human nature.

Credat Judæus apella:

Our correspondence is now at an end. Let an enlightened public judge how far your part in it has been honourable and candid—I have the honour to be your obedient servant.

✠ PAUL CULLEN.

These two letters, referred to in the letter of his Grace, are from gentlemen of high character and sterling honor. Of Canon Grimley we had occasion to speak in former por-

tions of our paper. With regard to Mr. Star, we can say with perfect truth that he is a most respectable gentleman, whose name stands well with the trading community of this country, and that he possesses what all men must value, integrity of principle, and probity of conduct. We cannot suspect such men of a wilful perversion of facts, even were the case (which it is not) one in which they were personally interested.

THIS IS THE LETTER FROM MR. STAR TO DR. CULLEN.

Ormond-quay, Nov. 15, 1857.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP—In accordance with your Grace's wishes, I give you my recollections of the case of Mrs. Norris. Early this year another gentleman and I called on her to inquire why her daughter had been sent to a Protestant school in England, when she could be placed in a Catholic school, at the expense of the Patriotic-Fund? She replied that the difficulties placed in the way of her providing a Catholic education for her daughter had obliged her to give up her own wishes. She said that when she applied, according to instructions received, to an official of the Commissioners, to have her child sent to Harold's-cross, she was told to call again, and could not get a decisive answer. This happened a second time. When, on a subsequent visit, she requested to have her child placed under the care of the Sisters of Mercy, she was told it would be well for her to learn her own mind before she came there. Being thus thwarted she explained her disappointments to a Protestant female acquaintance, who counselled her to suit her own views to the inclinations of the official, and to leave the choice of the school to his selection. Having followed this advice, the official in his next interview became most kind, and the child was immediately sent to Hampstead School, near London. Such are the statements of Mrs. Norris. The gentleman who accompanied me is ready, as well as myself, to testify before any tribunal or commission that he heard them from her own lips. I may add my recollection that Mrs. Norris expressed a fear of losing her pension were she to remove her child from Hampstead.—I have the honour to be, with profoundest respect, your obedient servant,

GEORGE STAR.

To the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen.

WE NOW GIVE THE LETTER FROM CANON GRIMLEY.

St. Paul's Arran-quay, Dec. 12th, 1857.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP—I beg to inform your Grace that Mrs. Norris, widow of the late private Norris, of the 90th regiment, frequently called on me and expressed in my presence an anxiety to have her Mary Ann placed in a Catholic school. To my knowledge she applied to have her daughter sent to the convent school, Harold's-cross. After some time she applied again to have her daughter placed in Baggot-street Convent. I recollect on one occasion she told me she heard her veracity was doubted. I then accompanied her to Alderman L. Reynolds, who bore testimony to her written

declaration, that what she stated in her former letter was in strict accordance with truth. She received an answer to this letter from Mr. Mugford, clerk to the Royal Patriotic Commission, and dated 25th of November, 1856. I implore of your Grace to insist on the commissioners producing Mrs. Norris's letters, and in them your Grace will perceive her anxiety to have her little orphan daughter educated in the holy Catholic faith. I could not account for the sudden change in her sentiments in sending her child to a Protestant school, until, besides other means which I heard were resorted to by officials, I was informed by a party residing near her late residence, that when it was known she was about to send her child to a convent school, she could not get employment, and was reduced for some time to great want; but no sooner did she consent to have her child educated in a Protestant school than she got abundance of employment. Some short time after her daughter was sent to the Protestant school, I waited on her, and in presence of others she declared she would co-operate in getting her child removed from that school. In a few hours after this interview Mrs. Norris was summoned before her Great Judge. I remain, my dear Lord Archbishop, your Grace's devoted servant,

THOMAS GRIMLEY.

His Grace the Most Rev. Doctor Cullen,
Archbishop of Dublin.

These letters speak for themselves. We shall offer no comment upon them, and thus we close our remarks on the case of Mrs. Norris.

We have up to this point been endeavouring to shew that the public money entrusted to the Patriotic Commissioners was used, in many instances, for the purpose of proselytism, and that the authority delegated to the Commissioners was made subservient to the same end. We have adduced three cases to sustain our view, and from these it may be fairly inferred that in other similar instances the same means were had recourse to in order to accomplish the desired object. We have shown that every facility was afforded to Catholic mothers in the disposal of their children, if they evinced the smallest carelessness, as to the selection of the institutions to which the education of these little ones was to be entrusted, whilst every impediment was thrown in the way of those who conscientiously wished their children to be reared in the faith of their fathers. We have shown that the agents in this country were in many instances unscrupulous in the mode, by which they compassed the designs of the bigoted zealots who employed them, and that every artifice, even to misrepresentation, was freely adopted to de-

ceive individuals interested in the restoration of those children to the religion in which they had been instructed, and to mislead the public in regard to the manner in which their money was disbursed. We have pointed out to our readers how representations were disregarded, remonstrances unheeded, and statements founded on fact groundlessly denied. We have seen in the case of Mrs. Norris the contemptuous neglect with which her applications were treated, and we have seen too the shameless avidity with which her enforced concession was seized upon to tear her child from her, and place it at a school avowedly Protestant. We have seen how, under the racking tortures of an uneasy conscience, she sunk a victim to the terrors of remorse. We have adverted to the insolence which characterised the communications of the officials acting on behalf of the Patriotic Commissioners in this country, when corresponding with Roman Catholic Clergymen, and a Roman Catholic Archbishop. We have remarked upon the indecorous and indefensible manner in which these agents unwarrantably designated as false statements they knew to be true, and in the case of the Archbishop attributed to his Grace the circulation of "false and anonymous charges," when his assertions were made concerning a fact substantiated by the evidence of most respectable gentlemen. We have proved in Mrs. Nelson's case that a powerful inducement was held out to her to leave her children at the Protestant school, and a penalty very dreadful to one in her reduced circumstances was threatened should she take any steps to reclaim them. We have mentioned that a certain regulation was enforced rigidly when it was sought to place Catholic children in Catholic schools, but suspended when the parents allowed their Catholic children to attend at Protestant schools. We therefore boldly ask, ought the Catholics to have been satisfied with the manner in which the Patriotic Fund was disbursed, and if they ought not to have been satisfied with its disbursement what impartial man will assert that the allotment of the surplus fund afforded them any reason for self-gratulation? To this allocation we shall now direct our attention, and we shall be very brief indeed, as the subject has been already touched upon in a former part of this paper, when treating of Dr. Cullen's first letter with regard

to the allotment of the surplus Funds to Protestant institutions for Protestant purposes. The Archbishop thus writes :—

Having said so much on the danger of proselytism, you will now allow me to examine the allocation of the surplus fund made by the Commissioners. My statements on this point have not and cannot be contradicted, as they were founded on a report of the Commissioners themselves, inserted in the *Times* of the 9th June, 1856. According to that report, the following grants had been made :—

1.	For endowing a school for 300 girls, children of soldiers or sailors, £160,000; or according to a later statement,	£180,000	0	0
2.	For endowing a school for 100 boys of the same class, £25,000, to be added to allowances already granted. Total amount not given. Probably it may be	60,000	0	0
3.	To the Wellington College,	25,000	0	0
4.	To Cambridge Asylum for widows,	3,000	0	0
5.	To Naval School, Newcross,	8,000	0	0
6.	To Female School, Richmond,	5,000	0	0
7.	To Naval and Military School at Plymouth,	2,500	0	0
8.	To similar school, Portsmouth,	2,500	0	0

Besides the sums here specified, amounting to more than a quarter of million of money, perhaps other grants may have been made, for the report published in the *Times* sanctions "the purchase of presentations to already existing asylums and schools, for similar objects."

From a memorandum published some time ago in reply to my letter, and which, on the authority of some of the Commissioners, I attribute to that body, we learn the character of the institutions endowed from the Patriotic Fund. Speaking of the naval and military schools at Plymouth and Portsmouth, it says, "THOSE SCHOOLS, NO DOUBT, ARE FOR PROTESTANTS." In reference to some other endowments, the same document adds: "Further sums also were granted for the purpose of purchasing nominations in institutions established by laymen for the benefit of children of officers of the army and navy. *These, no doubt, are Protestant in their teaching*, but there are no others for this purpose where the religious teaching is different; and it was not competent for the Commissioners to endow, even partially, institutions that were not specially intended for the benefit of these classes." These words of the memorandum do not appear to be either conclusive or consistent. For if it were competent to the Commissioners to assign £180,000 for the erection and endowment of a new school for girls, to be conducted on a plan adopted by themselves, it is difficult to understand by what law or by what necessity they were prevented from establishing another school where the teaching would not be hostile or dangerous to the faith of Catholic children. The only necessity that can be discovered appears

to be, that there was a predetermination not to use the same measure towards one religion as towards the other.

The schools mentioned above, in No. 1 and 2, are what we call mixed schools here in Ireland, which, when under Protestant management, as they will be in England, are quite as dangerous as, or more so than, purely Protestant schools, inasmuch as with positive error, they introduce an indifference to every religion, than which nothing more fatal can be conceived. The memorandum tells us that the schools recently endowed are to be conducted on the principles of the Union Schools in England. What is the character of the teaching in those schools? A gentleman, well acquainted with England, describes them in a few words: "**THE UNION SCHOOLS ARE OPENLY AND ALMOST AVOWEDLY PROSELYTIZING.**"

Whilst all the vast outlay we have mentioned was made in England for the endowment of Protestant establishments, was there a single grant made to any Catholic institution? We have, both in England and Ireland, many excellent orphan asylums, especially for girls, in full operation; they would have afforded a safe place of refuge to Catholic soldiers' children, had any provision been made for their support. But the Commissioners, overlooking those institutions altogether, reserved their grants for a more favoured class. They made grants to institutions which "no doubt are for Protestants," and which "are Protestant in their teaching," as they state in the memorandum, but they did not act in the same spirit towards schools of a Catholic character.

It could not be expected, my Lord, that the Catholics of the empire would be satisfied with such an arrangement, in which we seek in vain for any proof of liberality, generosity, or justice, or any protection for our faith. Were such a thing done in Naples or Spain, it would be attributed to a narrow-minded, illiberal, bigoted policy, unworthy of the age we live in.

It is said that the schools endowed out of the Patriotic Fund will be open to children of every creed, and that, therefore, no one will have just grounds for complaint. Now, what does this mean? Its simple meaning evidently is this, that Catholic children will be received into schools, such as the Union Schools of England, known to be "*openly and almost avowedly proselytizing*," where superiors, masters, books, teaching—everything is Protestant, where their own religion will be looked on as something degrading and dishonorable, and where their faith will be exposed to imminent danger. We cannot consider as a boon the admission of Catholic children into such establishments, in which, if the teaching of the Catholic Church is infallibly true, as it is, they risk for trifling temporal advantages an eternal inheritance, and an imperishable crown.

There are several schools of this mixed kind already existing to which Catholic soldiers' children are admitted, such as the Duke of York's School at Chelsea, and the Hibernian School near Dublin; and, from what we know of their management, we may form an estimate of what Catholics are to expect, and how they are to be treated in the institutions endowed by the Commissioners, with which you think we should be satisfied.

In the Duke of York's School I have learned that there are some ~~five~~ or twenty Catholic boys thrown in amongst three or four hundred Protestant companions. The poor children have been left in ignorance of their catechism, and never prepared to approach the holy sacraments of the church. Perhaps the place is so closed against the Catholic priest, that he has scarcely ever been called to administer the last rites to a dying child. Protestantism is the ruling spirit of the place ; all those bearing authority profess it ; and Catholicity is looked on with contempt. It cannot be expected that poor children of a very tender age, who have never been instructed in the doctrines of their religion, who have had no opportunity of knowing the advantages and the beauties of Catholicity, would be able to resist the spirit of the place they live in, or struggle against the example of those, whom they are obliged to respect. This may be called a very good school for Protestants ; but is it a desirable place for the education of a Catholic child ?

And here we may observe, that besides the Duke of York's school, there is also an asylum at Chelsea for the daughters of the veterans who are received into the hospital at that place. All the children of the asylum, though several are of Catholic parents, receive a Protestant education, and are obliged, if I am correctly informed, to attend Protestant service on Sunday. I leave it to others to say whether this is a proper way to respect the feelings and religion of veterans, who have spent the flower of their lives and exhausted their energies in the service of their country. It would appear that in India the children of the native soldiers were not interfered with in this way, and that more regard was had to the absurd superstitions and prejudices of Hindoos and Mahometans, who are now corresponding to the protection afforded them by sedition and bloodshed, than to the pure Catholic principles of men, whose loyalty and bravery have so largely contributed to add lustre to the British flag.

The Hibernian School has been established principally for the children of Irish soldiers. As we are here in a Catholic country and in a Catholic city, and as a great mass of our Irish soldiers are Catholics, one would expect that in this school the greatest impartiality would be displayed, and Catholic interests and feelings duly respected. Let us see what is really the case. In the first place, the board of government, the commander, and all the officers, are Protestant, if you except, perhaps, one serjeant. Secondly, all the teachers or masters are Protestant. Thirdly, the so-called Chelsea monitors are Protestant. Fourthly, the other monitors are all, with very few, if any exceptions, Protestant. Fifthly, in the school rooms there are Protestant Bibles and prayer books on the desks, and they are also scattered through other parts of the house, so that to whatsoever side a Catholic boy turns himself, there he finds some temptation to Protestantism. Sixthly, the books used for literary instruction, such as the historical compendiums prepared by a Protestant clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Gleig, are very objectionable, and contain many things contrary to the teaching of our Church and offensive to our ears.

Now his Grace is writing from Dublin ; it cannot therefore be said that he is " writing from Rome." His Grace's statement of the allotment of the surplus funds, is founded

on the report of the Commissioners themselves inserted in the *Times*. Therefore it cannot be insinuated that he is "ill-informed." From the memorandum referred to by the Archbishop, we learn that the schools endowed out of that surplus "ARE FOR PROTESTANTS." Who was ill-informed? "Dr. Cullen writing from Rome" or my Lord St. Leonards writing from "Boyle Farm." Is it fair that so large a sum should have been given to schools intended for Protestants in England, and not a penny given to Catholic institutions for Catholic children, we mean until very lately when the mothers of these children began to require that they should be sent to Catholic schools, and even now it is the individual, not the school that is endowed. But it may be said the contribution of Catholics was very small, that does not touch the question and even did it, we believe that if the sums collected in the colonies, be included in the general Fund, the Catholics will be found to have given a very respectable proportion. Canada alone sent £27,000 subscribed almost entirely by Catholics. Other colonies have subscribed large sums also, made up to a great extent by the Catholics. But as we have said this element should not be introduced into the discussion of this question. The fund was a national one, collected for a national purpose, and should have been applied in a national spirit, to which the distinction of religious belief or political feeling is a stranger. The Fund might as well have been confined to the Whigs, they being then in power, to the exclusion of the Tories, as limited to Protestants, who are always predominant to the exclusion of Catholics who never enjoy ascendancy.

It is a rule acted upon by all upright individuals entrusted with the distribution of money, or money's worth, to different persons in different degrees of relationship, or friendship, to prefer the claims of the more distant rather than those nearer and dearer, supposing always they can do so legally, lest they might incur a suspicion of favouritism or partiality. It would have been well had the Patriotic Commissioners adopted this course, not to the detriment of their own party who were equally with the Catholics entitled to their share, but to such an extent that the feeling which influences private individuals under such circumstances would have operated upon their minds to produce an even-handedness in the distribution of the funds committed to their

custody. Irish institutions, Protestant as well as Catholic we believe, shared the same fate; they have been ignominiously ignored. Even the Hibernian School, a worthy object of the pious care of the Commissioners, has received nothing, or something so trifling as not to be worth mentioning. The argument with regard to the smallness of the Irish contribution is on the same ground as the argument founded on the respective claims of the different religions, and falls with it. Had it been announced that the allotments would be an *ad valorem* on the subscriptions, we might have been prepared for the event; but no such warning was given. But it may be said, why cannot Roman Catholics attend these schools? Presbyterians, Methodists, &c., do so. The answer is plain. For centuries the Roman Catholics were excluded from the exercise of their civil rights; Catholic Noblemen could not sit in the house of Lords; Catholic gentlemen could not appear in the house of Commons; Catholic officers could not attain the higher grades in either Service. Yet all these restrictions could be evaded by simply swearing a certain oath, a perfect formality with all, a nullity with many, and partaking of the Sacrament according to the rules of the Church by law established. But they would not. Dissenters also laboured under political disabilities; the same form had to be gone through by any of them appointed to offices under the Crown. Yet we learn from a life of Lord Aberdeen, with what truth we cannot say, that he on his appointment as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, took the sacrament, and on his appointment as Foreign Secretary took it again, a very short period intervening. Of the hardship of this he subsequently complained to the Peers, but at the time when called upon to acknowledge the practices and doctrines of the Episcopal Church, in which he professed not to believe, he did not hesitate to do so. Besides there is little difference in the teaching of these various denominations, and all unite in denouncing the errors of Romanism. But in the case of a Catholic the differences are material, and on vital points, and exhibit the greatest distinction that can exist between propositions, viz., they are contradictory. Hence it follows that any Catholic child subjected to Protestant teaching, must of necessity have his former belief completely subverted before his mind is prepared to receive the subsequent instruc-

tion. And as the greatest difficulty is found, particularly in the case of children, in removing previous impressions, the chances are that in the confusion created by this clash of doctrine, the mind may become so hebetated that the individual at first grows sceptical, and finally infidelity is the result.

A distinguished writer, one who cannot be suspected of entertaining any great bias in favor of Catholics, Judge Haliburton, says, "Suppose they (the Catholics) do believe too much, it is safer than believing too little. You may make them give up their creed, but they are not always so willing to take yours. IT IS EASIER TO MAKE AN INFIDEL THAN A CONVERT."

But then the number of Catholics is so small that to establish schools for them would be a work of supererogation. We don't require it. Thank God, the charity of our immediate ancestors has given us institutions adequate to the duty of educating our children, and all we require is that a similar allocation of the public funds may be made in the case of individual Catholics, as is made in that of Protestants, and that those institutions already existing shall be so proportionally endowed as to enable them to carry out in relation to the members of their own persuasion the objects for which in the case of Protestants existing establishments have been so largely endowed and new ones are about being erected. If as Lord St. Leonards says, Catholic and Protestant blood has been, with heroic devotion, shed for the glory of England, why have the Catholics been excluded from all participation in the benevolence of the English people? Take out of your armies the Catholic element altogether, and then there may be afforded some colour for such conduct. But so long as you avail yourselves of the services of Catholics, you are bound in common honor and common honesty to be faithful to the brave men who have died for your preservation by scrupulously respecting their religious convictions in the persons of the defenceless widows and orphans they have left behind. Exception has been taken to the proportion, assumed by the Archbishop, of Catholics to Protestants in the "service," and it has been triumphantly stated that in the navy, Catholics do not number more than two per cent. This may or may not be the case, for, English toleration has with unaccountable perversity inhibited to Catholics serving in her marine the observance

of their religious practices. Besides there is a notion prevalent amongst that class from which this branch of the service is chiefly recruited, that they would stand less high in the estimation of their officers if they were known to belong to that proscribed religion. Any one at all acquainted with the minutiae of life on board a ship when at sea—the supreme authority of the commander, the total subservience of the crew, the many opportunities which the officers have of screening those to whom they are partial from blame, and exposing those against whom they have the slightest pique to frequent and severe punishments, the inefficacy of any appeal made by a sailor against his superior, and the little weight the declaration of the former has against the assertion of the latter—can fully appreciate the motives which would operate in the minds of these men to conceal anything which might disparage them in the eyes of such all-powerful officials. But as the navy was little employed during the Crimean War, few casualties occurred in its ranks, and very few widows or orphans of sailors or marines have become chargeable on the funds of the Patriotic Commission, the relative number of Catholics and Protestants affects this question little if at all. Let both services be clubbed, and the Catholic contingent be calculated, then let a fair proportion of the funds be allotted for the maintenance and education of the widows and orphans respectively, and we are satisfied. But it is quite idle to talk of Catholics frequenting Protestant schools without danger to their faith, and such a course is equivalent to a denial of aid from the Patriotic Fund for the education of Catholic orphans.

We shall not discuss the policy of the arrangement by which a very small number of places are reserved for Catholics in the military schools of this empire, nor comment upon the immorality which such a regulation causes by inducing parents to enter their children as Protestants, in default of a vacancy in the list of Catholic nominations, and the premium thus offered to misrepresentation and fraud. Neither shall we speak of the hardship thereby entailed upon those whose conscientious scruples forbid them to endanger for a temporal advantage the eternal welfare of their children. These matters not being pertinent to our subject, nor arising out of the *mis-management* of the fund with which we charge the commissioners, do not pro-

perly belong to this investigation, and might tend, by the introduction of foreign topics, rather to embarrass than to elucidate our argument. But they are useful as shewing that educational establishments erected under the auspices, and conducted under the supervision of the dominant class, are almost invariably made subservient to that design which has for its object the destruction of the faith of Her Majesty's Catholic subjects.

The Archbishop enters fully into the proselytizing tendencies evinced by the government in India, and refers to the character of the military schools there, the facilities afforded, nay the inducements held out, to the tepid and unscrupulous to sacrifice the faith of their children, and the obstacles opposed by the authorities in every possible shape to the practical observance of the duties of their religion in the case of those who resist their solicitations, and are faithful to the obligations which their church imposes. His Grace further points out the disabilities under which our Catholic soldiers labor, the insufficiency of the accommodation afforded for their religious exercises, the penalties inflicted for non-attendance at Protestant worship. &c., and quotes largely in support of these statements from evidence taken before committees of the House and published in the "Reports on Indian Territories." These we shall not advert to as they may be considered to belong to the same category as the military schools in this country, and not to affect the case of the Patriotic Commissioners. We shall therefore conclude by asking this simple question, were there any guarantees afforded in the case of "The Indian Relief Fund" such as to lead Catholics to believe that their feelings would be consulted, their rights preserved and their claims fairly admitted and impartially conceded by those to whom the administration of that fund was committed? It is all nonsense to say that no person considered when contributing to the fund whether his money would be applied to the relief of Protestant or Catholic, and that it is treason to humanity to suppose that the fund will not be honestly distributed. The same might have been said with regard to the Patriotic Fund, yet we have seen how the vast sums collected in that case have been disbursed. What security is there for Catholics that the same course may not be adopted in the present, as was pursued in the former, instance? The Patriotic Commission, embodied by a royal

erant, was found not inaccessible to the influence of *bigotry and fanaticism*, how then can it be supposed that a *body not having* that high public sanction which the other possessed, a sanction which should have conferred immunity from any just impeachment of its integrity, will be more impeccable in its conduct, more faithful to its professions, and less liable to be swayed by partiality and prejudice? Every safeguard which, humanly speaking, could be afforded against any misappropriation of the fund occurring, or any undue preference for one party over another, for one sect over another being evinced by the Commissioners, was provided. A noble object was proposed, the relief of the loved companions, the dear pledges of those brave heroes who died for their country. *Princely generosity* responded to the appeal of patriotic benevolence; noblemen and gentlemen of the highest position were associated in this splendid work; and to crown all, the Queen, with that beautifully feminine feeling of compassion for human misery welling in her maternal bosom, gave to this body the sanction of her royal name as assurance that all her majesty's subjects victims to those unforeseen calamities should equally participate in the protection which the national sympathy had afforded. Yet notwithstanding these precautions the fell spirit of religious intolerance gained access to their councils, presided at their discussions, and influenced their decision, to such an extent that the exalted purpose for which they were associated has been lost sight of in the effort to achieve an unhallowed object, illustrious names have been tainted with the breath of suspicion, and the prestige hitherto attaching to the sacred name of royalty has been materially weakened if not wholly destroyed. But the worst result is that the abuse of this trust by the Royal Commissioners, has undermined the confidence of Catholics in every similar association. Nevertheless we are called upon, and accused of "treason to humanity" if we refuse, to contribute to a fund administered by an irresponsible body lacking even that security which in the case of the Patriotic Fund was found insufficient. Can any person in his senses maintain for one instant the proposition that greater security is to be found for a due consideration being shewn to the religious feelings of Catholics, in a body composed of persons belonging to

adverse denominations, deficient in those claims to our confidence and exempt from that responsibility which a royal commission involves, than resides in a body possessing those claims and endued with that responsibility. The latter disappointed our expectations, beguiled our hopes, violated our confidence, and betrayed our trust; will the former be less obnoxious to suspicion? Impossible. Should we then be parties to a scheme more dangerous than that against which we have been warned, and contribute to the perpetuation of an evil more pernicious than that against which we have protested. Assuredly not. Suppose an unreasoning animal allured by a bait into a snare by which he is destroyed. He plainly followed the bent of his nature leading him to gratify his appetite; such an action is natural. But suppose a man foreseeing the danger should rush into it for a present gratification, there would be a manifest disproportion between the nature of man and this action, that is it would be unnatural. How? Because by such a course he would act in opposition to that superior inward principle, conscience. Apply this to the case before us, and it will at once appear that any Catholic who believing that the charges brought against the patriotic fund are true, knowing that no further security has been afforded in the case of the Indian fund against the recurrence of those efforts at proselytism of which we have complained, influenced by a desire to gain the applause and esteem of men, or fearing their censure, subscribes to this fund, is guilty of treason to his faith and a violation of his conscience.

Briefly to sum up. We charge the commissioners and their agents with systematic attempts at proselytism by representing as false statements they knew at the time to be true, by acting upon the declaration of a lunatic, certified to be incompetent to form any judgment upon any matters which might be submitted to her opinion, for the purpose of placing the children at a Protestant school having the character of a proselytising establishment. To sustain this charge we have given the case of Mrs. Kirley, a certified lunatic, upon whose declaration, without any other authority in opposition to the assertions of Canon Grimley and affidavits of Sergeant Kirley's relations, and the positive knowledge of the gentlemen acting here for the Patriotic Fund, the children were sent to school at Kilmeague which long ago

had obtained an unenviable notoriety. We admit that Mrs. Kirley may have been a Protestant, but she conformed *before* her marriage, and went through all the exercises prescribed by the Catholic church as a preparation for the worthy reception of the holy sacrament of matrimony; her children were baptised Catholics, brought up Catholics, and entered upon the books of the Grangegorman penitentiary as Catholics, being placed as such in charge of the Catholic chaplain.

Next we charge that by a contemptuous inattention to the applications of those who desired their children to be placed at Catholic schools, they wearied out the patience and "sickened the hearts" of the applicants in order to extract from their poverty a reluctant consent, which might afterwards be paraded as the voluntary expression of a wish, to have the children reared Protestants, unblushingly took credit for impartial advice, and brought forward their own employes to testify to the "truths" contained in their statements. And generally we charge, that by abusing the power with which the public invested them, the Commissioners devoted money intended for a specified end to other and unworthy objects never contemplated by the contributors; and by enforcing in particular cases a regulation they relaxed in others, they defeated the very aim and purpose for which they were organized. Witness the case of Mrs. Norris, who, having been harassed by frequent applications, continually disregarded, finding herself unable longer to withstand the pressure of want, sacrificed her child and shortly afterwards died. Mrs. Preston, who received the warning to take away her child being under the age of seven, in the hope that thereby she might not reclaim her other children, through fear of being compelled to keep the youngest at home.

Lastly, we accuse them of allocating large sums out of the surplus funds to Protestant institutions, for Protestant purposes, not one penny being allotted to Catholic charities for the education of Catholic orphans. In support of this we have given their own report, behind which they cannot go, and the veracity of which they must admit. Now, it is due to the commissioners, and due to the subscribers, that a searching inquiry should be instituted into all the details of the various cases; let *all* the correspondence be laid before the persons

appointed to hold it, (say a committee of the House of Commons, composed of Catholics and Protestants in the proportion of one to three, with power to administer an oath); let the witnesses be examined on oath, and a report drawn up and published, containing the decision of the committee, and the grounds upon which that decision was arrived at. Such an investigation would no doubt, tend to the elucidation of that mystery in which the proceedings of the commissioners have been hitherto enveloped. "NOTHING LESS WILL SATISFY THE PUBLIC."

"The Report" has at length appeared. It purports to reply to, and refute the charges brought against the administration of the Patriotic Fund, by the Duke of Norfolk and Archbishop Cullen. We cannot congratulate the Commissioners or their Secretaries upon the ability with which they have executed their task, or the success with which this vindication of their proceedings is likely to be attended. With the charges brought by the Duke of Norfolk, we do not and did not profess to deal; we must therefore be excused from entering upon them. It is with the Archbishop's letter alone, the statements contained in it, and the manner in which those statements have been answered, that we still mean to concern ourselves. We do most sincerely regret that this Report should afford such a painful confirmation of the startling accusations which his Grace considered it his duty to bring forward against this public body. However gratifying it may be, to know that his Grace is ever watchful of the spiritual interests of his flock, and ever zealous in guarding the faith of those committed to his charge from the insidious attacks of wily and powerful enemies, still it is to be deplored that such constant vigilance should be necessary to protect them from the pernicious influence of a body established ostensibly for their advantage. The Commissioners, in their Report, have not disproved a single one of the Archbishop's allegations; they assert that "these charges were immediately answered, and we think, refuted, in a memorandum drawn up and subsequently made public by our honorary secretary, Captain Fishbourne.

They were also emphatically denied by Lord St. Leonards, in a letter which appeared in the *Times*, of October 7th." With regard to the letter of Lord St. Leonards, we leave our readers to judge of the "refutation" given in it to the Archbishop's statements; the memorandum, which may now be considered part of the Report, contains that puerile argument that because a small sum only was contributed by Catholics, therefore they are not entitled to complain, if they be relieved not in proportion to the number of those of their religion whose services entitled their widows and orphans to receive relief, but in proportion to the amount of the subscriptions they have contributed to the fund. We repeat what we before stated, that if Ireland contributed nothing whatever to the fund, the people of this country would be entitled to demand whatever sums were required to maintain or educate the widows or orphans of the Irish soldiers who fell in the Crimea. "Dr. Cullen" did not "insinuate" anything; what he wrote he wrote openly, fairly, and above board. The "insinuations" came from the other side: Lord St. Leonards "insinuated," and Captain Fishbourne, the son of the Carlow ex-Magistrate, "insinuates," that "Dr. Cullen" stated, with regard to the final allocation, "that the money thus applied was that of Roman Catholics," meaning thereby, that the particular subscription of the Roman Catholic body was separated from the rest of the fund, and distinctly applied to Protestant institutions. This is mere folly, and could result only from the hereditary antipathy which the gallant secretary feels towards Roman Catholic priests in general, and towards "Dr. Cullen" in particular; for it exhibits "Dr. Cullen" in the light of a little child who will insist on having his own toy, and nobody else's will satisfy him. We don't object to the allotment of Catholic money to Protestant institutions, if, in return, Protestant money be given to Catholic institutions. But what "Dr. Cullen" complained of was, that while no money was allotted to our institutions, large sums were allotted for the erection and endowment of Protestant institutions, out of that fund to which Catholics had contributed. To this it is replied in the Report that these institutions are open to all denominations: on the same principle as the Union schools, (which are avowedly proselytizing), and that no institution existed in connexion

with the Military profession for the exclusive reception of Roman Catholic children. So are the Townsend-street School, the Coombe Ragged School, and many others of the same class, open to all denominations, but it does not therefore follow, that they are adapted to afford the means of religious instruction to the Roman Catholics. There are many schools established on the same principle as the Union schools in England, existing in Dublin and other towns of Ireland, the heads of which would seize with avidity upon any opportunity of gaining possession of a Catholic child, and so far from requiring an endowment, would willingly pay a capitation tax on every child thus given up to them ; but these schools could hardly be called open to Catholic children, for their aim and object is to eradicate, from the minds of their pupils, every trace of "Romanism." The result of these mixed schools will be, that the Catholics will, in the first place, be admitted only in a certain proportion, founded on Captain Fishbourne's estimate of the relative numbers of Catholics and Protestants in the Army and Navy ; next, that being established in conformity with the precedent afforded by the Union schools, erected under the 7 and 8 Vic. c. 101, the Catholic children will be exposed to every annoyance that can legally be given to them. They will not be "*obliged*" to attend Protestant worship or listen to Protestant teaching ; that would be contrary to "the scrupulous respect which the commissioners feel ought, on every account, to be paid to differences of religious belief ;" but the parson will consider that he was put there for all, and that as the children form one community, his right to speak to all without distinction must not be questioned ; and that any separation of the children would be very injurious, as tending to make the other children have doubts about religion, seeing the difference of teaching. There will be Protestant prayers every morning, but there will be no one to collect the poor Catholics together for the purpose of performing their morning devotions. If Mass be allowed to be celebrated at all, it will be permitted only at such an hour as to render it almost impossible for the poor little children ever to approach the Holy Communion, as only they can do it—fasting. The refectory must be attended without partaking of food ; games must be played without any mental distraction, and the every-day business gone

through by the Catholic pupils, whilst keeping their minds fixed upon the great duty they are about to discharge, and their attention wrapt in the contemplation of the power and goodness of that Divine Visitor they are about to receive.

The class books will be composed by some person whose object it is to misrepresent every thing Catholic, and who, if he had the will has not the intellectual capacity to rise above the influence of prejudice. History, that most powerful engine for good or evil, will be distorted ; wrong constructions will be put upon the acts of Catholic sovereigns, and every thing that human ingenuity can devise will be resorted to for the purpose of alienating the minds of these youths from the faith in which they had been born. There will be no Catholic teachers to instruct the Catholic children in the duties of their religion. A particular day and the most inconvenient hours in that day, will be appointed for the Catholic priest to visit and instruct the Catholic children. Most probably it will be a day on which, according to the regulations of the school, the children will be allowed some extra recreation and amusement, and thus the poor little papists, in addition to the taunts of their schoolfellows, will find their little amusement diminished, because they happen to have been born in the Romish persuasion. These restraints may appear trifling to grown men, (though they chafe at less), but to the child they are most dreadful. Now just imagine ; a fine March day, the sun shining brilliantly through the frosty air, it is a half holiday, a day for pleasure, the spirits of the pupils, bubbling up from their youthful hearts, are overflowing in the anticipation of the pleasure they will derive from the promised visit to some romantic ruin or historic monument to which they are to be brought on a walk. Meanwhile, until the time for departure comes, every sort of game is going forward, and the merry laugh of the school-boy echoes gaily through the play-ground. But who are these sitting in a comfortless room, the gloomy aspect of which presents a sad contrast with the merry sunshine without ? Downcast and listless they receive the admonition of their instructor ; ever and anon the joyous shout of their companions recalls the scene of pleasure from which they are excluded, or the silence which reigns around proclaims

the departure of their school-fellows on the excursion they are forbidden to join. What grave offence have they committed, which necessitates such a severe punishment, and who is this man who tries to fix the wandering attention of the poor fellows upon the subject on which he is speaking to them? They have committed no offence, except that they are *Catholics*; that man is a priest, permitted by the guardians to visit the members of his persuasion once a week, during recreation hours, and only once a week, and only during recreation hours. Is it in human nature to look forward to a recurrence of such visits, under such circumstances, with pleasure; or would not a young boy or girl prefer to abandon every prospect of happiness in a far distant, and to them, an incomprehensible future, than endure the wretchedness and misery of this most painful and degrading segregation?

What a frame of mind to receive religious instruction. Is not every recurrence of such a visit from the priest, anticipated with melancholy forbodings. How long do the commissioners suppose a child could withstand such cruelty. We believe in our conscience, that nothing short of the particular interposition of Providence, and the special operation of Grace, would preserve the religion of that child for one year. Is this a fancy sketch? It is not.* Even in respectable Protestant schools, frequent quarrels,

* To show that we have not exaggerated in our supposition of what *will* be, we give an account of what *is*. In a letter on the Union Schools of England, we find the following statement with regard to the instruction of Catholic children. "The decision of the board upon this point, was given me by the superintendent. It was that I might see the children from half-past two to four o'clock on Saturdays, and only then. It was in vain that I represented that hour as most inconvenient. The Board have refused to alter it. It must be observed that Saturday is the half holiday, and the children, I was told, are accustomed often to walk out on that day. One lesson a week, and that rendered obnoxious, by being taken out of their play time, and fixed for an hour when the priest might often be prevented of coming, is what the board considers a sufficient allowance of Catholic instruction for Catholic children, and is all the opportunity we as yet have of counteracting the overwhelming influence of Protestantism, by which they are surrounded." This is the model upon which the rules of the school that is to be "a visible and permanent memorial of national generosity," is to be formed.

terminating in boxing matches, arise out of religious disputes; and as to the effect of the regulation with regard to religious teaching, as acted upon in the district schools, it is found most efficacious in up-rooting all inclination to continue the profession of a religion entailing such hardships.

We do not hesitate to assert, that, had the most inveterate opponent of the Commissioners, ransacked their whole conduct, criticised with hostile minuteness every detail of their management, he could not have produced a more damning proof of their proselytising tendencies, a more perfect justification of "Dr. Cullen's" charges, than the Commissioners themselves furnish in their admitted allocation of a large sum of money towards the erection of an institution, the rules of which should be based on the same principal, as that by which district schools are regulated.

As our space is limited, and our time short, we cannot analyze with all the accuracy we could desire, the various portions of the report. We shall therefore turn to the cases of Mrs. Kirley, and Mrs. Norris. And first of Mrs. Kirley. Appendix 25 of the Report, is a letter from Major Harris, to Captain Fishbourne at the head of which is the following. "Margaret Jane, 10 years old, and Alice 6 years old, children of Margaret Kirley. No. 426, at 8s. 6d., *who is insane, Protestant*, 17th March, 1857.

We must be particular about dates. On the 17th March, 1857, Major Harris writes of Mrs. Kirley as a "Protestant." On the 25th March, 1857, she is committed to Grange Gorman Penitentiary, and entered as a Roman Catholic. She remained there until September of the same year. The Major it would seem was not quite satisfied at having acted so summarily, and called at the Penitentiary sometime in March, we cannot fix the date more exactly, than by referring to the medical certificate of Dr. Banon, written at the desire of Major Harris, intimated to the Governor on the occasion of his interview with him, which is dated 2nd April, 1857, to *ascertain* the religion of the children of the woman Kirley," whom he had described on the 17th inst. as Protestant. The Governor shewed him the entries of her various committals; and there she and her children were set down "Roman Catholic." In the face of this fact the Major wrote to Canon Grimley, on the 20th April, "It does not appear that the children of Sergeant Kirley,

were ever at any time brought up by their parents in the Roman Catholic faith." Perhaps there is some quibble about "by their parents." If so, we can only say, that should the commissioners think to ride off on special pleading technicalities, they will find themselves sadly mistaken, and will contribute more than any accusations, however derogatory, "to undermine confidence in the integrity of public bodies." So much for that. Now observe Alice is not seven years old. According to the Report many Protestant children have been refused presentation to Protestant schools, in consequence of not having attained their seventh year. We know that many Catholics have been refused, when desirous of placing their children at schools of their own persuasion on the same ground. But happy Alice must not be lost. Arthur Preston is waiting for her, and she with the others is packed off to Sallins, on (mark another date,) the 31st *March*, 1857.

Strange coincidence;—The Major goes to the Penitentiary, say on the 28th; it is not material so long as it is clear he went *before* the 31st; we cannot suspect him of going on the 1st April—"Fool's day"—and the certificate is dated 2nd April, so we may fairly assume he went before the 31st, learned the religion of the mother and children, and then sends the children off to Kilmeague Colony. This is acting in accordance with the decision of the Court of Queen's Bench.

This explains the delay in answering Canon Grimley's first letter, which at the time appeared so extraordinary. On the 28th March Captain Fishbourne wrote in reference to Canon Grimley's letter. Major Harris sent no reply until the 20th April. Why did not Major Harris forward to Canon Grimley the letter, or an extract from the letter, of Captain Fishbourne which appears a very fair one, and not take upon himself to act with so much discourtesy towards the priest, as flatly to contradict him, and that too, when Major Harris was in possession of the knowledge that Mrs. Kirley and her children had been always described in the books of the Penitentiary as "Roman Catholic," and even on the last occasion when confined on the 25th March, she was described as "Roman Catholic." The indefiniteness of Mr. Synnot's "early in the Summer of this year," left us in doubt as to whether Major Harris was

acquainted with the religion of the Kirleys previous to his writing that letter to Canon Grimley; and actuated by the desire of not imputing any impropriety to those in public positions unless we have good grounds for suspicion, we have treated the subject in the body of the paper as though the Major had been ignorant of it. Now, however, we leave it to our readers to characterise the statement in the letter of 20th April, 1857. On the 17th March Major Harris describes Mrs. Kirley as "*insane*," and "*Protestant*," in italics. On the 25th she is registered Roman Catholic in the Penitentiary, March 23rd. Mr. Preston agrees to take the children. March 25th, Canon Grimley writes protesting against their being proselytized. Between that date and the 2nd April Major Harris visits the Penitentiary, traces the committals, finds Mrs. Kirley and her children entered as Roman Catholics, sends them on the 31st March to a Protestant school, and on the 20th April writes that letter to Canon Grimley, which appears quite at variance with fact. So far as to dates, we think we have shewn that due regard has not been had towards the religion of these children.

The Commissioners make a great fuss about Mrs. Kirley's having been once a Protestant. Mr. Kingston, Vicar of St. James, writes to Lord St. Leonards, that the widow Kirley said "she is, and always has been a Protestant, and never professed herself a Roman Catholic." This is in direct contradiction to Mrs. Colvins's statement as reported by Major Harris, viz.:—"That Margeret Kirley was brought up a Protestant, but as it is contrary to custom to marry two persons of different religion she changed for the purpose of the ceremony." Mary Anne Mills certifies to the effect, that between 1837 and 1840 Mrs. Kirley, then Margaret M'Cormick, was a Protestant. The Rev. Hugh Crawford is also brought forward, and with wonderful egotism certifies to the correctness of an extract made by himself, out of a book which he admits is in his own possession. What weight such testimony may have with those whose judgments are unclouded by prejudice, can easily be estimated. The fact, notwithstanding, is doubtful; however, admitting that she had been a Protestant, her mother declares she changed her religion. The sincerity of that conversion it is not for us to question,

that is between herself and God, who alone "sees the hearts of men:" we can judge only by appearances, and certainly judging by appearances—attendance at Mass, frequentation of the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, &c.—she was a Catholic. Mr. Kingston further states on the authority, he says of Mrs. Kirley, that, being taken up by a constable on the charge of being under the influence of liquor, "she and her children were committed to Grangegorman Penitentiary, &c." The shortest term of imprisonment given on the return is seven days, an unusually long confinement for a woman who was only drunk. Again, "be it observed, it was not pecuniary distress which caused her to be committed to prison, &c." Yet the same return shews that between the 1st January and 31st December, 1856, she was committed twelve times for begging. "When taken to Mass she knelt down with her back to the altar." We were not before aware that when Protestants knelt it was their custom to turn their backs on the "Communion table." However, the statement is false. We refer to these statements merely for the purpose of drawing attention to them as clearly manifesting a mind diseased.

Now for Mrs. Norris. Parson Hare (having some connexion with the "Irish Church Missions to Roman Catholics,") writes under date 12th July, 1856-7. (What may be the meaning of 56-7 we don't know.)—"I, some time ago, placed two orphan children of Crimean Soldiers, Mary Norris, and Agnes Arnott, under the care of the guardians of the Orphan Home, Richmond-street, Portobello, &c." By whose authority? Captain Fishbourne stated in his memorandum, that no parson was employed by the Commissioners to distribute relief to individuals who had claims on the Patriotic Fund; yet here we have a parson, aye, worse than a parson, a professed "Souper," one of the heads of the "Irish Church Missions Society" (to which Captain Fishbourne is a subscriber) employed by the Commissioners to place children of Crimean soldiers, of whom one at all events was a Catholic, in a Protestant school at the expense of the fund. This Society of "Irish Church Missions" is founded for the purpose of insulting and annoying the Catholics of Ireland. As a proof of this we subjoin one of ten reasons why Christians should support this Society: "Because the doctrines of the Church of Rome being anti-scriptural and idolatrous, Roman Catholics

are perishing for lack of knowledge." Now this "Souper" may be, in Fishbourne's estimation, a very proper person to consult the religious feelings and provide for the religious wants of the "idolatrous" papists, but we do hope that there will be found very few outside this family party of the same opinion.

It is calculated to excite considerable suspicion, when we see such a lot of those Souper parsons hanging about the fund. It argues badly for the impartial administration of the fund.

The children were placed in this school which is Protestant. On the 1st August Mrs. Norris forwarded a memorial attested by Canon Grimley, requesting her children to be sent to St. Clare's, Harold's Cross. Dates again. On the 4th November Mr. Ball drew attention to the fact that no answer had been sent to her application. On the 5th November, (Guy Fawkes day,) Captain Fishbourne sent an answer to Mr. Ball stating, "Your note did not pass unnoticed. The memorial was sent to Mrs. Norris." For what purpose? A memorial is forwarded to a public body, and the secretary sends it back to the memorialist without note or comment. But it was not sent to Mrs. Norris, it was sent to Mr. Hare, who had it up to the 25th of September, when he returned it to Mr Fishbourne. Why is not the letter of Captain Fishbourne to Mr. Hare which accompanied the memorial published? Perhaps it might disclose some unpleasant secrets. The material part of it is seen from Hare's.—"In compliance with your wishes I have seen Mrs. Norris on the subject of your last communication." Now what right had Fishbourne to communicate with this Hare at all, on the subject of Mrs. Norris' petition? and what right had he to ask Hare to get from the poor woman an explanation of why she forwarded a petition, and to endeavour to induce her to deny all knowledge of the substance of it? We must confess we do not like to see so many of these Missionaries mixed up with the matter.—Fishbourne, Hare, M'Carthy, &c., &c.—men sworn to overturn the Catholic religion in this country, acting on the part of the public in a matter touching the interests of Catholics, bears on the face of it a very suspicious appearance. The public has a right to the production of every letter that passed between the parties

concerned in these proceedings ; in the absence of any material one we have a right to stigmatise the report as a garbled report, and we do so stigmatise it. It is most unfair in a document purporting to be a vindication, to keep back any evidence which may tend to the condemnation of the parties concerned. It is not astonishing that Mr. Ball refused to sign it. He would not lend himself to such a nasty tricky proceeding. On the 5th November a reply is sent to Mrs. Norris. From August to November—three months—the child being all this time in Miss Shepherd's care. 13th November Mrs. Norris again applies having her signature certified by an Alderman of the city. On the 25th November she gets an answer referring her to Major Ormsby. Why could not Hare still have the management of this neat little case?

December 16th she applied personally to Ormsby, to have her child sent to Baggot-street. December 19th Captain Fishbourne writes, "Two petitions have been received at this office on behalf of Mrs. Norris to place her daughter with the nuns of St. Clare's Orphanage, Harold's Cross ; and a third to have her placed with Miss Shepherd, &c." Where is that third petition ?—Why is it not produced ? Really we fear that the Commissioners have very little regard for their reputation when they append their names to such an incomplete and unsatisfactory report. We do not wish to indulge in any strong language ; but it appears to us that such a vindication (?) tends rather to excite, than allay suspicion. But to return. December 19th Captain Fishbourne wrote ; and on the 22nd *December* Mrs. Norris was put on HALF ALLOWANCE !!! There is a letter without a date from Captain Mansfield, which is as follows :—

" My dear Sir,

A woman, a widow of a man of the name of Norris, of the 90th Regiment, has contracted a marriage with a man in my company, by name Hoolihan, which marriage is null, owing to the man having being previously married, (was he prosecuted for bigamy ?) At her second marriage she lost her pension from the Patriotic Fund. Now that

she finds her marriage to be invalid, she is anxious to recover her position on the pension list of the Patriotic Fund.

Faithfully yours,

C. E. MANSFIELD,

Captain 33rd Regiment,
Dublin."

No address. No date. We should like to see the date. We may presume, however, that it was before she was put on half allowance, as the Captain says "she *lost* her pension." Could it be possible that this half allowance had anything to do with the petition of the 10th January, 1857, requesting admission for her child to the "London Infant Home?" January 30th, another petition to the same effect, was forwarded by Major Ormsby to Captain Fishbourne, and on the 2nd February, a letter came from Captain Fishbourne, couched in the following terms:—

London, &c.

2nd February, 1857.

"SIR,

In compliance with Mrs. Norris's request, her daughter will be placed in the Soldiers' Infant Home at Hampstead. Will you have the goodness to pay the mother and child's expenses to this office, and also the expense of Mrs Norris in returning to Dublin.

I have the honour, &c. &c.,

E. GARDINER FISHBOURNE.

Major Ormsby,

District Staff Office, Dublin."

No necessity for "presentation forms." Everything is now smooth.

"Facilis, decensus Avernus."

Landed at last. A hard struggle, well and skilfully played, Captain. Oh, what rapture fills your breast. We wish you joy, but for all that, we would not like to be in your place. Mrs. Norris died, and so the matter ends. The letters of Major Ormsby to the Archbishop, are em-

bodied in the Report, but the letter of the Archbishop to Major Ormsby, dated 1st January, 1858, is *omitted*. With reference to the observation made by the Commissioners, that "Dr. Cullen," produced only two cases to sustain his charges, we must say that it was not from a want of instances of proselytism, which are alas too numerous, but through a wish not to cumber his pages with the "old old story." Should the Commissioners desire it, we have no doubt His Grace will give them more examples than they would wish to have known. We have only now to say, that the Report is most satisfactory, affording as it does "confirmation strong" of the charges brought by the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen against the Patriotic Commission, and proving beyond question the necessity there existed for obtaining in regard to the "Indian Relief Fund," some further assurance of impartial distribution, than that which had been already found insufficient. We regret we were not able to enter more minutely into the Report: but as far as we went, we have proved that even taking their own one-sided and partial statement, the accusations of the Archbishop have been fully corroborated. It is to be hoped that on an early day, the reasons which induced Mr. Ball to refrain from signing the Report, will be made public. It is somewhat striking, that of the two Catholics on the Commission one withheld his name, and that of two Irishmen one refused to sign.

'In the first page of our paper we have attributed to the "Sepoys," outrages which we then believed to have taken place. Information which we have since received, unfortunately too late for insertion in its proper place, has induced us to modify our opinion considerably, and to regard the reports of these atrocities as somewhat exaggerated.

ART. V.—THE SCOTCH HISTORIAN.

History of Europe, from the fall of Napoleon in 1815, to the Accession of Louis Napoleon in 1852, by Sir Archibald Alison, Bart. D.C.L. vol. VII. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1858.

A very strange opinion respecting the merits of historiographers generally has been attributed to Dr. Johnson, by his friend and biographer, Boswell. The doctor is said to have held, that writers of history are nothing better than mere retailers of facts and events occurring on the surface of the earth during a certain number of years, and that their only merit consisted in making a good compilation. Another opinion of the great lexicographer was of a somewhat similar character; that if the names of all persons of the two sexes in the kingdom were thrown into two separate hats, and drawn out in couples to be mated, the matches so made would prove as happy as any that are made in the usual way, with all the care of parents, or dictated by the impulses of affection. In fact Dr. Johnson did not believe either in those marriages, which are said to be made in heaven, nor in that strange animal a philosophical historian. If he had lived to the present day it is very hard to conceive, what value he would have set upon the labours of Lord Macaulay or Sir Archibald Alison, the characteristics of whose works are so diametrically opposed in point of matter and composition, the one crammed with facts, the other with logic.

It must be admitted, however, that the great lexicographer's opinion in this matter is somewhat extravagant, and at variance with his usual sagacious views. A writer of history should not only properly arrange his events, not merely in chronological order, but also according to their natural connection, otherwise his work will be garbled, split up into fragments of a heterogeneous nature, without consecutiveness upon the face of it. He must shew by a concise and clear chain of reasoning, how certain events followed from particular causes, or produced certain effects, so that the future generations of the human race may profit by the often too dear bought experience of those who went before them. Herein resides the

greatest sagacity of the good historian, herein he shews his knowledge of human policy, and applies the principles of philosophy to the actions of nations, in order to instruct his fellow-men. But all men are not of the same studious habit, nor equally inclined to investigate the dry course of events during a series of years, and in order to draw them on to a perusal of pages, which may lead to their enlightenment, it is necessary that a certain amount of interesting incident should be clothed in harmony of language. To do all these things well without too great a crowding of facts, too tedious an array of argument, or too florid a description of trifling events foreign to the subject, must require a mind well educated in the science of reason, a judgment capable of discriminating the great and the useful in the events of successive years, and a power of expression in writing equal to the deeds he has to pourtray. Let us see how Alison has fulfilled these conditions.

The volume before us is replete with some of the most important events which have occurred in these countries, and in France since the battle of Waterloo. It relates the Temperance movement and Repeal agitation in Ireland—the passing of the Bank Charter Act by Sir Robert Peel in 1844—the Railway Mania—the Anti-Corn Law agitation, and the establishment of free-trade—the Irish famine of 1846-7—the Chartist movement, and the attempt at Rebellion in Ireland during 1848. The occurrences in France and on the continent during the same period are no less interesting, comprising the growth of revolutionary opinions in that country for many years, and the attempts of the Government for their suppression—the revolt of Abdel Kader in Algeria—the celebrated question of the Spanish marriages—the Accession of Pius IX., and the revolution in Rome—and the final catastrophe ending in the expulsion of Louis Philippe from the soil of France. Such are the multifarious subjects which swell the pages of this thick octavo; it is impossible that we can deal with each and all of them, we shall content ourselves, therefore with the consideration of those which have a more especial interest or relation to our own country and people.

Sir Archibald Alison has never been very happy in his allusions to Irish affairs, whether it is that he does not understand the temper of the people of this country, or that the fogs of his own northern land have obfuscated his vision of

affairs at this side of the channel ; at all events he hazards the most unfounded hypothesis respecting their causes and effects. He dedicates to the Temperance movement, and Repeal agitation, which fermented in this island during six years, and well nigh threatened to provoke rebellion, just twelve pages of his verbose letter-press, without giving any intelligible account of its progress or development. According to his first surmise the Temperance movement was "veiled under the guise of philanthropy," in order "to divert the funds hitherto wasted in the public-house, into the coffers of the Repeal Association." Has the most fertile brain of the greatest enemy of O'Connell, even the *Times*' Commissioner himself, ever invented such an absurd origin for the apostolic labours of Father Mathew ? It is very true that the liberator made use of the spread of Teetotalism, to induce the lower orders to contribute their ~~me~~ to the support of the Repeal question, and even on one occasion stated that "Teetotalism was the sublimest effluence of human reason," and that if he were going into battle, he should wish to be surrounded by the followers of the Apostle of Temperance, but a more absurd invention could not be foisted on posterity as fact, if Sir Archibald wishes to go down to future ages as a truth-telling historian, than that Daniel O'Connell had anything to do with the origin of the Temperance movement. It was all due to the untiring labours, the patient self-sacrifice of that man, whom Alison calls "a monk of ardent disposition, nervous eloquence, and enthusiastic philanthropy." Here also is the narrator at fault ; the spirit of the priest was meek, his language calm and persuasive, and Irishmen should never forget that he immolated himself for his fellow-countrymen, the pension which he received from Government being scarcely sufficient to keep alive the policies on his life to secure debts incurred in carrying out his mission of benevolence.

Another strange passage in this account now meets the eye. It runs thus : "it has been often remarked, that whenever the people give over *fighting at fairs* in Ireland, you may be sure that some serious outbreak is in contemplation, and government will do well to stand on their guard." In other words, that when the people are most orderly and well-behaved, Her Majesty must at once dread a rebellion, and send over an overwhelming force of military. Oh ! wisest of writers on human

affairs, how marvellous are the intricacies of thy reasoning, and how inscrutable the deductions of thy fertile imagination ! Is it not evident to any person of common sense, that faction, or as it would be called in Scotland, *Clanship*, was the sole cause of these partial disturbances, which had no connection whatever with political affairs. At this present moment when all this antagonism has died out, and no such faction quarrels are recorded, we enjoy the most benign tranquillity, and absence of all plottings of treason or insurrection.

Before the Repeal agitation commenced in earnest in 1841, serious crime had rapidly diminished to a great extent owing to the spread of temperance, and to the prosperous state of the country. O'Connell laid his plans wisely for a great national effort, which would combine together and interest nearly all classes in the community, and produce a pressure on the government, which could scarcely be resisted. Many doubt at the present day, whether he ever hoped himself to see the fulfilment of his demands, but whether he did or not, his Catholic fellow-subjects laboured under so many disabilities, and were still so little raised from the state of oppression, in which they had been so long retained, that many advantages might be gained by their standing together manfully, even for such a hopeless object as the abrogation of the Act of Union. He rightly saw also, that the Whigs, not the Tories, were the party to keep in power, as the most likely to favour his design ; they were not strong in their influence among the landed interest of England, their principles pointed too much towards Reform, towards giving power to the middling classes ; they needed to conciliate the body of the people, the Catholics of Ireland, for support. So when in May, 1841, their hold on the reins of power was slackened, and it became evident that Sir Robert Peel should come in at the head of the conservatives, meetings were held in every parish in Ireland, to petition the Queen, "not to receive into her confidence the bitter and malignant enemies of her faithful Irish people." What a contrast to the conduct of the priests and independent oppositionists of the present day, who join the Tory candidates to the exclusion of every person of liberal views in politics.

Then came the monster meetings, to which the farmers and peasants headed by their pastors, with colours flying, often preceded by small bands of music, might be seen wending

their way in tens, twentys, and fifties of thousands across the country in obedience to the call of the master spirit. The hill of Kilnoe in Clare, and Ardsullas, saw the first of these assemblages, which speedily grew to such dimensions as to threaten the continuance of British rule within the Island. The priests gave in their adhesion, 104 in one diocese, one only excepted, having joined the movement. But the government were not yet intimidated, their organ, the *Standard*, announced, "that it was not intended to take any notice of the nonsense going on in Ireland, but that any attempt at a breach of the law would be put down with a high hand." O'Connell accepted now the Lord Mayoralty of Dublin, and made use of that office to further his views. He found that the Tory interest had an exclusive hold upon the representation of Dublin city, on account of the corruption and venality of the greater number of the freemen, a large portion of whom were, and still are, base, worthless, impoverished wretches, trafficking their votes to the highest bidder. He endeavoured to extend the freedom of the city to many of his fellow Catholics, who had been excluded from their rights by the bigotry of former chief magistrates, but his efforts were futile, and the representation of the chief city is still disgraced by the abject state of a portion of the constituency.

During the year 1842, the ardour of the Repealers was somewhat abated; the previous harvest had been scanty, labour was scarce, agrarian outrages and riots occurred in various parts of the country, owing to the dearth among the peasantry; but at the commencement of 1843, O'Connell revived the spirit of agitation, by declaring, that the coming season should be the Repeal-year. March saw the enormous meeting at Trim, May that of Mullingar, at each of which not less than 100,000 persons were present. The Catholic bishops formally declared themselves Repealers, and defied the ministers of England to put down the movement. So far all had gone on according to law; the organization of the Repeal Association was so well managed, and so widely spread throughout the country, that it seemed more than probable that the executive should yield to the public clamour. The government began to get alarmed; Sir Edward Sugden, the chancellor of Ireland, in the blindness of his haste, superseded Lord French and several other magistrates, who had taken part in Repeal meetings.

We have had a parallel case in this last year in the plain dealing of Chancellor Brady with the Orange magistrates of the north, after the riots of Belfast.

This measure only produced increased irritation among the people. On the 15th August, the hill of Tara, sacred in Irish history, was covered by a vast encampment, which sent forth multitudes by some estimated at nearly half-a-million of persons. In the exultation of his heart, at the sight of his myriad supporters, O'Connell promised his hearers, that they should see a Parliament in College Green within the next twelve months. It cannot be conceived why a man of such sagacity and stretch of foresight could have made such a rash pledge to the Irish people, unless he had in contemplation some more sudden step for obtaining his avowed object, unless in fact he meditated an insurrection. His open language and demeanour on this occasion misled many of his adherents; he himself was carried away by his enthusiasm; his acts and language, which had been hitherto kept within the bounds of strict prudence, betrayed him into extravagancies, which he could never retract, and he fell into the snare, which put him within the power of the English government. His partizans spoke openly of their "Repeal cavalry," marching and "countermarching," and made use of other terms, which were eagerly caught at by their enemies. The climax of the agitation was reached, and the executive made preparations to put a stop to any further intimidation. An act was passed through Parliament on the 22nd of the same month, requiring the registration of arms, and the Duke of Wellington, as Commander-in-Chief, concentrated his troops, and prepared the barracks throughout the country in the event of an outbreak.

The crisis had at length arrived; O'Connell announced in the Repeal Association that he would hold a meeting at Clontarf to petition the Queen for a re-establishment of the Irish Parliament, and invited the citizens of Dublin to attend. The 8th of October was the day appointed for the demonstration; the loyal Protestants of Dublin took fright at the proximity of such an assemblage, and began secretly to collect means of defence in case of an attack. The metropolis was raised to a state of commotion, agitation was painted in every face, some rejoicing in the prospect of a serious conflict, others dreading the effects of popular fury. Suddenly on the day before the appointed gathering, a proclamation is issued by the Lord Lieu-

tenant, prohibiting the collection of any large body of persons at the place designed, warning all well-disposed persons to remain away, and directing a body of troops to enforce the order. O'Connell yielded, the Repeal Association sent out its emissaries to countermand the arrangements for the meeting, and when the hour arrived, the ground was kept by 6,000 men under arms, and a few dispersed groups of idlers, among whom Tom Stagle, the "Head Pacificator," moved about, waving a green bough, as an olive branch, and motioning the people to proceed quietly to their homes.

A great deal of obloquy has been cast upon the Liberator for not persevering in his attempt to hold the monster meeting at Clontarf. It has been said, even by many of his own party, particularly those who afterwards formed the section called the "Young Irelanders," that he had worked up the people to a pitch of excitement, in which they were ready to dare anything which he might have the resolution to propose, and that it was fully expected that he should have led them to decided revolt, if the government persisted in ignoring their claims. They accuse him of want of firmness and constancy in the hour of trial, when the whole population were at hand to back him in any decided course. A moment's consideration will enable us to perceive, that the expectation of any such co-operation was altogether illusory, and that any attempt at insurrection would have been immediately crushed with an overwhelming force. The peasantry through the country were not organized, or did not hold arms in their hands, with which they could hope to struggle successfully against the soldiery; the mob, which should have assembled at Clontarf, would have been completely defenceless, and in any attempt at rising must have been slaughtered mercilessly. The Priests throughout the country, though ready to head their flocks on their way to monster assemblages, would have shrunk back from the responsibility in the hour of peril, and withheld the aid which they had given reason to expect. O'Connell's plans were deeper laid; he foresaw that the executive having gone so far as the issuing of the proclamation, should go farther and prosecute himself and some of his associates; he calculated too much on the unanimous feeling of the people, that such a measure would rouse them into a state of armed resistance, without any preconcert, which nothing could quell. For this he had been preparing their

minds carefully during three years, bringing them on through easy gradations from the idea of petitioning the Queen, to a familiarity with the determination to use coercive measures, and a consciousness of their own strength. If the people had rightly understood the lesson inculcated, and acted upon it, no power which the British crown might have brought to bear, could have resisted the enormous pressure of the popular will. The preparation was altogether imperfect, his followers urged on, in their over-zeal, the crisis of affairs a little too fast, and the whole scheme fell to the ground, the labours of many years were rendered useless and unavailing.

It would be tiresome to relate in detail the circumstances attending the arrest and twenty-two days trial of O'Connell and his co-conspirators. The jury-system was on that occasion perverted to the worst purposes of partizanship, by the meanest of the lowest of hirelings. Sixty-three names of jurors who might have been favourably prejudiced towards the traversers, were, by a sleight of hand trick, lost or obliterated from the panel, and an unconscientious Attorney General crammed the jury-box with twelve men, whom he knew in his heart could not give a fair hearing to the accused. Unfortunately, the ends of justice are too often defeated, in this land, by the prejudices of party on either side, either for or against the crown; this is a stain which can never be wiped out, as long as the body of the people and the government are in antagonism. Furthermore, the dignity of the court of justice was degraded by the pettishness and arrogance of the highest law-officer, who, before the very face of the representative of the Queen, in the Queen's Bench, presumed to send a challenge across the green cloth to one of the counsel for the traversers. These things were matters of notoriety at the day, serving only to turn into ridicule the whole proceedings.

The charge was one of constructive conspiracy, that is to say, a conspiring to be eked out from the words and acts of the parties concerned, without any proof of plot, or contrivance or agreement on a definite plan of action. No such plan or plot could have been proved, the doings and sayings, so called conspirators were open to all, no one was ignorant of the purposes and methods of action, but words had been dropped in public speeches, the people had been roused into a threatening attitude, external pressure had been brought to bear on the go-

verment and to ward it off a conviction was absolutely necessary. O'Connell alone had woven in his brain the thread of events, which brought about the state of excitement in the public mind, no preconcert existed among the accused, but it was essential for party purposes to convict. The crime imputed was one scarcely known to the law, looked upon with a jealous eye by all its commentators; the nature of the accusation had been hitherto regarded as such a vital blow at the liberty of the subject, that no person had ever been found guilty of it in England; but the circumstances demanded an example, the agitation should be suppressed at all hazards, and a packed jury were the willing instruments of conviction.

The traversers were found guilty; at the moment of the delivery of the verdict Mr. Smith O'Brien, with true nobility of spirit, joined heart in hand with his former opponent in the hour of danger. Four months, however, elapsed before the sentence was pronounced, and O'Connell was allowed to choose his own prison, the Richmond Penitentiary. Then followed the appeal to the lords, where party spirit again shewed itself, the Whigs endeavouring to conciliate, the Tories to crush every independent opinion in the sister country. Alison endeavours to extol the tribunal before which the legal questions were argued, saying, "that never was a more magnificent exhibition of British justice than on this occasion." It is singular, however, that he passes over in silence altogether the true grounds on which the decision was come to, which reversed the sentence on the accused. Six of the eleven counts in the indictment had been declared radically bad in law, yet there was enough remaining to sustain the verdict, although it was acknowledged that the nature of the charge, a constructive conspiracy to coerce government, was scarcely supported by a *scintilla juris*. The real point, however, lay behind, and struck at the very inception of the trial, the unfair practices which had been used to obtain a jury predetermined to convict. This ground it was which drew forth the able rebuke of the venerable Denman, when he declared the whole proceedings to have been, "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare." Yet would the judgment have stood, the lay-lords were eager to support it, but that a sense of decency compelled them to retire behind the Chancellor's chair, while three Whig law Lords, Denman, Cottenham and Campbell, reversed the former decision of the twelve judges, leaving the Tory lords, Lyndhurst and Brougham, in a minority.

Thus ended this drama of the repeal agitation. O'Connell liberated endeavoured to revive the spirits of his followers, and to set on foot a more perfect organization. He felt soon that he no longer held the reins of power in his hands. During his incarceration the members of Conciliation Hall had learned to act independently, and to question the deeds of their leader. Smith O'Brien, Thomas Francis Meagher, and other ardent thinkers, conceived that the time for deliberation was passed, that the moment for determined purpose had arrived. They heeded not the master mind, which had so far conducted the cause safely through the perils of faction warfare, they repudiated the guidance of their political pilot, and even objected to his interference with the funds of the Repeal Association. This disgusted the man, who had sacrificed so much to his country; he found too late that he could not depend on a consistent support from his followers; the enthusiasm which had formerly rung in peals through the land, was stilled, and gave no response to his efforts to reawaken it. His health also began to fail, perhaps owing principally to his short confinement, which must have had a powerful effect on a man of such active habits. A preventative to disease, which had been prescribed by his medical advisers, suddenly ceased to produce its effect; his brain became overloaded with care, anxiety, and sickness; he saw his end approaching, and he turned with an aching heart from the land and people, to whose upraising from the abyss of baseness, into which they had been sunk, he had dedicated the days of his life, and abandoned all prospects of fame and fortune at his profession.

The Scotch Historian asserts that after his death, O'Connell's reputation "sank rapidly, and among none so completely as those who had so long worshipped his footsteps." We are sorry to be obliged to say that this is wholly untrue, and that this sentence alone marks in the most significant manner the degree of prejudice and ignorance, with which the few pages in this volume respecting the career of the great Irish champion have been written. Dear is the memory of O'Connell in the heart of every peasant in this country, who remembers his struggles for freedom; cherished is his image among those in this island, who at any time enjoyed his friendship. Political agitation has died away, the farmer and tiller of the soil may conceive that it is better to attend to their field labour than to

run after what would now be regarded as a chimera, but yet they revere the remembrance of him, who gave them an interest in that soil, and a title to Independence. The Roman Catholics recall to mind, how he was mainly instrumental in freeing their Holy Faith from the oppression of a bigoted minority, and earned for them a right to represent their fellow-countrymen in Parliament. Many, yea even some of the priests of that communion, regard him as already placed among the Just in Heaven, and according to their peculiar tenets would, but for the danger of public scandal, beseech his intercession for the welfare of the people, whom he had so long defended in this world. Such things are not consistent with the neglect of his reputation in Ireland, where it will reign supreme over that of any other man, ancient or modern, as long as the religion of the greater number exists therein.

Some of the foulest calumnies, which the baseness of the heart of man could invent, have been propagated and reiterated by the political opponents of this great leader, in the hopes of lowering him in the estimation of his followers. The *Times*, that mighty engine which leads by the nose, whether for good or evil, more than half the unreasoning English, at one time sent an emissary, ycleped Commissioner, into the wilds of this country to ferret out by underhand practices, and among his deadliest enemies, anything which could be laid hold of to damage the fair fame of the champion of Irish Catholics. This hireling conceived that he had discovered a vulnerable point, and announced that O'Connell was a middleman, who exacted triple rents from his tenants, and this charge Alison supports, merely because it has been put forward by the sworn foes of the man, whose acts he is recounting. Can this be called evenhanded justice, or can the relater dare to assert, that he has searched the records of truth, from which he might arrive at a just conclusion? The contrary of this grievous allegation is well-known to be the fact; in the wild mountainous district of the County Kerry, where the small property of Derrynane is situated, the lowly cottiers held at a mere nominal rent, many of them paid nothing at all; and those tenants, whose land was capable of yielding any remuneration for outlay, were often two or three years in arrears. O'Connell has been also attacked on the subject of the contributions, raised yearly, to enable him to carry on the cause he so ably advocated;

he was called a "big beggarman," a pensioner of the poor, and accused of laying up large sums for his family, and growing fat upon the miseries of the peasant. What is the fact? Every shilling so subscribed as rent was scattered through the country, and returned to the people, in the enormous outlay which his active advocacy demanded. Nearly one quarter of a million sterling is said to have passed in that way through his hands, and at the day of his death not one pound of that vast sum was forthcoming to pay his debts. Even a small amount, for which he had insured his life for the benefit of his family, was considerably reduced by demands made upon it by his creditors. Such was the man, whom this ignorant, unenquiring Scotchman has designated with the name of a "grinding middleman."

Viewing his career as a public man for a period of nearly 40 years, during which he advocated the claims of his fellow-countrymen of the Roman Catholic persuasion, he must be admitted to have exhibited greater power of eloquence, whether at the bar or in the senate, greater tact and address in conducting a perilous agitation, more firmness and courage in the hour of trial, than any man whom Europe produced during that lapse of time. At his profession he shewed a more profound learning in the law, a readier wit in speeches to juries than most of his cotemporaries. He once got his client, a guilty man, acquitted by throwing his brief on the table, and leaving the onus of the trial on the presiding judge, then Serjeant Lefroy, now the chief Justice of Queen's Bench. In the celebrated prosecution of Magee he crushed an unfortunate attorney-general, Saurin, by his withering sarcasm, and bearded the judges on the bench, when other Roman Catholics were almost afraid to act as advocates before these tribunals, then exclusively Protestant. His income as barrister, at one time, reached very nearly £8,000 yearly, business flowed in upon him to such an extent, that he is reported to have had usually three bags, fully laden with briefs, carried after him from court to court in important causes. His advocacy was secured in a suit, in which a large property in the north of Ireland was at stake, by a fee of 1000 guineas, the heaviest which had been ever known at the Irish bar, and his successful client declared, that had he been aware previously of the talents displayed by his counsel, he should not have hesitated to double the retainer.

When he first joined the Catholic committee, at the head of which Lords French and Fingal, in 1807, were in vain struggling to rouse their co-religionists to action, and to coerce government to relieve their disabilities, he found everywhere disunion and apathy, the Tories strong in power, the Orangemen triumphant, no hope of any attention being given by the Imperial Parliament to Catholic claims. During twenty years he laboured perseveringly to arouse a spirit of independence in the country, to create a bond of union among his fellowmen, steering their leaders through the dangerous shoals of agitation, skilfully avoiding the grasp of the law, and yet arraying by degrees against the executive a formidable combination of party and discontent. When his plans were matured and the favourable moment arrived, he threw himself boldly in the gap at the Clare Election, and demanded from the legislature the right of every British subject to represent his constituency in Parliament. His speech at the bar of the House of Commons on the occasion of supporting his claim to a seat in the House, must be regarded as equalling in nervous eloquence and argument, anything which ever fell from the lips of ancient or modern orator. The statute book was too strong for him; but at his back was seen such a well drilled force of Catholic patriots, that the man of the hour, Sir Robert Peel, thought it very expedient, and the Duke of Wellington deemed it imperative, in order to preserve the integrity of the commonwealth, that Parliament should yield their just rights to an oppressed race.

Emancipation being granted he first mooted the question of the Repeal of the Act of Union. For a long time his most ardent admirers and followers would not rightly comprehend what was his intention in putting forward this question before the public. Many thought that his purpose did not go the full length of his declarations, that he merely brought this debatable point into issue, in order to keep alive the attention of the Roman Catholics and the Irish people in general, and that the agitation so produced might be useful in obtaining other concessions. Be that as it may, he used the opportunity to demand the total abolition of Tithes, roused the peasantry into active resistance to the collection of that impost, and finally had it cast upon the wealthy proprietors of the soil, the greater number of whom were Protestants. Many other small

measures of relief for his fellow-countrymen, he obtained by a harassing system of warfare with the executive, keeping beyond the reach of the law, in some cases evading it, in others openly defying its myrmidons, until at length he perceived that a complete removal of disabilities could never be obtained from a parliament sitting at Westminster. Then he determined on a bold stroke, to endeavour to bring back the representatives of the country to their ancient place of sitting in the Irish metropolis. He failed in this notwithstanding his well organized plan of agitation, for two reasons; the first, because the British Government were determined to lavish countless treasures and the best blood of Englishmen on the soil of Ireland, before they would yield to such a demand; the second, because he had always held as a maxim from his first entrance into political life, that the greatest progress of the human intellect was not worth one drop of human blood spilt in insurrection. Here was the only fault in his character, though it must be admitted to have been a humane one; in 1846, when the young Irelanders called on him to rouse the people to an armed resistance, he shrank from the phantom he himself had evoked. Here at least was inconsistency; the man who had shot D'Esterre should not have recoiled from the sight of the blood of martyrs in the cause of independence. He was fully justified by the dictates of prudence, he foresaw that the struggle would be worse than vain, he saw that his task in this world for his beloved country was at an end; he left her in order that he might not be a witness of the miserable squabbles, which for a time disgraced, and finally caused the dissolution of the Repeal Association.

Let him rest in peace! His memory is dear to all Irishmen, whose social position has been immeasurably raised by his efforts in the cause of freedom during nearly half a century. Those only throw filth upon his tomb, who writhed under the lash of his eloquence while he was alive, and still wince at the recollection of the infliction. It is unworthy of any man, calling himself an impartial historian, as Sir Archibald Alison no doubt does, to blacken the fair fame of the dead, because in his lifetime he happened to be a political foe. Let his deeds be judged by themselves, not by the misrepresentations of party rancour, and O'Connell will be esteemed by posterity as the master mind of his age.

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The Bank Charter Act passed in 1844, which has been the subject of so much discussion, during the commercial crisis of the last autumn, and which was suspended in consequence by an order of council, was introduced by Sir Robert Peel to endeavour to provide against the evils of unwholesome speculation, and the pressure on the money-market consequent thereupon. The former act granting exclusive privileges to the Bank of England, had been in force since 1833, and was to last for a period of 21 years, with a power to the executive after 10 years to alter its provisions, if deemed expedient. Sir Robert, alarmed by the crises of 1836, 1839, and subsequent ones of overtrading, took advantage of the latter proviso, to revise the measure, and endeavour to protect the interests of legitimate commerce. The over-issue of notes by the Bank of England and country banks was considered to be one of the main causes of the over speculation; some conceived that this issue should be limited to the Bank of England alone; others argued that a power of issuing notes should be extended to every bank, as the retention of gold alone would be a sufficient check upon the amount of accommodation afforded.

These opinions were disregarded by Sir Robert Peel; he assumed that the total circulation of the country was about 22 millions, 14 of which was required in home trade, and 8 in foreign commerce. Basing his calculations upon these data he introduced his bill, the principal provisions of which were that there should be two separate departments in the bank, one of issue, the other of banking, to the former of which all the bullion should be transferred—that the 14 millions of notes issued for home trade should have a foundation of securities public and private, and the 8 millions additional should be issued exclusively on the foundation of bullion—that no notes should issue on deposits or discounts—that the accounts of the Bank of England should be published periodically—that it should be bound to buy up all the gold brought in below the mint price—that the establishment of new banks should be prohibited, but then the issues of the old ones allowed. The Bank of England was to pay for its privileges a sum of £180,000 to government, and any net profit for any further issues allowed in time of pressure.

Such were the principal provisions of the bill, which passed both houses on the 12th of July; it was followed in the next

year by similar measures for Scotland and Ireland. Any one who looks at this question for a moment will at once perceive on what an erroneous foundation the whole scheme was founded. The extent of the circulation of the United Kingdom was taken to be necessarily permanent, than which nothing could be more fallacious, or more calculated to straiten trade, which requires a large amount of elasticity in the currency. Since this act was passed the transactions of the country have increased both in home and foreign commerce at least one third, requiring a much larger accommodation. The circulation itself is becoming every day more extensive, the proportion of gold to notes greater, and therefore the benefits of paper currency proportionally decreased. The ultimate effect is that no commercial pressure can now occur without causing a very serious crisis, during which it becomes absolutely necessary to do away with the act for a time, at the very point where such an act should protect the public and trading community from loss. Again the currency of the country depends very nearly altogether on the amount of gold held by the Bank of England, and if a time should arrive when this would be entirely run out, the remaining 14 millions would be inconvertible; in the case of disorder in the government, notes would fall enormously in value, like the French assignats, and bring ruin upon a large portion of the community.

Alison, however, is wrong in one proposition, that the effect of free trade, and the Bank Charter Act combined, is to cause a large surplus of imports over exports, and consequently that the gold required in commerce with foreign nations merely passes through this country as a medium. This statement is not correct either in theory or practice. England's riches do not consist in her currency, but in the capital employed in her manufactures, the immense debt secured to private individuals by government, and her monopoly to a great extent of the carrying trade of nations. All these are independent of the laws of export and import, except the first, in which she has an immense superiority over all other countries, so that she can well afford to send abroad some of her surplus revenue, to purchase foreign luxuries.

The first occasion on which this act was put to the test, occurred in 1847, when a succession of commercial embarrassments supervened, in consequence of the Railway mania with-

drawing a large amount from trade, and the famine in Ireland and Scotland, which raised the prices of the necessaries of life, and caused a disastrous speculation in corn and other articles of food. The reserve in the Banking department was reduced to £1,600,000, the 8 millions being locked up, and the Board declined to make any advances on stock or Exchequer Bills. Though the crisis was not near as great as that which occurred in this past autumn, the rate of interest having risen only to 8 per cent., while in November, 1857, it reached 11 per cent. yet a total suspension of all business and payments was apprehended. The Royal Bank of Liverpool with a paid up capital of £800,000 stopped, and many large trading companies suspended payments. The manufacturing districts of the north of England, and many of the merchants of London, petitioned the government to relax the charter, but the executive was resolute. It was only when the private Bankers of London sent in a memorial, in which they declared that they would withdraw their balances from the Bank of England, amounting to nearly £1,800,000, against which there was only a reserve of £1,600,000, that Lord John Russell and the Chancellor of the Exchequer authorised a departure from the act, and an enlargement of discounts and advances on approved security. In fact but for this timely step the Bank of England would in mercantile phrase have been "chequed out" by the London Bankers. The circulation of notes in the United Kingdom had been reduced 8 millions below what it had been in 1844. The effect of this authorization was the liberation of an immense amount of hoarded notes and coin, and trade recovered its equilibrium. Such was also the effect of a similar measure last year, clearly shewing that Sir R. Peel's restrictions are not such as suit the commerce of this country. They were calculated for a certain definite amount of transactions, which have been increasing ever since, and causing the operation of the act to become every day more dangerous, limiting the currency when it ought to be increased. The critical state of the Bank of England in November, 1857, was very alarming in consequence of this system. The *Times* of November 12th states the interest of money in London to have been 10 per cent. the Bullion in the Bank a little over 7 millions, the reserve notes only £975,000, and the liabilities nearly 41 millions. Such a state of things is very near, if not completely, a state of bankruptcy.

The provision with respect to the compulsory purchase of gold produced in some cases a very strange result. It was intended to have a tranquillising effect, and to retain the price of that metal at a certain equable standard. The contrary was in a great measure the effect. When the market price was low, immense masses of bullion flowed into this country, at a time when it was not wanting. In 1846 the Bank held $16\frac{1}{2}$ millions of the precious metal, and in 1852 22 millions, whereas in 1847, when the demand was most pressing, there existed only £8,312,000, and in 1857 only £7,170,000, of bullion in its coffers. In the former cases the Bank suffered by its purchases, and in the latter the public were the victims by contraction. Over trading was produced in the one case, and numerous suspensions in the other. So much for the foresight of statesmen in dealing with the monetary affairs of the country.

The next great event of this period was the Anticorn-law League agitation and the establishment of Free trade. This had been prepared by the efforts of the Manchester party in 1844 and '45, by several motions in the House of Commons, in which Mr. Villiers and Lord John Russell took very prominent parts, when Sir James Graham stated that many years would not pass away before the people would be in want of food, if a refusal to admit foreign corn was persisted in; and Mr. Disraeli declared that "Protection appeared to be in the same condition that Protestantism was in 1828," and that it was his belief that "a conservative government is an organised conspiracy." Strange sentiment coming from a man, who at this moment is leagued with Lord Derby in bolstering up a purely conservative administration! Where does the hypocrisy reside, whether in the Disraeli of to-day, who forms a part of the condemned organization, or in the Peelites, who were compelled by the voice of the country to abandon the absurd principles of protection? Sir Robert Peel in his memoirs has so woven up the history of the establishment of Free trade with the causes of the famine, which subsequently desolated Ireland, that we shall treat the two subjects together.

On referring to these memoirs we find that protection, as founded on the corn law of 1815, was based on the assumption, that wheat could not be profitably grown in England, or this country, at a price lower than 80s. a quarter. Nothing could have shown more clearly from the commencement, that the law in its inception was most iniquitous, cutting off the supply of food from the bulk of the com-

manity, in order to benefit the tillers and owners of the soil, who could not compete with foreign climates. These Islands were never intended by Providence for an extensive growth of corn; the general humidity of the air and want of power in the sun's rays acting on the surface, with other atmospherical disadvantages, all combine to retard the ripening of cereal crops to a late season, sometimes to the commencement of September, when the recurrence of rains is apt to destroy the harvest completely. Compare this with the early cutting before the end of July on the scorching plains of Languedoc, the flats of Saxony, Prussia and Poland, and the shores of the Black Sea, without counting the enormous yield from the virgin soil of America, and no one can doubt, but that it was only the not blinded selfishness of the landed interest in England, which swayed the legislature in maintaining such a measure. It was under the conviction of its instability, that its provisions were relaxed in 1828 and 1842, and that Sir Robert Peel would not in 1845 give his friends in the cabinet, Lord Stanley and others, any guarantee, that he should maintain even the protection of the latter year.

In his letter to the electors of Tamworth Sir Robert declared his reasons for believing that protection would soon fall to the ground and did not suit this country. They were three; first, that labor does not vary with the price of corn, on the contrary in some of the dearest seasons the greatest number of the operatives were deprived of the means of supporting their families; secondly, he contrasted two successive periods during which such a state of things existed; and thirdly, he shewed that cheapness and plenty are more insured by free intercourse with other nations. He had really made up his mind that a repeal of the duties on grain was absolutely necessary, but in pursuance of the temporizing policy of expediency, for which he rendered himself famous, he did not wish to bring forward any measure on the subject, lest his party might desert him altogether, unless circumstances arose to demand his interference.

As early as the middle of August, 1845, accounts were received from the Isle of Wight, and in the commencement of October from Ireland and Scotland, that the potato crop, on which the bulk of the people depended for food, was likely to be for the most part destroyed. Two eminent men of science,

Professor Lindley, and Dr. Lyon Playfair, were sent across the channel to investigate the causes, extent and method of prevention of the disease. There were plenty of learned men in chemistry, or any other branch of natural philosophy, in Dublin at the period, who might have been employed on this business. This, however, was not the policy of the government, who chose to have their own particular *protégés* brought forward, although these gentlemen had no experience of the climate, method of cultivation of the potato, or customs and habits of the people, in Ireland; and consequently they ended their labors by a wise recommendation to send out agents to enquire, how potatoes might be got or supplied from Spain, Holland or North Germany. In the meanwhile famine was approaching by slow degrees, the daily bread of the poor disappearing off the face of the earth, and nothing to replace it.

Lord Stuart de Decies, Lord Heytesbury, the then Lord Lieutenant, and Mr. Bullen, the secretary to the Agricultural Society, wrote several pressing letters to the Cabinet, representing the impending distress and the necessity for some precautionary measures. It was suggested that distillation from grain should be prohibited, in order that the corn intended to be a sustenance for man should not be turned into a poison. Cabinet meetings were held, the memoranda of which as left in Sir Robert Peel's memoirs seem to treat the question more as a matter of charity, begged for the Irish people, than as an absolute demand for necessary support. He says under the date of November 1, "monster meetings, the ungrateful return for past services, the subscriptions in Ireland to Repeal rent and O'Connell tribute; will have disinclined the charitable here to make any great exertions for Irish relief." In other words, that because the Irish people had taken up the Repeal question, and endeavoured to obtain what they considered their rights, they were to be allowed to starve; or that the charity of England was so little disinterested in Sir Robert's opinion, that the political opponents of the Repealers would prefer to see them die of want, than hold out to them a helping hand. He proposed, however, that the corn laws should be suspended, and £100,000 given to the Lord Lieutenant for distribution. This was not acceded to by the other ministers, and the matter lay still in abeyance.

Meanwhile the Anti-Corn-Law League seeing the advantage,

which they were likely to gain by a demand for imports of grain, determined to make a great effort to bring the question of the duties to a crisis. Immense numbers of publications were scattered through the country, advocating the abolition of the taxes on grain; Covent Garden Theatre was taken for a bazaar, which was visited by some 135,000 persons at various times, and £25,000 realized. A levy of a quarter of a million sterling was agreed to at Manchester, and £62,000 subscribed on the spot, £1500 by one gentleman, and £100 each by twenty others. More than £122,000 had been previously raised. The price of corn had risen from 46s. in June to 60s. a quarter in November, distress was imminent, the increased bad reports of the crops created very general alarm. Lords Ashley and Weymouth declared in favour of the league.

A meeting had been held at the Rotunda in Dublin, at the end of October, at which the Duke of Leinster presided, where a resolution was passed, directing that an address be sent to the Lord Lieutenant, to request that the Irish ports should be opened to Indian corn, rice and other grains. This, however, produced no effect; another cabinet was held on Nov. 6th, at which it was proposed to remit the duty on corn in bond to one shilling and to open the ports. This was rejected by a majority, at the head of which stood Lord Stanley, the only supporters of Peel being Lord Aberdeen, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert. But Peel began now to meditate a throwing overboard of his own party; he saw that there was no other leader in the House of Commons able to form a ministry, and the only way in which he could carry out the measure he intended, was by resigning and getting rid of a portion of his own cabinet. This becomes abundantly evident from several memoranda in the memoirs, the most striking of which runs as follows:—"The betrayal of party attachments—the maintenance of the honour of public men—the real interests of the cause of constitutional government, must all be determined by the answer which the heart and conscience of a responsible minister must give to the question—What is that course which the public interests really demand?" How a public man could at the same time betray his party, and maintain his political honour, is a problem requiring the widest stretch of expedient statesmanship to be able to solve.

Something must, however, be done for Ireland, from which accounts had been received in the middle of November, stating that

“one half the actual potato crop was destroyed.” This portended some dreadful disaster, and demanded some immediate preventive step. Sir Robert decided on the very unusual step of authorising the purchase of Indian corn in the United States on account of government. This could only afford a very partial measure of relief, and instructions were sent to the Lord Lieutenant to inquire into the best method of encouraging the importation of grain.

At this moment Lord John Russell, who is ever ready to make political capital from the necessities and temper of the times, and to forestall the intentions of other statesmen, came out with his celebrated letter to his London constituents, in which he shewed that the failure of the potato crop could have no effect in increasing the importation of corn, and that under the existing law, the worst species of grain were taxed with the highest duties. This produced great excitement throughout the country, and warned the cabinet to make some move to meet the emergency. A circular was despatched by the Prime Minister to each of his colleagues, requesting to be informed how far they would support him in a proposition for a remission of the duties. The greater number held fast to their original opinions, some wavered ; but the most remarkable answer given by any was that of the Duke of Wellington, evincing a desire to support Peel in any measure, even against his own convictions. It ran thus ; “if it is necessary to suspend the corn laws to avoid real evils, resulting from the scarcity of food, we ought not to hesitate ;” and thus, “a good government for this country is more important than corn laws or any consideration.” In other words he was ready to do anything which would keep his own party in office ; a soldier-like obedience to his chief. Peel, however, seeing that he would not be sustained, proposed that a sliding scale be introduced, diminishing for a series of years, and finally extinguishing the duties. This was not acceded to by Lord Stanley or the Duke of Buccleuch, and he resigned his office on the 5th of December.

Then succeeded a strange species of scene-shifting, on which Peel had calculated long before. Lord John Russell is sent for by the Queen, to undertake the formation of a ministry. This noble lord, always eager to grasp the reins of power, made some ineffectual attempts to collect together not followers, but members of different parties. One objected to another holding

a place in the cabinet, and was objected to in return ; Earl Grey refused to join if Lord Palmerston was admitted, deeming this latter a dangerous man in foreign politics. After a week's deliberations no combination of the repugnant elements could be formed, and Sir Robert Peel was called on to resume the administration of affairs. The same men, with the exceptions of Lord Stanley who retired, and Lord Wharncliffe, who died in the interval, filled their respective posts. The freetrade policy was determined on, the Times announced it, the league became uproniously rejoiced at their success, but the measure was not passed for six months. It is needless to go through the reasons assigned in the House of Commons by Sir Robert Peel for this change of law, which reduced the duty on corn at once from 16s. to 4s. to be entirely extinguished in ~~some~~ years, except in so far that one main argument was ~~founded~~ on the threatened famine in Ireland. The opposition treated this as a mere pretence got up for party purposes, stating that the oat crop was amply sufficient to support the whole population, while at the same time every day advices were being sent across the channel foreboding the direst calamities.

The Bill did not pass through the Lords until the 22nd of June, 1846, and produced on that occasion a very characteristic speech from the Duke of Wellington, showing that his only principle of action was obedience to his sovereign, even contrary to his own convictions. But the government found it also necessary, in consequence of reports they had received from Ireland, concerning the prevalence of Ribbonism and assassinations, especially a letter from Sir Charles O'Donnell, the commander of a district, to bring in an Arms Act. This was put forward in the Commons, contemporaneously with the Free Trade Bill in the Lords, and it became soon apparent that both could not pass. Here Peel, in his memoirs, shews where the true difficulty of his administration lay. He had betrayed his own party, thrown overboard the principle of protection, after plotting against it secretly for a number of years; he found himself strong enough to brave the influence of the landed interest in England, but too weak to overcome the steady opposition of a handful of Irish members. His acrimony exhales itself in the bitterest terms, he calls them "an Irish party for which British indignation has no terms—a set of troublesome and factious members," and declares that without

the Bill, the government of Ireland would be absolutely impossible. A curious coincidence then occurred, the Free Trade Act passed the Lords, the news of the ratification of the Oregon Treaty with America arrived, and the ministry were defeated on the Arms Bill on the same day. This constitutes one instance the more of Irish members acting together, and watching their opportunity, being able to overturn any English Cabinet on a fitting occasion.

Alison enters into a somewhat lengthy disquisition, not history, but argumentative essayism, to shew that the danger of scarcity, on which the measure was principally founded, had passed away before the law was complete; that real Free Trade was not introduced, but protection retained for the manufacturer, and withdrawn from the farmer; that the Irish members, O'Connell, his sons and followers, had acted inconsistently, suicidally towards the interests of their country, in advocating the measure. The first assertion is not true, the second is equally false, and the third is completely erroneous. Irish farmers before the introduction of Free Trade, were very apt to speculate in the growth of corn, the value of which crop depended very much upon the demand for shipments to England. This was a fluctuating market, and its changes helped to ruin many, while it left the greater number in a state of struggling poverty. In fact this country was never fit for the cultivation of grain by which money could be made, unless in very exceptional seasons. But since the abolition of the duties the peasantry have turned their attention more exclusively to green crops and cattle, for which this climate is peculiarly adapted, and hence has arisen the prosperity known to exist in many districts at the present time. It has been currently reported within a short period, that many of the tenantry in certain parts of the Island, who do not presume to be considered as gentlemen, on account of their humble origin and want of education, have begun to taste the fruits of civilization, to use wine and other luxuries at their tables, which were unknown even by name to the generations preceding them in the occupation of their holdings. They deal extensively in beasts, frequent cattle sales and markets, and make regular consignments of native produce to the ports at the other side of the channel. In fine, the agricultural resources of Ireland have been more developed in the last twelve years, than in the whole period which elapsed from the fall of Napoleon to 1846.

Sir Archibald is not easily drawn away from his hobby of protection ; it is not for nothing that he has been created a Baronet on the recommendation of the Derby-Disraeli ministry—he must support the cause to the death. As a necessary consequence he thinks fit to inflict on his readers 30 pages of statistics, politico-economics, and dissertation, on the effects of the combination of Free trade with the bank charter act of 1844. It would be tedious in the extreme to follow him through the various phases of the same argument, repeated more than once, on a subject already so well threshed ; it amounts however, to this, that the currency being dependant on a certain amount of gold, held by the Bank of England, any circumstance which causes an outward drain of the precious metals, is likely to produce a crisis in the money market. Also that Free trade has a tendency to bring about such an efflux, causing the imports to be much larger than the exports, necessitating the shipment of specie to a large amount. The first part of this position is erroneous, because it proceeds on the assumption that the circulation is entirely dependent on the stock of bullion, and he even goes so far as to say, that “ if the nation possessed a currency adequate to its necessities, and yet duly limited, *independent of gold*, that metal might all go away without inducing a greater evil than the efflux of lead or iron.” Nothing could be more absurd than this, which would reduce us to mere paper, like the French assignats, without any metallic basis. The error lies in not leaving sufficient margin for the increase of circulation, giving too exclusive privileges to the Bank of England, and not sufficiently encouraging private Banks, at the same time making the laws more stringent as to their management. The laxity of the law permits and fosters a very large amount of unwholesome speculation both in Banking and in other trades, which periodically comes to a head, and bursts with destructive effects.

On the question of imports and exports, Alison does not take into account, that bullion, like every other commodity, is just as much an object of trade as corn, or cotton. This occurs particularly at the present time, when so much of the precious metals are sent into the vaults of the Bank of England from Australia and California. In reality the great source of wealth in Britain, is the carrying trade which it performs for other nations of Europe, the extent of her manufactures, and the

supplying foreign states with capital to perform many of their public works, railways and other undertakings. The imports of groceries and raw materials for manufactures are certainly very large, but there is a continual current of produce and bullion passing through the ports of the British Islands, on which the merchant levies his toll as it passes, and adds to his accumulations.

The historian rightly says in another place, that without protection our old country cannot compete in agricultural produce, with a young and growing state. The reason of this is, that the price of labour is greater in the one than in the other, on account of the increase of wealth, but there is no necessity for the old state competing in these matters at all. The surplus of the interest of her capital may very well go to foreign lands, to purchase their peculiar produce. Rome was fed from the valley of the Nile, and the granaries of Egypt, not from the plains of Italy, where the luxurious vine encumbered the soil. The only thing which the impossibility of growing corn in this country profitably without protection demonstrates, is this, that England has reached the plethoric state in the career of a nation, as Rome did in the time of the early Emperors, and the sole question is how long that condition of repletion can last. The amount of capital wasted every year in profitless undertakings at home and abroad is enormous, shewing that good investments are difficult to be found, or that speculation is preferred to safe transactions. There is yet no symptom of decay in the body politic, the current of life seems to run freely through its veins, now and then receiving a severe check from over excitement. If the bubble of the state purse does not some day burst and carry all right of property away with it, the machine may yet hold together for centuries, and defy the storms which have destroyed so many continental states.

While the statesmen of Great Britain were battling for office under the pressure of the Anti-corn law League and public opinion, Ireland was advancing steadily towards a state of desolation from which nothing but the most energetic measures could even partially save her. We have seen that as early as the month of October, 1845, Lord Heytesbury and many other influential men, as well as the government Inspectors, Professor Lindley and Dr. Lyon Playfair, had reported to

the cabinet, that the potato crop was more than half destroyed, and dire distress imminent in the country parts. Sir Robert Peel was too much taken up by his struggle with his own party, to pay any attention to the pressing wants of 8 millions of people. The only measure he attempted was that of ordering a quantity of Indian corn on account of the government to be bought in the United States, but this was too insignificant a means to adopt for the purpose of diverting a wide spread calamity. Instead of alleviating the distress, he endeavoured to pass an arms act, which caused his ejection from office, and the cabinet who succeeded him vainly tried to introduce a similar bill, but were obliged to withdraw it. Thus the old system of coercion was revived against the peasantry, when they were becoming half maddened by the evils which impended over them. The Free trade act, on which Peel relied for averting famine by causing a large importation of food, was not passed until the middle of 1846, too late to produce any decided effect for the coming season of dearth.

Every one in the island saw that famine was sure to set in during the winter of 1846-7. The small farmers were nearly all ruined, labour was not to be had, as there was no capital to employ workmen. Nearly a third of all the tillage-land lay idle, unwrought, in the spring of 1846, during which and for some months of the succeeding summer, the calamity was averted, only by the retailing of Indian meal by the government and some employment under the "Public Works Act." The greater part of the money laid out in this last manner became perfectly useless and even burdensome to the country, many districts of which had to repay large loans, from which they derived no advantage whatever. The retailing by government officials only served to check the legitimate course of trade, which might to a certain extent have balanced the evil. The proper course would have been either to have opened the ports altogether and encourage importation, at the same time advancing such sums to holders of land, as would enable them to pay for tilling the soil, or to have caused such large purchases to have been made on account of Government, as would both bring down the market, and furnish food for the multitude. No measures of the kind were attempted until late in the autumn of 1846, when it was found that the country was in the midst of a fearful calamity.

We do not mean to go into the particulars of this horrible tragedy, by which half-a-million of human beings were done to death under the slow tortures of starvation. There are very few grown people amongst us, who do not remember the misery, the feeling of terror which pervaded the community, as each account from the distant parts of the country reached the metropolis, detailing the wretched sufferings of the poor people, the heart-breaking scenes discovered in the homesteads of the peasantry, and the vain attempts made at untimely aid. Too late was the public money wasted with a lavish hand, the roads of the country rendered impassable by heaps of useless rubbish; the number of labourers on the works increased from 40,000 in September, 1846, to 700,000 in March, 1847, and the expenses per month as advanced to the different baronies, from £75,000 to £1,000,000 in the same period. Nine-tenths of this money was uselessly expended, completely thrown away; as the farm labour for the coming year was completely nullified, the lands were left deserted and untilled; the treasury had taken the place of the ordinary reciprocal action of society in providing for its members. This system threatened to make the famine permanent, and to effectually prevent the people from recovering from their abject state of misery. In fact the executive became so bewildered, that they scarcely knew what to do; on account of their former remissness they were obliged to take sudden measures; in the words of Lord Brougham, "It is impossible, when the cry of hunger prevails over the land—when there is the melancholy substance as well as the cry—when the country is distracted from day to day by accounts of the most heart-rending spectacles I have ever heard or read of that at such a moment, with such feelings pervading millions in both islands, we should be able, calmly and deliberately, to take up a question of permanent policy, I hold to be utterly and necessarily impossible."

It was not until January, 1847, that is to say, more than a year after the first serious accounts had reached Sir Robert Peel, that the British Government brought into operation some effectual general measures to meet the crisis. The shilling duty on wheat was taken off, the navigation laws entirely suspended, and every facility given for trade to relieve the wants of the people. The Poor Law was remodelled and rendered more efficient in Ireland, relief committees were appointed,

and the transit of food through the country facilitated in every possible way. These measures, however, did not produce their full effect for nearly six months, and the pressure on the outdoor relief of the unions became so large during the next twelve months, that 700,000 persons received rations outside the walls of the workhouses. This state of things could not last long without reducing the whole population, proprietors and peasantry, to a common state of want, the immediate consequence being that the rent of land fell from 30 to 50 per cent, and the value of house property in towns from 50 to 80 per cent. The effects of the famine did not really end until the year 1850, when it was calculated that more than half-a-million of inhabitants had disappeared off the face of the earth under its influence.

The Irish people can never be too grateful for the generous behaviour of the British people, who subscribed voluntarily £470,000, and to the Society of Friends, who contributed £168,000, towards relieving the general distress. Unfortunately our country is poor in money, and can never be expected to be able to repay in specie the debt thus incurred, but England should never forget what a large proportion of the defenders of her wealth, military and naval, have been reared in the Sister Island, and how they have upheld the dignity of the crown and the national honour on the bleak heights over Sebastopol, and in India. There is one assertion of Alison, however, respecting the money advanced from the treasury, which requires to be very largely qualified. He says that "between public grants and private subscriptions, nearly eight millions sterling were, in two years, bestowed by Great Britain upon Ireland—an example of magnificent liberality unparalleled in any former age or country, and forming not the least honourable feature in its long and glorious annals." From such statement it would appear to any foreign reader, that the two countries were essentially distinct, having separate exchequers, that Ireland contributed nothing whatever to the Imperial Treasury, had no voice or right in the disposal of its funds; or it might even seem that the hard cash came out of the very pockets of John Bull himself. Is anything said of the large additions made to the public debt of Ireland since the Union, three times greater than was stipulated in the conditions of the Act of 1800, on account of the wars and exigencies of Britain, or of the burthens heaped on the Irish

people in consequence. But the position is very much lessened in importance by the fact that more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions, having been levied on the baronies by presentment sessions, was liable to be repaid in ten years, and that the remainder only was a free gift from the Imperial Parliament.

Do we not remember what disastrous effects the heavy poor-rates, levied for a series of years in order to repay this government loan, produced all through the land and in all classes of society? The enormous depreciation of property, and the long continued drain of the bone and sinew of the population by emigration, reduced this country to the lowest ebb, until a turn in the tide of prosperity has come about, by the liberation of capital through the Encumbered Estates Court, and the extensive change of the proprietors of the soil. To what was all this owing? To the dilatory conduct of the executive under Sir Robert Peel, who was more intent upon plotting against his own party to retain himself in power, and at the same time carry the Free Trade Bill through the house, than to provide against a famine, which he must have seen to be inevitable. We have shewn that he was forewarned at least a year before the distress actually commenced; he did not forearm himself, and the consequence was a loss to Great Britain of more than four millions of money, and to Ireland a fall in property to five times that amount, coupled with a deficit of one-fourth the population. If a proper re-construction of the Poor Laws had been carried out in the commencement of 1846, as was afterwards done late in '47, a liberal distribution of money by means of the presentment sessions and Labour Act passed through the country, and the ports opened to the importation of corn, Ireland would not have had to deplore the waste of human life and the exodus of her people, or England the worse than useless squandering of her treasure. No human foresight would have completely prevented the calamities of that season, but in all probability timely aid would have checked them and alleviated the enormous distress.

In the diminution of the population of Ireland by $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of souls in the space of ten years after the introduction of free-trade, Allison endeavours to found some argument in favour of protection. The consecutiveness of it we do not see; it looks like the well-known logical error, *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. It would appear to us rather, that if grain had been let in duty free, at the time (October, 1845) when Sir Robert

Peel in his memoirs declares, he had formed the opinion that the corn laws could not stand, much of the subsequent misery would have been prevented. A very absurd notion was at one time got up by the protectionists, asserted by Lord Stanley, and founded on an allegation of Bishop Hughes, who had gone through some of the districts of Wexford and Cork, that the crop of oats in '45 and '46 was immense, and completely sufficient for the support of the entire population. This had been asseverated for a long time with such pertinacity that it formed the chief answer to the argument for the relief of Irish distress, and postponed the adoption of adequate measures. The fact was that the oat crop never formed a fifth part of that of the potato, the main food of the people, and could not have carried them through more than three or four months in the year.

The immense emigration which succeeded the famine in Ireland, to such an extent that nearly two millions of the population left her shores in ten years, is also ascribed by Sir Archibald to the effects of freetrade, in destroying the market for Irish corn. This statement is also completely erroneous, the removal of the people to other countries being mainly owing to the pressure of the burthens on land, poor rates and landtax, which in some localities reached such a figure, as not only to sweep away nearly the entire of the landlord's income, but to render it morally impossible that the small tenants could make a livelihood out of their holdings. Several clergymen of the Established Church, in some districts, lost almost their whole rent charge, by the deductions made from it for poor rates, on account of the provision in the act that the poundage should be subtracted in the entirety. As we have before shewn, the general effects of the famine and free trade on Ireland, have been to a certain extent beneficial; they have changed the habits, food, and method of cultivation of the peasantry; they have altered their system of agriculture to one more suited to the climate of the island, and although her people have passed through an ordeal scarcely equalled in history, yet she has been chastened and purified, and the most useful results are expected to follow.

We shall pass over the account given of the Railway mania, and the construction of the iron roads in Great Britain, in a few words. The great extension of these highways in England

have had certainly a great effect in facilitating commerce and manufactures, but the enormous cost at which they were originally constructed, and the extensions on which some of the main lines have foolishly entered, will prevent them from ever producing a remunerative return for the capital spent. It would have been much better if they had been gradually developed, and no branches made which were not absolutely required. In this respect France, and indeed Ireland, have adopted a more judicious system, and unless the rivalry of companies or absurd extensions swallow up all the profits, we bid fair in this country to have some of the best paying railways on the face of the globe. It is impossible to do away altogether with the traffic on cars or coaches; the steam engine will never be ramified over the country, as Bianconi's routes have been; the trains require to be fed at the various stations by horse labour. There is another matter also in connection with the English railways, which at once strikes any one who has travelled on the continent of Europe, and is particularly revolting to the eyes of any foreigner on his first arrival in these countries. This is the disgraceful species of accommodation afforded to second class passengers throughout the kingdom. It is strange that the English public, so jealous of their rights and comforts, have never tried to compel the different companies to improve their carriages, and give some reasonable amount of ease to travellers, instead of obliging them to sit on bare benches, and have their backs stripped by wooden boards. A monopoly of the highways has been handed over to private enterprize, but there ought to be reserved to the Crown or Parliament some means of checking the abuse of that monopoly. The reason for treating the second classes in this niggardly and parsimonious manner is obvious, to endeavour to drive them into the first class contrary to their inclinations and purses; but these companies, who are to a certain extent servants of the community, have no right to treat the public with such indignity. Such a system would not be tolerated for a moment either in Germany or France, notwithstanding all our boastings of freedom and independence. It is a course very prejudicial to the interests of the railways themselves; their chief support for passenger traffic lies in the middle classes, who go about the country on mercantile or professional business, and they ought to afford every reasonable

accommodation to their best customers. The first class carriages in this country are not in any way superior to the second class in many parts of Germany and France, for instance the lines from Paris to Lyons, and from Hamburg to Berlin. The second class carriages here are as miserable or more so than the third class there, and the fares of the second class here are equal to those of the first, and greater by a third than those of the second, on the continent. It is said, however, that the cost of construction of our lines has been much greater. That is very true, but the fares are greater in proportion, and the accommodation ought to be at least as good. The only railway we know of, which has shewn any proper attention to public requirements in this respect, is that from Dublin to Lurgan; the second class carriages are neatly cushioned, lined inside with mahogany veneer, and a proportional advantage is derived to the shareholders, who have been able to divide 8 and 9 per cent, although several miles of the embankment cost from £30,000 to £40,000 per mile. No better argument could be used in favour of improvements in carriages; it is indeed marvellous that this subject has not been properly agitated, as that of the hotels was about two years ago.

In 1845 two measures were passed by Sir Robert Peel, which evinced a considerable amount of liberality on the part of the government towards the Roman Catholics of Ireland. The first of these was brought forward by Sir James Graham, on the 9th of May, for the erection of the three colleges, now called the Queen's Universities of Belfast, Cork and Galway. They were immediately nicknamed, "Godless Colleges," on account of the absence of any species of religious teachings within their walls. The Roman Catholic Clergy have discountenanced them ever since, because they are not submitted entirely to their control, and are liable to be made use of for the extension of Church of England doctrines. This appears to us to be a suicidal course to take; if the priests had supported at first these colleges, which were regarded with a great degree of odium by the Protestants, they would ultimately have gained entire dominion in them, and used them for the purposes of their religion, almost as exclusively as Trinity College, Dublin, has been dedicated to those of the Established Church.

The second measure was that of increasing the grant to

Maynooth College from £9,000, to £26,383, a year. This is one of those subjects which Alison cannot approach, without shewing an amount of bigotry, intolerance, and ignorance, which should disgrace the columns of the highest Church-Tory print in the Empire. He says that this Act was "framed with the view of elevating the character of, and lessening the political danger from, the Catholic Clergy; . . . it was intended to elevate the condition and acquirements of the Catholic Clergy, and bring them more into harmony with the government of the state, and it has had just the opposite effect; it has lowered the standard both of their education and ideas, and rendered them, more than ever, the irreconcilable enemies of the Protestant Establishment." And the reason which he assigns for this is as follows: "that the young priests are now educated at home, instead of abroad, and thereby become more impregnated than ever, with the bigotry and violent feelings, which centuries of dissension have engendered between the rival Churches in Ireland," and that they are brought "under the direct control of a body much inferior in acquirement, and much more inflamed in passion, than any foreign hierarchy—the Romish Clergy of Ireland." Certainly, if all the Protestants in this country were of the same opinion as this Scotch Historian, the unfortunate people here might expect to be thrown back into the state of abject degradation, in which they were at one time held by religious intolerance. The effect of this small grant made by the Imperial Parliament, has been directly the reverse of what is attributed to it by Sir Archibald; it has reconciled a great many of the Irish Ecclesiastics to British rule, to which they were formerly traitors, it has given them a small yet binding interest in the state, and has served to elevate them considerably in the scale of society. If the education given at Maynooth does not produce as polished gentlemen or learned scholars as those who formerly returned here from foreign universities, the fault lies only in the insufficiency of the grant, which does not give scope enough for the cultivation of the higher branches of learning. Let the government endow a Catholic University in Dublin, consistently with the wants of the people, as Queen Elizabeth did that of Trinity College for her favourite Protestantism, and in a short time, under the guidance of a Newman, the teaching of such an Institution will equal that of any foreign body, at Louvain, Salamanca, or St. Omer.

The charge made against the Irish priesthood, that the Maynooth grant "has lowered the standard of their education and ideas, and rendered them more than ever the irreconcilable enemies of the Protestant Establishment," is one of these assertions, worthy of a Spooner, which wantonly and recklessly made in the blind heat of party spirit, have a most pernicious effect in maintaining religious antagonism in Ireland. Never were the Roman Catholic clergy more inclined to shew a friendly feeling towards their Protestant fellow-countrymen than at present; at the last election they supported many candidates of the Established Church and high Tory principles, in preference to men of their own persuasion of more liberal shades of opinion. Several of them avowed their reason for so doing was to endeavour to effect some conciliation between parties of different ends, and to do away with religious dissension, so injurious to the country. Alison, however, has picked up these notions from the columns of some English prints, and composes them into veritable history, without making any enquiry as to their foundation in fact.

It has been for a long time a question debated in Ireland, among persons of liberal opinions, whether the Roman Catholic clergy ought not to receive a direct stipend from the state, somewhat similar to that which is afforded in France. This matter had been formerly mooted in O'Connell's time, and was said at one period to have received much attention from him; but the priesthood then were placed in a much more antagonistic position towards government than they are at present, and it is said they could not be induced to accede to any proposal of the kind. Circumstances are now very much changed; the parochial income of many has been very much reduced by the distress and emigration of their flocks. The greater number of these would be glad to exchange their precarious livings for certain salaries; others are known to be anxious for the introduction of such a system. Any English ministry, which would be desirous of doing away with the influence of the Priests at elections, could not adopt a surer method than that of making them stipendiaries of the crown, as the lower orders of the Irish people have a great distrust of any one who receives a pension from government. The introduction of such a measure would strike a fatal blow at the independent action of the Roman Catholic clergy, who ought to consider well the interest of their flocks, before they accept a boon, the practical

effect of which must be to nullify their political influence. They stand alone between the poor tenant and the undue pressure of landlordism ; they may be said in certain cases to have abused their position, or interfered with too much personality in party contests, but they alone have been able to arouse the land holders to freedom in voting, by uniting them together in defiance of the threats of proprietors or their agents.

There is a short notice of three pages given of the rising in 1848, and the trials of the principal conspirators. It may be said to be in the principal points historically correct, but the writer makes a very strange mistake in stating that Meagher "was tried in Dublin by Chief Justice *Blackmore*," the fact being that he was tried at Clonmel, and received sentence in Dublin from Blackburne, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. Some justice is done to the manly spirit and bold demeanour of the accused after their trial, although he casts a stigma upon those who escaped from Australia, by saying they "had broken their parole." This is contrary to the general opinion of many persons of known worth consulted at the time, but it has been made use of by the press in England and the antipopular party in Ireland, to continue their exclusion from their native land. The attempt at insurrection was unfortunate, lame and unsupported by popular feeling throughout the country. Without such a support no rebellion, however just, could be successful. One feature, however, marked this one ; a good number of the priests, who had joined the movement at the commencement, favoured the formation of the clubs, and gave very strong assurance of energetic assistance, suddenly drew back when the danger came, refused to lend their aid to the enterprize, and left the leaders alone and unsupported to do battle against the troops. One parish priest in the South of Tipperary was awakened in the middle of the night, by a body of 150 horsemen, his own parishioners, who called on him to lead them to the "war," to fight the red-coats. He very wisely for himself declined, harangued the troop upon the high-road by moonlight, and caused them to disperse quietly to their homes.

The other subjects in this seventh volume are so multifarious, principally concerning passages of continental history, and the revolution of 1848 in France, that it would require much more than our allotted space to give any just idea of their treatment. We shall therefore content ourselves here in concluding this article, with passing a definite judgment on the merits of Sir

Archibald Alison as a writer and historian. His claim to elegance, correctness, or vigour of composition, must be altogether ignored; his numerous mistakes, bombastic flights, and ungrammatical expressions, long since pointed out by very able writers in former volumes, have reduced his character as a writer of the English language to a very low standard. Many examples of his gross faults of style might be brought forward from the pages we are reviewing; a few passages will suffice to shew the futility of any pretension on his part to rank with Hume, or even with Macaulay.

Speaking of the efforts made by Sir Robert Peel to induce his colleagues in the cabinet to support him in passing the repeal of the corn laws, he proceeds thus: "While these ministerial difficulties and arrangements, *big with the future fate* of the British Empire, and of commerce throughout the world, *were in progress* in the elevated political regions, the public mind was suddenly shaken by an announcement, &c." How in the name of wonder can "difficulties and arrangements" become *big with fate*, and at the same time be in *progress in the elevated political regions*? The wildest fancy of the merest poetaster, could never produce such a mixture of absurd images, as are here presented to the reader. Again, at the very end of this volume, describing the policy of Louis Philippe's reign in general terms, and the causes of his downfall, he reaches a certain climax, and harping on the same idea for half a page, he finally brings it to this termination: "Cradled in treachery and treason, his throne was overturned by treachery and treason. He had driven his lawful sovereign, his generous benefactor, into exile, and sent him a discrowned wanderer into foreign lauds; and he himself was by the consequence of his own acts, driven into exile, and sent, a discrowned and discredited fugitive, across the melancholy main, to the shores of the stranger." Here is a weak antithesis, eked out by a repetition of certain words, one of which, "discrowned," seems to be coined for the occasion, and ending in a "melancholy" whine, suited to the lugubrious verses of Dante, or the dismal pages of the Sorrows of Werter.

As a historian Alison certainly comes up pretty well to the idea ascribed to Dr. Johnson. He masses together a very large amount of facts and statistics, ranges them according to their chronological order, and gives them some degree of coherence by philosophical remarks and inferences. But he also

launches frequently out into long disquisitions, historical essays, totally at variance with the purposes of narrative, and fit only to shew the individual opinions of the writer on certain subjects. His doctrines of political economy and politics are so impregnated with conservatism and protection, that the continual recurrence of the same views and arguments create a weariness in conning over the lengthy pages. His extreme high church notions, and evident antipathy to anything liberal either in religion or government, marks him at once as a mere exponent of party principles, with which he is so strongly imbued, that they impart a deep dye to his consideration of all national questions. It is the vice of our age of literature, that all the writers of the day serve their apprenticeship to letters, either to the press, the magazines or the reviews, and thereby obtain a discursive style of composition, most unsuited to the treatment of historical subjects. Macaulay in the introduction to his great work, admits that he lays himself open to the reproach of descending below the dignity of history, but professes his desire to draw a pleasing picture for the English public. Alison evidently aims at attaining the highest point of eminence, to which neither his style nor his views are likely to entitle him. There is one merit, however, which we cannot deny him, and which may go a great way in reconciling his readers to the great defects of his composition ; his work must be regarded as a lucid record of the principal occurrences throughout Europe, for the last half century, and as such will be referred to as authoritative in future times. The perseverance, industry and judgment with which he has now nearly brought to a close the lengthened labour of perhaps twenty years, must be considered as indicating the resources of a strong mind and a vigorous purpose to accomplish an allotted task.

ART. VI.—PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

1. *Speech of Her Most Gracious Majesty, delivered from the throne, House of Lords, at the opening of the 2nd Session of the present Parliament, Thursday the third of December, 1858.*
2. *Parliamentary Government considered with reference to a Reform of Parliament—an Essay by Earl Grey.* London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington-street, 1858.
3. *Parliamentary Reform. How the Representation may be amended, safely, gradually and effectively.* Reprinted, with additions, from the "*Globe*." London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1858.
4. *Reform Pamphlets and Parliament Speeches, passim.*

SOME eight and twenty years ago "*Reform*" was a word to conjure with ! The British isles were roused with a vengeance from their propriety, and throughout their length and breadth prophets of good and prophets of evil omen alike were most busily at work, enlightening or *frightening* the lieges with their vaticinations of the wonders of good or of evil that were to burst upon us the moment his then Majesty William the IVth., or a royal Commission for him, should in the old Norman-French of the long-established formula, announce his assent to the passing of the Reform-Bill into law.

To those who had not personal experience of the times we speak of, or who do not care to refresh their weakened recollections of them, by turning over musty old files of the Newspapers of the day, we do not know if there can be a better way of giving a sufficient idea of the extravagance of anticipations and predictions in those days prevailing, than by referring them to the recently published "*Portion of a Diary of Thomas Raikes, Esqr.*"—a book which despite the valuelessness of its opinions and the sedate and solemn trifling away of life which it records, is yet readable enough, on account of the periods which it embraces, and the scenes and personages among whom the author moved. It is true that he appears only as the *weeping* philosopher of the time, and good and sound *personal* reason he had for it, as is abundantly shewn in the ever-

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recurring records of his baffled aspirings after *place*. But in the lengths to which he goes in speculation on the consequences of the Reform measure, the strength of his expressions and the evident intensity of his feelings on the subject, he is no inapt type of the excited *prophets* upon the other, as well as upon his own side of the question.

If, in this our sublunar state of change and hurry and perpetual whirl and interweaving of human affairs, we could even for a brief space, *really* abstract ourselves from personal share in that which is passing immediately around and before our eyes, and of which indeed we find ourselves in our own despite, incessantly a part, what sage and sound and profoundly calm reflections and comments should we not then doubtless make upon the versatility, the extravagance, the unreasonableness of opinion, expression, and action among our fellow-beings engaged in the business of everyday life. Impossible, however, as is this abstraction, and unfit as we personally may be for playing the censors of our generation, still we shall not refrain from an endeavor to review, with at least the assumption of judicial calmness and impartiality, what we have ourselves seen and known to take place in the public mind during no inconsiderable number of years, in reference to the much agitated question of Reform.

First came the violent stage already noticed, when all manner of predictions, the most opposed in nature and tendency, but most alike in vehemence and extravagance, were freely hazarded, as to the results of Reform. Then, when the sorely contested measure at length had passed and was actually in operation, without bringing about a verification of their predictions to either division of the self-constituted Prophets, came the season of mutual oburgation and recrimination—the one party imputing the shortcomings of the measure to the other's selfish and narrow-minded opposition, and the accusation being retaliated with the charge of a reckless disturbance of a long settled state of things, and an unjustifiable risking of wild revolution for ends so utterly insignificant. But to these mutual attacks came soon to be added the common assault upon both of a party then for the first time beginning to be of note,—the ultras of Reform, or “Chartists,” as they choose to designate themselves. Of these “impracticables”—to use the designation speedily and deservedly given to them by others,—a portion,

no doubt, were honest, mistaken enthusiasts, dreaming of a state of perfection for our institutions, which is in truth denied to man here below and to his works. The less honest portion, shrewdly suspected to be far the larger,—laboured in the *Anti-Reform* interest, by disturbing, distracting, and with reckless and intolerant clamor, and even the use of physical force, arresting and defeating the exertions of moderate men to effect rational and moderate amendment.

This could not last. The Anti-Reform party, i. e. the one openly, avowedly, and from the first known by this designation, ceased through very shame, to objurgate in its old strain, seeing that king (or *queen*) lords and commons remained pretty much *in statu quo*, notwithstanding that Reform had “become a great fact,” and shewed no symptoms of tumbling down into common ruin, under its anarchic influence. The moderate reformers, disgusted at the abuse, turmoil and contestation they had been subjected to, and indeed divided amongst themselves, ceased anything like connected effort at further reforms. And the turbulent ultras had so thoroughly done their work, that neither were they able to cut out new mischief for themselves, nor was it worth any one’s while to employ them further. And thus came third in order the season of inertness, inaction, and of seeming, if not real indifference to further political change.

This season has endured the longest of the three, and indeed appears not to be quite at an end even now; when certain organs of parties are so busily at work endeavoring to persuade the country that we are on the eve of another great constitutional change. It may be so, or it may be only a false alarm. Certain it is that no such over-cloudings of the political horizon,—no such ominous mutterings of the growling thunder of popular fury—no such social agitations and excitations as heralded the advent of the last measure of Reform, are as yet noticeable, although possibly they may be imminent. Whether or no, however, there is no denying the intrinsic interest of the subject, and taking it either as merely a matter of remote speculation, or as likely to have a speedy and most practical application, we have esteemed it worthy of the consideration of our readers, and have accordingly entered upon the discussion.

One rather significant point of difference between the state of things in 1831 in reference to Reform, and that observable

at present, would appear to be this ; that, whereas at the former period the *people* generally, in *addition* to the middle classes, and with the further concurrence and co-operation of a few sincerely convinced and a larger number of *dilettanti* liberals among the aristocracy, took an immediate and lively interest in the cause,—whatever movement can now be noted, in the direction of Reform, is traceable almost solely to the middle classes, and seems little else but the ebullition of their ambitious aspirings. Of the aristocratic sympathizers and agitators of the former period the greater part accomplished their particular object when the fortresses of conservative influence, the “close-boroughs” and in Scotland the *close-counties*, were successfully breached and entered. This done with tolerable effectiveness as regards the old monopolizers of power, but not so far pushed as to destroy all *Whig* influence in pet places of representation, there did not remain any very prominent party advantage to be gained, at least of sufficient degree to out-balance the possible inconvenience of an increase of power to the class immediately below that of the restless and aspiring *Bourgeoisie* of England. The continental lessons too of 1848 are not lost or forgotten ; and on the whole there would appear good reason for assuming that on the part generally of the aristocracy of these countries, there is now more of a dread than a desire of further change, and that the exceptions to this general rule are very much fewer indeed than in 1831.

Meantime the people who worked, and agitated and came together in imposing multitudes threatening and overawing monarch, ministers and peers, on the former occasion, and who acted then mainly under the stimulus of some such impression as that conveyed in the celebrated answer of one of themselves to an enquirer after *their* interpretation of “Reform”—to wit, that “it was all a question of victuals”—have not found their homely and practical interpretation very *practically*, or evidently, borne out by the fact, and accordingly manifest at present rather a tendency to distrust and suspicion, than to any enthusiasm, or even to a moderate heartiness in the new agitation.

We have not in our remarks hitherto, as may be noted, attempted or intended to express any views of our own upon the advisability or otherwise of further Reform, although neither have we any wish or intention of dissembling our opinion that there is good reason and occasion for movement in that direc-

tion. But our immediate design has been to give a kind of summary view of the state of public opinion on the subject, and to trace the present movement to its true source; which we believe has been done by attributing it almost solely to the middle classes. That the latter will compel the classes above them, and induce those below, to assist in the enterprise is likely enough; but the initiation and first progress of it is undoubtedly their own work alone. Meantime the Pamphlets we have mentioned at the head of this paper are sufficient proofs that the compulsion, however gentle, is taking effect ~~abse~~; and we proceed to examine in what spirit and with what arguments the *anonymous* aristocratic writer of the letters "Reprinted from the Globe," and the "Peer confessed" who has put forth the elaborate Essay on "Reform," have severely approached and treated their subject.

The first of these writers commences his labours by intrepidly assuming and declaring, first, that the "country is not prepared for any great change in its representation," and, secondly, that it "does not possess the requisite knowledge on the subject to make such a change safe."

It is only fair to him to give his own reasonings in support of these very decided propositions. He thus proceeds:—

"And this I may aver without stigmatizing my countrymen with discreditable ignorance; since the arrangements for securing the election of the wisest and best men as legislators, involve a problem which has hitherto been unsolved, or which at any rate has not found its solution in those countries with which we are best acquainted—our own, the United States and France.

No democracies can be more complete than British commercial, literary and benevolent companies and societies. They choose their own constitutions without dictation from any one;—may have what suffrage they like, equal and universal, gradational and limited, male or female, with ballot or without ballot; and the elections may, as the members may desire, be annual, triennial, or septennial. Nevertheless, the practical results are far from being always satisfactory; many of the rulers so chosen having shown themselves either knaves or fools; to the great injury of their constituencies—an injury extending, in some instances, to absolute ruin.

No doubt many of our companies and societies are ably and honourably conducted; but this is evidently owing, not to any peculiarity in choosing their directors, but to the fortunate circumstance of the original promoters, and those first on the board of management, being men deserving of full confidence, or, perhaps, to a subsequent convulsive effort, by the body corporate, to displace a bad board and put worthy men in their stead.

It is not, then, at home that we can look for examples of perfect systems of election to serve as a guide in improving our parliamentary representation ; nor shall we fare better by turning to France or the United States ; for what following the golden rule of judging by the fruits, must we think of a system of representation (including the ballot and, to a large extent, universal suffrage) which in the one country is found consistent with a fettered press and trammels on speech and motion, and in the other even with *slavery* ?

As respects the ballot, we are referred, for an edifying example, to Australia ; but the colonists themselves, who have witnessed the quick succession of unstable Ministries—some of them containing men very unfit for the office—which has hitherto resulted from their system must be astonished, if not amused, at finding that system held up for imitation in the mother country.

There can be no doubt that to adopt the advice tendered to us would be to make a great approximation of our political institutions to those of America ; a result which I should deplore ; for much as there may be to admire in our kindred on the other side of the Atlantic, no one, I think, who looks dispassionately at the actual state of the two countries—at the extent to which in one the foul blot of slavery exists, carrying with it, by the penal statutes and the personal violence directed against those who attempt to remove it, coercion and loss of freedom to whites as well as blacks—can hesitate in declaring that in England there is in reality a much greater amount of liberty than in America.

Let it be remembered that, in America, slavery is upheld by the very party who call out most lustily for popular rights, and style themselves, *par excellence*, *democrats* ; and that were it not for the support of this large party in the nominally Free States (for with a Fugitive Slave Law no State can be regarded as really free), slavery would fall to the ground.

Standing, then, so high in the scale of freedom, it behoves us, for the good of the whole nation—the poorest as well as the middle and upper classes—to be very cautious in changing our institutions, however susceptible they may be of amendment.

It is well known that the chief political power here is in the middle class, while in the United States it is wielded by the masses. If these be two errors, ours is surely the less hurtful, and can be proved so by glancing at the chief measures of improvement during the last 30 years. Certainly in carrying reform, the working classes (though with some decided exceptions), did undoubtedly take efficient part ; but as respects all the other measures there was either apathy among them, or nearly as much opposition as support ; —so that had the matter rested with *them*, few or none of those grand legislative improvements would, even now, be the law of the land."

A first impression upon reading the foregoing opinions would be, that *if* they prove well founded there is nothing more to be said, or *hoped*, upon the subject. Further Reform—taking the word in its usual sense and meaning, that of

large constitutional amelioration,—must be sought for in Utopia or in the Atlantis of Plato;—for where on this known earth of ours is the type or scheme of it to be found, when, according to this pamphleteer's assurances, it is to be looked for in vain in any of the countries that have experimented, no matter how widely or largely, in forms of government, and gained no matter what amount of experience in state-policy, and the constitutional adjustment and mutual balance of class-interests powers and rights.

But we can hardly consent so readily to give up hope, and especially as our Nestor does not himself appear resigned to do so altogether; for he goes on to make suggestions which shall be presently considered. Meanwhile it is surely reasonable to protest against the comparisons on which he hitherto builds his argument. "Commercial and other companies and societies" originate with one or a very few projectors, who as it were dictate the constitution from the first, taking care to secure amply their own sway and influence; and who rule thereafter by the power of the machinery they have created, and by the terror of an injury to the common property or interest, from dissensions and divisions. Thus in fact these "Companies" and "Societies" are little despotisms, or oligarchies, instead of being the "complete democracies" they are called in the pamphlet; and in the vast majority of cases can be changed but by a "convulsion," and a "convulsion" alone, with results of the doubtful character ever attendant upon violent change.

Besides this discrepancy forbidding comparison, the most ordinary logician can fairly object to an argument from a particular to a general, which is in fact involved in the case before us. And the same applies with great force to the *experimentalising* in constitutions going forward in the yet scarcely organised colonies of Australia.

The comparisons with what occurs in France, the United States, and the Australian colonies, are open to another objection, familiar also to the merest tyro in logical argumentation. The use of a thing is not to be argued against from its abuse.

The facts connected with the case of France are too well known to our readers—have been too much commented upon by our newspapers and public writers and speakers—to need exposition here; especially at a time when the relations between

her and Great Britain are in a state which in the interests of both countries and of civilization so urgently presses upon all the wisdom of mutual forbearance and absence of international carplings and criticism. With America, however, the case is different. There is no such present delicacy; and the governments and people of both countries are accustomed to the fullest and most unsparing discussion.

In reference to the latter country, the writer seems to have considered the existence there of Negro Slavery as a main point of his argument: insisting upon it three times in only as many paragraphs. But, without at all denying its general depraving effect upon public morals and opinion, we cannot allow it a more than secondary place among the causes of the misuse in America of popular powers and franchises. We know not at the moment a readier way of indicating briefly what to us appears to be the chief cause, than by quoting a few terse sentences spoken on a public occasion last year in England by a competent authority on the subject—the well known Judge Haliburton of Nova Scotia. His immediate theme was the state of literature in Great Britain and America respectively, but it will be seen that he enlarged the scope of his remarks to the general state of things in the two countries.

“The United States had difficulties to overcome: they had not the institutions of England, and, although it might appear paradoxical, they were, in fact, too free, and above all, too equal to have a sterling literature (hear hear). He did not mean to say that the country which was free could not have a literature; but everybody in this country was not equal. As nature never made man equal, neither could legislation; and the legislation that would attempt it was foolish. When liberty and equality were co-existent, they would materially neutralize each other, and in their operations strangle freedom of thought and freedom of action. Strange as it might appear to them, the country that seemed too free was often enslaved. It was enslaved not by public opinion, but by the opinion of the public (hear hear). A friend had told him that night that he was an old Tory, and so he was. The Canadians were more loyal even than the people of this country. The English people were the freest people on the face of the earth, and when he said that he meant that they were free because they were not all equal (hear).”

A clear-headed and most philosophical French writer, whom it is no matter of wonder to find not adequately appreciated in England, when he is by no means so by his own nation—for the simple reason that he has carefully kept himself from

party heats and extravagance—Monseieur Alexis de Tocqueville, published, some twenty-three years ago, a work on “Democracy in America,” full of interesting information and sound reasoning on that subject, and becoming, as time goes on, more and more deserving of attention, for its speculations as to the progress and prospects of democracy, not alone in the United States, but in Europe. From him we take the following remarks, corroborative of those of Judge Haliburton, and of the same general tendency :—

“Ce que je reproche le plus au gouvernement démocratique, tel qu’on l’a organisé aux Etats-Unis, ce n’est pas, comme beaucoup de gens le prétendent en Europe, sa faiblesse mais, au contraire, sa force irrésistible. Et ce qui me répugnait le plus en Amérique, ce n’est pas l’extrême liberté qui y règne, c’est le peu de garantie qu’on y avait contre la tyrannie.”

“Lorsqu’un homme, ou un parti souffre d’une injustice aux Etats-Unis, à qui voulez vous qu’il s’adresse ? A l’opinion publique ? c’est elle qui forme la majorité. Au corps législatif ? Il représente la majorité et lui obéit aveuglement. Au Pouvoir Exécutif ? Il est nommé par la majorité et lui sert d’instrument passif. A la force publique ? La Force publique n’est autre chose que la majorité sous les armes. Au jury ? Le jury, c’est la majorité revêtue du droit de prononcer des arrêts—les juges eux-mêmes, dans certains Etats, sont élus par la majorité. Quelque inique ou déraisonnable que soit la mesure qui vous frappe, il faut donc vous y soumettre !”

Je disais (he adds in a note to the foregoing) un jour à un habitant de la Pennsylvanie ‘comment dans un Etat fondé par des quakers et renommé pour sa tolérance, les nègres affranchis qui payent l’impôt, ne sont ils pas admis à exercer les droits de citoyens ?’ ‘Nos Législateurs, me-repondit il, n’aient point commis un acte aussi grossier d’injustice et d’intolérance—les nègres ont le droit de se présenter aux élections—mais ils craignent qu’on ne les y maltraite ! Chez nous il arrive quelquefois que la loi manque de force quand la majorité ne l’appuie point. Or, la majorité est imbue des plus grands préjugés contre les nègres, et magistrats ne se sentent pas la force de garantir à ceux-ci les droits que la législature leur a conférés.’ ‘Eh quoi ?’ lui dis-je : ‘la majorité qui a le privilège de faire la loi, veut encore avoir celle de désobéir à la loi.’ !!!—De la Démocratie en Amérique, par M. de Tocqueville, Tome 2nd. pp. 167, 168, Bruxelles, 1835.

Since M. de Tocqueville wrote, and indeed quite recently especially in the second case, there have been two pre-eminent instances of this liberty killing “tyranny of the majority.” The first is a literal realisation of his words respecting the hopelessness of an appeal to the Judicial Bench. The Supreme Court of the United States having been called on about two years

since to compose by their ultimate decision the dangerous agitations resulting from the outrageous enforcement of the "Fugitive-Slave-Law, in the free soil Northern States, decided under pressure of the overbearing slave-holding majority in congress, that Negro slavery was one of the fundamental laws of the union. The second instance was in the case of the new "territory" of Kansas ; where a tyrant majority of slave-holders and their adherents from Missouri have forcibly established a constitution for that territory involving the recognition of slavery, and have had their usurpation confirmed and sanctioned by the highest executive authority. Any appeal provided by the constitution being evidently hopeless after the decision before referred to, of the Supreme Court, the aggrieved "Free Soilers" of Kansas have, it is to be feared, been driven to the last and deplorable arbitrement of arms !

Other cases of the tyranny in question, might abundantly be cited, but these two, the most patent, recent and generally known are sufficient for our purpose.

M. de Tocqueville is very far from confounding democracy necessarily with the "tyranny of the majority." He concludes the chapter from which we have been quoting with the following words, which we recommend to the consideration of the author of the "Reprinted Letters."

"Supposez au contraire, un corps législatif composé de telle manière qu'il représente la majorité, sans être nécessairement l'esclave de ses passions ; un pouvoir exécutif qui ait une force qui lui soit propre, et une puissance judiciaire indépendante des deux autres pouvoirs ; vous aurez encore un gouvernement démocratique, mais il n'y aura presque plus de chances pour la tyrannie."—p. 169, tome 2nd.

Is there any reason why we should not make an effort to establish in these countries so desirable a state of things? That it does not exist with us at present is plainly confessed by the letter writer in the "Globe," when he tells us that "the problem of securing the election of the wisest and best as legislators is yet unsolved." M. de Tocqueville conceives the attempt can be made in the United States, notwithstanding that too great equalisation of classes and ranks to which he and Judge Haliburton attribute so many evils. Confessedly *that* difficulty does not stand in the way in these countries. Assuredly then there must be some middle term between the association of tyranny with Democratic Institutions, and a

dead, dull, unreasoning, and ultimately not maintainable, refusal of all further progress towards reform? The pamphleteer himself supplies the answer, and proves he thinks not only that there may be, but ought to be, a progress; for he himself suggests how to attempt it.

“In thus speaking of the want of sound political knowledge in our labouring class as a body—attributable very much to their defective education—I am fully aware that there are large exceptions to the rule; that very many working men have not only as good hearts, but as clear intellects and as well-cultivated minds as those of a higher rank; and that it is very desirable that such of these as do not already possess the elective franchise should have it. Indeed, the franchise may, I think, be gradually extended very widely; though not, as I hold, on terms of equality, but with some reference to the amount which each person contributes, in taxes, to the cost of government.

In considering the surest and best way of amending our representative system, it is well to call to mind how improvements are generally made in the concerns of private life, where the strongest interest is felt to obtain a successful result. There the ordinary course as we well know is not to make great and sudden changes, but to proceed gradually and cautiously, introducing but one novelty at a time, and even then advancing step by step.”

“And why not proceed in a tentative manner with regard to other principles of election, and patiently watch the results? For example, try, on a small scale, but under different circumstances, and in several parts of the country, extended suffrage; in some cases giving an equal vote to each elector, and in others votes of varying power, as in the election of guardians of the poor, and in that of the directors of joint stock companies. In the same way might we not in some places try the ballot, and in others voting by papers at home, as again, in the appointment of guardians? Triennial elections, too, might readily be tried in one district, without at once wholly changing to triennial Parliaments; and in the same cautious way might the discontinuance of a property qualification be brought to the test of experience.

These and other important experiments—such as those of intermediate election, and the voting in large electoral districts, with power to the electors to arrange themselves in voting bodies according to their different opinions—might all be made; and the results as shown by the character, qualifications, and acts of the persons chosen as representatives, would, in time, afford safe data on which to proceed. But the measures which the country has been advised to demand, seem to me akin to those great and sudden changes which, from time to time, have been made in France and elsewhere, with little or no permanent gain to the cause of freedom; and which, indeed, have often been followed by violent reaction, and by a political condition far worse than that from which it was attempted to emerge.”—pp. 7, 8, and 9, Letters Reprinted from the *Globe*.

“Very widely extended suffrage.” “The Ballot.” “Triennial elections.” “Discontinuance of property qualification—” pretty decided measures these, of reform, suggested by the cautious “Englishman” as he signs himself; who in the beginning of his letters expresses such fear of further change, and at the end of them; doubtless, to save his consistency, makes a flourish about the dangers of revolution.

It is true that he recommends a “tentative” progression, the trying of “*extended* suffrage on a *small* scale!” experimentalising with the Ballot in this and that community, while their intermediate and adjacent neighbours should be left to battle on as they best might, in the old condemned way, giving the pleasures of an election contest every three years to *this* district and every *seven* years to *that*, and so on. But the defect of judgment manifested in his suggesting a partial trial of a great general principle, and also in his for a moment supposing it possible that, whether immediately productive of good or of evil, that partial trial could eventuate ultimately in anything short of general adoption, in no manner weakens the force of his admission that changes of such large dimensions are amongst the requirements of the time.

Earl Grey’s essay takes a far wider scope than the “reprint” we have been considering, and in fact, without losing sight of the practical and immediate subject of “reform” enters into what may be called a fundamental disquisition upon parliamentary government. A first idea of the nature and scope of his work, for a work of regular formation, plan and digestion it is, and not a mere ephemeral pamphlet, can be given to the reader at once by a simple enumeration of the general headings to each of the eight chapters into which it is divided. They are as follows:—

	Pages.
“Chapter 1—Origin and Results of Parliamentary Government	1 to 16
2—Advantages of Parliamentary Government	16 to 36
3—Evils and Dangers of Parliamentary Government	36 to 58
4—Reasons of the Success of Parliamentary Government	58 to 84
5—Effects of Parliamentary Reform	84 to 115
6—Considerations as to a New Reform Bill	115 to 157
7—On the Exercise of Patronage under Parliamentary Government	157 to 198
8—Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies	198 to 219

To each of these general headings, there is appended a "table of contents" of each chapter respectively, from 20 to 30 lines long, and embracing a wide variety of points and considerations.

The good old *Epic* rule of plunging "*in medias res*" at once, may be the best to adopt in this case; and accordingly we turn first to chapter six, page 115, the heading of which, as seen in the foregoing list, is, "Considerations as to a new Reform Bill."

Recognising in common with everybody else who has an opinion on the subject, the "difficulty of drawing up a plan for reforming the representation of the people in Parliament, in a manner to be at once safe and effectual," he professes that his own "humbler aim" is "to call the serious attention of those whose duty it may be to frame a new Reform Bill, and of those to whose judgment such a bill may be submitted, to a few considerations which it seems to him very important not to overlook."

His first suggestion with this view is, (p. 116.)

"It should be borne in mind that the power of parliament is limited unless legislation be in accordance with the feelings of the people it will be unsuccessful. This obvious truth appears often overlooked in practice and recently so by parliament, in its penal law of a year or two ago against bribery. The penalties are very severe and the law gives powers of a highly inquisitorial character; but it does nothing either to diminish the desire for seats in parliament in men willing to spend largely, nor yet to take away the natural inclination of those who can dispose of such seats, to use their privilege for their private interest. A sense of duty is but a feeble security against the strong temptations to which voters are subject, and legislation is powerless to prevent an understanding between parties, for giving and receiving money's worth. The terms on which a house or land is let, is probably the most common mode of bringing the pecuniary interest of the elector to bear upon his use of the franchise, and while this is notoriously practised with impunity in counties and boroughs, it is impossible that where property is thus used by one party, those on the other side will think themselves morally more guilty of bribery than their opponents, if the endeavour to compensate the disadvantage to which they would thus be exposed, by giving the voters who support them an equivalent in money, for what is given by their antagonists in value. The only hope of putting down these and similar practises, is, to make arrangements which will have the effect of taking away on one side the disposition to give, and on the other the willingness to receive bribes in return for votes."—p. p. 116 to 119.

On this proposition of his lordship, there is not likely to be any contestation. It is one of those safe, axiomatic truths

which the most cautious may advance, without fear of being committed to a controversy. But unquestionable as it is in itself, a question immediately arises upon it, and that is, what are, or should be, the arrangements that will have this most desirable double effect? Sorry we are to say, that after bringing us to this point, and by the tenor and tone of his observations exciting to a high pitch our expectations of a full exposition of the much needed arrangements he speaks of, his lordship coolly makes his bow to the reader and turns off to other matters, with nothing more satisfactory than the following:

"I will not, however, pursue this subject further; what I have said respecting the Bribery-Act is *merely* intended to give a single example of the error of supposing that the objects aimed at by laws will really be accomplished by them, *when they are passed without due consideration of the motives which govern men's conduct.* In laws that deal with the distribution of political power this error is peculiarly dangerous, and ought therefore to be carefully guarded against in framing a new Reform-Bill."—p. 119.

It is not easy to perceive the utility of pointing out a fault, without either indicating a means of remedying it, or at any rate showing that it was avoidable. Have we not a right to ask of Lord Grey, what *efficient* provision against bribery *he* would have deduced from his "due consideration of the motives which govern men's conduct?" He did not suggest any when the Bribery Act he speaks of, was passing through the Upper House of which he is a member. In the two or three years that have since elapsed he has had time to consider and reconsider again. If he have come to the desired conclusion, why withhold it from us, and leave our legislation imperfect in so important a matter? On the other hand, if he have *not* been able to arrive at the deduction and conclusion in question, why assume that others who have equally failed in the result, may not have given a fully equal amount of the same "due consideration," which doubtless he expects that we should attribute to himself?

Compelled to leave this part of his "essay" without satisfaction or profit therefrom, we find ourselves obliged to contest his next position, namely that:—

"It would not be safe to adopt measures to remedy undeniable objections to some parts of our constitutional system, without at the same time providing against evils of a different kind which may be less apparent, but not less real. Those forms of government which

have been most successful in practice, have been so mainly because their opposite defects have counterbalanced each other. This balance might be destroyed by correcting faults of one kind without applying remedy to those in an opposite direction. For instance, more real guilt is incurred because greater injury is done to the nation, by having recourse to the arts of the demagogue, than by the illicit use of money for the purpose of carrying an election."—p. 120.

It is true that "the reverse of wrong" is not to be mistaken for what is "right," but at the same time it is hard to conceive two faults directly and diametrically opposite to each other, both gravely injurious to the system they are found in, and yet both to be left unremedied and untouched because forsooth they cannot both be abated simultaneously! Common sense would say, correct *what* you can, *when* you can, *as far* as you can; you are not thereby precluded from continuing your opposition to evils beyond your strength as yet to remove, nor from making the attack upon them when a favourable moment comes. To hold that it is necessary to combat evil with evil, betrays a strange distrust of the power and efficacy of good. And a still stranger distrust of the value and power of public discussion, and of truth itself, as well as a most singular view of public morality, is evidenced by the proposition that open outspoken demagoguism, fighting with the weapons of popular controversy available to all, is a greater evil and crime than foul, filthy, secret bribery, and corruption!

But to leave generalities and come to the practical parts of the "essay," we now propose to examine his lordship's exposé of the Representation Reform of 1831, the distinctions he draws between the conditions under which it was proposed, and under which the contemplated further reform of Parliament is to be shaped out, and finally his own particular pet plan for the latter purpose, (pp. 84 and seq.)

"The three acts for the amendment of the representation of the people in parliament, in England, Scotland and Ireland, must be regarded as forming together a single measure, having for its object the transfer of a large amount of political power to the people from the hands of a comparatively small number of persons, who were previously enabled to command a majority of the seats in the House of Commons. So great a change in the distribution of political power has probably seldom or never been accomplished in any country without violence or convulsion; it amounted in fact to a revolution, though a peaceful and I believe a most beneficial revolution. Still large as it was, the measure did not profess to sweep away all the anomalies and irregularities of our system of representation, in order to create

new ones in accordance with what is considered by some persons to be the true theory of representation. On the contrary, the design was to correct evils which had been practically felt, but to introduce no further changes than were indispensable for this purpose, in a constitution of which, in spite of some imperfections, the general excellence was recognised. Experience had proved that in the House of Commons as then constituted, public opinion was so weak, and influence of another kind so powerful, that the conduct, both of parliament and of the executive government, was habitually biassed in a measure detrimental to the general welfare of the Nation. Clear evidence of this was to be found in the manner in which the country had for many years been governed, and especially in the heavy burden of taxation imposed upon the people. There could be little doubt that the public expenditure had been habitually maintained upon a scale beyond what was required by the real interest of the Nation, with the view of securing the support of those who had a commanding influence in the election of the House of Commons. But while this was an evil urgently requiring to be remedied, it was believed that it was neither necessary for that purpose, nor safe, to make the total change in the character of the House of Commons, which would ensue were all its members to be returned by large popular constituencies.

By the preservation of many of the smaller Boroughs, and by regulating the county representation in a manner which left much influence to the great land proprietors, the former mixture of classes and interests in the House of Commons was preserved ; and, though the strength of the democratic element in its composition was greatly augmented, it was neither the intention nor the effect of the measure to render that element all-powerful. What was aimed at, and accomplished more successfully than could well have been anticipated, was to redress the balance of the constitution.

The wisdom with which this great change in the Constitution was designed, is shown by its results. It has now been twenty-five years in operation, and it is impossible to compare the spirit of our legislation and government during that period with that of former times, without perceiving how much it has been altered for the better.

But though the measure of Parliamentary Reform which was passed in 1832 has been thus successful, and is, I think, conclusively proved by its results to have been, upon the whole, a wise and good one, it was by no means perfect.

The following appear to be the chief defects of the measure. First : that it failed to provide adequately against the danger that the removal of abuses might incidentally diminish too much the power of the government in parliament. It has often been said, with truth, that, under our present constitution, the worst administration is a weak one. A weak ministry has not the power of acting rightly ; it must bring forward in parliament, not the measures it knows to be best, but those it can hope to carry ; it cannot venture to conduct the executive government according to the dictates of its own judgment ; and in the exercise of the authority and patronage of the crown, it is compelled to yield to every popular cry and to the un-

reasonable claims of its adherents ; it is under a constant temptation unduly to court popularity, and to exaggerate the faults of party government, by striving, in all its measures, to promote the interests of its party rather than those of the Nation.

Nor is this all ; our whole system of parliamentary government must fail if it should become impossible, for any considerable time, that an administration of proper strength should be formed. This might happen if the House of Commons, from the absence of any strong party feeling or bond of union in the supporters of the government, should show a disposition on light occasions to reject the advice of the servants of the crown, although the persons holding office had, upon the whole, more of its confidence than any other ministers would be able to command.

Hitherto it has been considered to be the duty of the ministers of the crown to resign, if they find themselves without adequate support in the House of Commons. Their doing so would be useless in the case supposed : and there would be no resource but to tolerate the existence of an administration unable to guide the proceedings of parliament.

But this would involve a complete abandonment of the essential principle of a parliamentary government.

The political events of the last few years afford much ground for apprehending that the country may be exposed to these very serious evils, from its becoming impossible that any administration should be formed having sufficient strength in the House of Commons. Before the passing of the Reform acts, there was little danger that such a state of things could arise. The former state of the representation, together with the large means of influence which then existed, gave so much power to the crown, that ministers unacceptable to the sovereign could seldom long maintain their position.

A comparison of the working of the constitution, before and after the passing of the Reform Bill, must, I think, convince us that the question asked by the Duke of Wellington while it was in progress, 'How is the king's government in future to be carried on ?' deserved more consideration and a more practical answer than it received. From the combined effect of the acts of parliamentary reform and of many other reforms, especially those of an economical character, which have been carried in the last forty years, the power of the crown has been so much diminished, that there seem to be good grounds for believing that the state of things, in 1780, amply justifying Dunning's celebrated resolution against the increase of that power, has been reversed, and that the balance of the constitution may now be in no slight danger of being deranged by the too great diminution of the influence in parliament which the servants of the crown formerly enjoyed." pp. 85, 99.

" *Secondly*" ; "another fault is, the want of proper facilities for bringing into the House of Commons some of those classes of members formerly returned by close Boroughs. We miss the class of members who virtually represented certain special interests, and who,

occupying an independent position, and not looking for the retention of their seats to the favor of a constituency, were able to oppose boldly any popular delusion of the day. I apply this remark, however, chiefly to ministers and their subordinates. In the time of close boroughs the fittest man could be named to a situation. But a minister's choice is now limited to those who are already in parliament or can gain admission to it, (through the favor of a large constituency.) This is often an obstacle to placing important offices in efficient hands . . . and has often caused important arrangements for the public service to be disturbed by the mere caprice of some local constituency." (pp. 105—107).

"What I regard as the first view of the Reform Bill and of the opposition to it, is so well stated in an article in the North British Review, that I will quote the passage. 'The Reform Bill it is impossible to deny was a transfer of power from the aristocracy to the middle classes. Who will not now acknowledge that this was a revolution, at the magnitude of which genuine patriots might well stand aghast, which cautious men might well deem wild and perilous, and even men who loved progress might well, if they loved safety likewise, deprecate and dread. Those who loved the people might not unreasonably doubt the wisdom of entrusting this new weapon to their hands. No one will deny that it was a great experiment—nor that, in some respects, its opponents judged it more truly and saw further into its consequences, than its promoters. For ourselves we confess that, approving of it as we did and do,—believing it a just, wise, and necessary measure—tracing in the main to its secondary influences the rapid progress of Reforms in other lines—we yet see in it several dangers, drawbacks and extensive seeds of future and questionable change, which we did not see when it passed—we acknowledge much weight and wisdom in hostile arguments which at the time we scouted as mere dictates of selfishness and folly; and we look back with some remorse and shame at the violence of our language, the acrimony of our feelings, the imperfection of our philosophy and the shortness of our vision. If the thing had to be done again, we should act with greater modesty and temperance, far less confidence and far more misgiving.' " (N.B. Review, Augt. 1854. p. 573, *Essay*, pp. 145-6.)

It is hard altogether to reconcile Lord Grey's adoption of the sentiments in the foregoing extract cited by him from the North British Review, with those we have a page or two back quoted from himself, viz. that "the *wisdom* of the great change of 1831 is shewn by its results during the twenty-five years it has been in operation:" and that "it is impossible to compare the *spirit of our legislation and government* during that period without perceiving *how much it has been altered for the better*." (p. 87.)

"A new Reform Bill, (he goes on to tell us at page 126), should not, like the former, aim at the transfer of a large amount of political

power from one class of society to another, since this is no longer necessary to protect the general interests from being sacrificed to those of a minority. The objects that ought to be aimed at are, to interest a larger portion of the people in the constitution by investing them with political rights without disturbing the existing balance of power : to discourage bribery without giving more influence to the arts of demagogues ;—to strengthen the legitimate authority of the executive government, and at the same time to guard against its being abused ; and to render the distribution of the parliamentary franchise less unequal and less anomalous, but yet carefully to preserve that character which has hitherto belonged to the House of Commons, from its including men representing all the different classes of society, and all the different interests and opinions to be found in the nation.” (pp. 126—129.)

How is this rather generally stated and somewhat *see-saw* kind of reform to be brought about? Here is the notable ~~plan~~ of his Lordship,—of his own special and sole devising:—

“If I might hazard a suggestion, I would recommend that the queen should nominate a committee of her privy council, composed of members taken from different political parties, to consider and report what measures of reform ought to be adopted. This suggestion is partly founded upon one I remember to have seen in some periodical publication, that the course taken for the amendment of the Poor Law should be followed as a precedent, and that a royal commission should be appointed to enquire into the present state of the representation and the best mode of improving it. The present, however is not quite a parallel case. Though a searching enquiry calmly conducted by able men, would be useful for discovering how our institutions may be most safely and effectually improved, something more is wanted. It is necessary to find out, not only what would be the best, but also what are the measures that could be carried with the assent of the chief political parties in the country. A well-selected committee of the privy council might enquire as well as a “commission” into the best mode of reforming our representation, while it would better afford the means of discovering what measures could be carried, as it would have among its members some of the leaders of all the great parties in the state, *not excluding* the radical party. Even if it should prove impossible to induce the members of this party to accept as sufficient such reforms as others would regard as safe, there ought to be a full opportunity of considering their views, and the party numbers among its members men who with great propriety *might be made privy councillors* for the purpose of enabling them to serve on such a committee.

Should it be *practicable* to prevail on this committee, or a considerable majority of it, to concur in a plan of parliamentary reform suited to the present state of the country, their report, after having been approved by Her Majesty, on the advice of her responsible servants, might be made the foundation of a bill ;—which, there can be no doubt would, if thus brought forward, be passed without difficulty.” (pp. 152—4.)

Having now given the pith of the noble Lord's arguments and propositions, we shall for the sake of convenience and distinctness, put them in the form of a brief but sufficient summary, viz.

Reform in 1831 re-distributed political power, checked the lavish waste of public money, and the nearly exclusive tendency of legislation previously, to subserve aristocratic interests alone.

The defects of that Reform were two-fold. 1st. It did not adequately provide against the weakening of the Executive power in Parliament, which has since then been too much at the mercy of majorities, and therefore too impressionable, or *squeezable*. 2ndly. It too entirely did away with the convenience and advantage afforded by the close borough system, of bringing into Parliament valuable men, who could not find a constituency open.

The now contemplated Reform has no such objects to achieve as gave reason for the Reform of 1831. The objects now are, 1st. To interest more of the people in the Constitution without disturbing the "existing balance of power between classes." 2ndly. To discourage bribery without encouraging demagoguism. 3rdly. To strengthen the executive without enabling it to abuse its power. 4thly. And finally, to distribute the franchise more equally; but at the same time carefully to preserve the present representation of all classes in the House.

To this summary we should perhaps add that he adopts (as shewn already) the opinions from the North British Review that the Reform measure of 1831 was "judged in many respects more truly by its opponents than by its promoters"—that "it had many dangers, drawbacks, and *extensive seeds (!)* of future and questionable change"—that its promoters should look back with some *remorse and shame* to their "own work"—and that, in short:—

"If t'were to be done again—but 'tis no matter"!

And after thus puzzling us and frightening us through more than 200 pages, he abruptly dismisses the subject and his readers together, without the least indication of a specific plan for remedying the evils of the past and providing against those of the future. All we are told is, "consult a Committee of the Privy Council"!

A very old legal joke records the wise shrewdness of the barrister who met an attempt to get a professional opinion out

of him without a fee, by suggesting to the applicant that his best course was to "take advice of counsel" ! *Mutato nomine* this is what Lord Grey is doing in the present instance, with the very important exception, however, that he has himself stated for us the case on which he recommends we should "take advice" of a Committee of the Privy Council.

In the simplest and most earnest seriousness we must add that both the subject and the public he addresses have a claim to worthier treatment than this. So elaborate an exposition of defects, evils and dangers ought surely to have been supplemented with at least an outline sketch of what is to be done in the way of remedy and rescue. If the Executive were too much weakened in Parliament by the Reform of 1831-2, how the Reform of 1858 to strengthen them again, without impairing popular liberty, or retrograding in any way towards the condemned *Ante-Reform* state of things ? In fact retrogression is plainly impossible, if we are, as he says, to "interest more of *the people* in the Constitution." And this last object in its turn becomes a difficulty of magnitude when it is to be sought after "*without disturbing the existing balance of power between classes*" ! Perplexed and confounded we ask, and surely have a right to ask, *how* are these conditions to be saved, and nevertheless the work before us to be done ? "*Consult a Committee of the Privy Council,*" is his only reply !

The country will scarcely be disposed to treat this recommendation even with a moment's tolerance, and we shall therefore not abuse the patience of the reader by dwelling upon it.

It is certainly a duty, (and one of graver and more pressing importance than apparent to the superficial thinker) for those who have the means and power of engaging the attention of the public, and influencing in any degree the course and conduct of public affairs, to give what aid they can towards solving the great problem of the day—inevitably before us and pressing for solution—the safe "*letting down,*" as it were, of Aristocracy into Democracy. Lord Grey more than tacitly admits the irresistible advance of the latter ; and we have a plain confession to the same effect from the ultra-Conservatives, as shewn by Lord Derby's recent manifesto, in which further Reform is prominently introduced among the measures he contemplates during his career of office.

The tendency of the age is unquestionably towards the

equalization of classes, and this tendency is not of the present age alone but of long previous date. And the real question before us is not how to resist or stop it—for *that* is beyond our power—but how to regulate and moderate its progress, so as that the ultimate equalization may not be that of ruin and common destruction. De Tocqueville, whom we have quoted before, though not in the same passages in which we find him occasionally quoted by Earl Grey, has in the introduction to the edition of his work on American democracy which appeared in 1835, the following reflections eminently worthy of attentive consideration, although they seem to have escaped the attention of the noble lord.

“ Si, à partir du onzième siècle, vous examinez ce qui se passe en France de cinquante en cinquante années, au bout de chacune de ses périodes, vous ne manquerez point d'apercevoir qu'une double révolution s'est opérée dans l'état de la société. Le Noble aura baissé dans l'échelle sociale, le roturier s'y sera élevé ; l'un descend, l'autre monte. Chaque demi-siècle les rapproche, et bientôt ils vont se toucher. Et ceci n'est pas seulement particulier à la France. De quelque côté que nous jetions nos regards, nous apercevons la même révolution qui se continue dans tout l'univers chrétien.

Partout on a vu les divers incidens de la vie des peuples tourner au profit de la démocratie ; tous les hommes l'ont aidée de leurs efforts : ceux qui avaient en vue de concourir à ses succès et ceux que ne songeaient point à la servir ;—ceux qui ont combattu pour elle et ceux mêmes qui se sont déclarés ses ennemis ; tous ont été poussés pêle-mêle dans la même voie, et tous ont travaillé en commun, les uns malgré eux, les autres à leur insu, aveugles instrumens dans les mains de Dieu.

Serait-il sage de croire qu'un mouvement social qui vient de si loin, pourra être suspendu par les efforts d'une génération ? Pense-t'on qu'après avoir détruit la féodalité et vaincu les rois, la démocratie reculera devant les bourgeois et les riches ? S'arrêtera-t-elle maintenant qu'elle est devenue si forte et ses adversaires si faibles ?

Le peuples chrétiens me paraissent offrir de nos jours un effrayant spectacle. Le mouvement qui les emporte est déjà assez fort, pour qu'on ne puisse le suspendre, et il n'est pas encore assez rapide pour qu'on désespère de le diriger : leur sort est entre leurs mains ; mais bientôt il leur échappe. Instruire la démocratie, ranimer s'il se peut ses croyances, purifier ses mœurs, régler ses mouvemens, substituer peu à peu la science des affaires à son inexpérience, la connaissance de ses vrais intérêts à ses aveugles instincts ; adapter son gouvernement aux temps et aux lieux, le modifier suivant les circonstances et les hommes ; tel est le premier des devoirs imposé de nos jours à ceux qui dirigent la société. Mais c'est à quoi nous ne songeons guère, placés au milieu d'un fleuve rapide, nous fixons obstiné-

ment les yeux vers quelques débris qu'on aperçoit encore s'élève le rivage, tandis que le courant nous entraîne.

Jamais le chef de L'Etat n'ont pensé à rien préparer d'avance—La Révolution s'est faite malgré eux ou à leur insu. Les classes les plus puissantes, intelligentes et morales n'ont point cherché à s'emparer d'elle afin de la diriger. La démocratie a donc été abandonnée à ses instincts sauvages ; elle a grandi comme ces enfans privés des soins paternels, qui s'élèvent dans les rues et ne connaissent de la société que ses vices et ses misères. On semble encore ignorer son existence, quand elle s'est emparée à l'improviste du pouvoir, chacun alors s'est soumis avec servilité à ses moindres désirs ; on l'a adorée comme l'image de la Force. Quand ensuite affaiblie par ses propres excès, on conçut le projet imprudent de la détruire au lieu de l'instruire et la corriger." (De la Démocratie en Amérique—par A. de Tocqueville. Introduction, p. X & seq. edit: 1835.)

Not much less than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the foregoing words were written, and while during that interval the social, or (as some in their panic are inclined to consider it) the *anti-social* movement, spoken of by the philosophic Frenchman, has continued its ominous progress, what progress has been made towards assuming and controlling its direction ? We are constrained to answer,—there has unfortunately been none !

Even while he wrote, the effects of the rude shock given to monarchic and obligarchic notions of Government by the events of 1830—(the first volcanic outburst of that Republican element between which and Despotism the elder Napoleon prophesied a combat *à l'entrance* within fifty years of the time he spoke), were fast passing away, or being actively obliterated under the strong re-actionary measures of the Sovereigns of continental Europe. A far wider, fiercer, and more devastating outburst—that of 1848—has since given a still more ominous warning of the final conflict, and it too has had its surface traces in great part removed without a hint being taken from them of the direction in which to open a new and broader trackway for the machine of Government more securely and smoothly to roll along. The spirit of re-action is if possible still stronger, among continental rulers, in the present day than in 1835, and if the increased *savagery* of red-republicanism would seem, as it certainly does in many instances, to justify it, the best that can be said is, that things abroad are in a vicious circle—anarchy and despotism acting and re-acting upon, and re-producing each other—and the moral for us to

draw therefrom is, to be wise in time—to concede in time—to accept cheerfully what it is vain to contend against, and by removing of our own will and act, what may fairly be considered abuses and injustices,—the weak points of the fortress of social order, so to strengthen the latter, as to render it thenceforth impregnable to the enemies of all order, all property, all law, all organised society whatever, who are unhappily to be counted by millions throughout continental Europe, but are as yet, thank Heaven, computable only by thousands at home.

The confusion into which all Europe would be thrown by such lamentable, but very possible contingencies as the premature death of Napoleon III., or another social and political earthquake such as in 1848, would, in the present temper of the middle and the lower classes of England, compel the precipitate adoption while yet rude and undigested, of constitution changes, the safe and healthy working of which can be provided for only by giving them that mature examination and consideration, for which we have time and opportunity now, neither of which can we be sure of having at a future period, should we procrastinate.

There need be little hesitation in agreeing with Earl Grey in his opinion that corruption and intimidation are two of the greatest defects and evils of our present constitutional system. Neither have we to enter into a controversy with him, at least so far as they are concerned, upon his novel doctrine of not applying a remedy to one acknowledged evil, unless some other which may be held or supposed in some way to counterbalance it, can simultaneously and equally be remedied. In this case his strange postulate can be fully satisfied. The *ballot* would remedy both the evils in question; menaces and bribes being thereby rendered equally abortive.

There are a few stereotyped arguments, (if arguments they can be called) against the "*Ballot*" which need not by any means delay us long. The first and *noisiest* (and therefore quite naturally the emptiest) is, that the ballot is "*un-English!*" Without discussing the abstract proposition, so agreeable and flattering to Englishmen, that whatever is "*un-English*" must therefore be wrong, it is certainly fair for us to ask whether they consider corruption and intimidation at elections to be peculiarly *English* practices—carefully to be preserved and ob-

erved? That such practices exist, no one can dream of denying. That all efforts hitherto devised to obviate them have failed is equally incontestable. We have seen how disparagingly and disconsolately Earl Grey speaks of the latest attempt in this direction—an attempt to the making of which was brought all that practised political skill and wisdom, gathered from old and long experience, could furnish, and was brought in vain! If then, as we thus see confessed, every effort of statesmen, whether of the present day, or of days gone by, has failed even to mitigate in any degree of consequence, those evils under the system of open voting, what reason, or shadow of reason, can there be for not giving a trial at least to secret voting, before we give up the contest in despair?

Oh! but it is said, that the ballot will not be secret—that it has not proved where tried in other countries, to be inviolate, and that it cannot be made so. That it has not been inviolate in other countries we at once admit. That it could not and would not be so here, we totally deny.

In America, in many cases, its secrecy has been wilfully neglected, or outrageously violated. The outrageous violations, though by no means few in themselves, have not approached in number to the cases of negligence and carelessness in voting. But these two categories taken together do not, according to the most faithworthy and impartial accounts, constitute anything approaching to a majority of the cases of voting. Whenever not purposely neglected, nor purposely violated, secret voting has been successfully practised in every district in the United States.

The third and last of these empty pretexts is, that the ballot will not prevent bribery and corruption—that money will still be given—*conditional upon a return being effected*, and that voters will be less scrupulous than ever about taking it, when their neighbours not knowing how they voted, will have no grounds for suspecting them.

To this the plain answer is, that supposing it all to turn out well-founded, it yet would not and could not eventuate in worse evils nor in evils one quarter so extensive as those inherent in the present system. Under open voting the briber can make no mistake—he is *certain* that his money is not thrown away, or if it be, he at any rate knows and can avoid for the future, or punish if he have the power, the men who

have played him false. But under secret voting, he is not certain of being able to distinguish them, at least individually, even in the smallest constituencies; while in the large constituencies not only would detection of his deceivers be utterly hopeless, but the attempt at *conditional* bribing, if we may so call it, would be replete with enormous difficulties, expense and personal risk to himself.

Mr. Grote, whose name is familiar to the reader in his three capacities of head of the well-known banking firm in London; author of a "History of Greece," and for some ten or twelve years after the Reform-Bill, one of the representatives of the city of London in Parliament, where he had strenuously supported what are known as "Radical" principles, invented and caused to be constructed a model "*ballot-box*," which in its principle and arrangements seemed very likely to ensure secrecy. We think it possible by a not very long or complicated description to give a fair idea of it and its mode of use.

Two apartments, an outer and an inner one, (the latter opening only *from* and *into* the first) are required, the outer one being large enough to accommodate the Inspectors of the ballot, the candidates' agents, and a portion of the general public. In the partition wall between the rooms there should be two doors within, the centre between them, a space like a window, but filled with the ballot-box and frame, fitting exactly into the opening and presenting their front to the outer room, and their back to the inner room.

The voter, having gone through the usual ordeal of questioning, identification, and (if required) of taking the Bribery Oath, in the outer room, enters the other, through the right hand door, which by a spring, opens only *inwards*, and shuts fast behind him when in. He then finds himself alone and quite secluded from all observation. Approaching the inner side of the ballot box he sees, in a species of groove at its top, a card with the names of the respective candidates printed upon it. A piece of pointed steel hangs close by, and he has been instructed (on a model outside,) to indicate his choice of, and vote for a candidate, by punching with the steel the card before him, in a line with his favorite's name, the card being ruled off in separate compartments for the purpose of preventing mistakes. When he has done this and dropped the steel he can, if he choose, himself make the card drop into the depths of the ballot box below, by pressing a brass knob, which disengages

it for the purpose. He then leaves the inner room by the *left* hand door, the spring of which allows it to open only outwards, and his part is then done.

Meanwhile no one outside has had any means of knowing what he has been doing. All that either the inspectors or any one else can see is, a portion of the white and unmarked back of the card. The groove in which it was placed, is glazed on their side, but only wide enough to shew a part of the back of the card, as just mentioned, *not* including the part through which the holes have been punched. If the voter have made the card drop into the box, the groove will be seen through the glass to be vacant, and a new card is then inserted, with its back like the previous one, to the outer room and its printed text visible only inside. If on the contrary he have neglected to make the card he has marked, drop down, a brass knob on the outside, corresponding to the one within, enables the Inspectors themselves to make it drop, still, however, without having been able to see anything of its front. A new card is then put in as before, for the next voter in turn to mark.

At the end of the day the padlocks on the lower part of the box in the outer room are removed in presence of the Inspectors and candidate's agents, and the cards are taken out and the number of punctures for each candidate are recorded.

This detail may be a little in digression, but the weakest fallacies urged against the ballot have had in some quarters so extraordinary a success, that it is well to explode them, although at some expense of time and space. The description we have given must we think demonstrate, that the allegation cannot be supported, that it is impossible to provide for real secrecy in taking votes by ballot.

Secrecy being ensured, as it evidently can be, the influence and power of intimidation are neutralized at once. The individual who in open voting would belie himself in action, by voting against his principles under the influence of a threat, would not hesitate if questioned as to his suffrage in the Secret Ballot, to belie himself in words, and declare he had been similarly obsequious. If the landlord punished his tenant, or the employer his labourer or workman, on the assumption of disobedience to his mandate at an Election, he could have no certainty that he was not punishing a faithful adherent, and teaching him and others like him to be reckless in future. And the popular demagogue and the noisiest and fiercest of

his followers would find their thunder checked in mid volley, by a similar uncertainty, and a similar peril of converting an outraged friend into a desperate opponent.

We have, at least for the time, dealt sufficiently with that not very considerable portion of Earl Grey's "Essay," which can be at all called practical, and may turn awhile to others. The views and opinions of the various influential statesmen of the day are a necessary part of our subject. A faintly traced outline of those of at least one section of the mere Whig party has been already supplied by the pamphlet noticed in the early part of this article, the "reprint" of letters in the "Globe" newspaper. The following manifesto of *Whig Radicalism*, we take from the "Economist" newspaper, (one said to derive its inspirations mainly from Mr. Wilson, late one of the Joint Secretaries to the Treasury, Mr. Villiers, late Judge Advocate General, &c. &c.,) and from a number of this journal published just before the first meeting of Parliament in the present year, and therefore before any of the excitements resulting from the late sudden change of ministry :—

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

The only purpose of reforming the constituencies, when there is no urgent demand for such a measure, is that we may act more freely and deliberate more carefully than we could do under the pressure of an over-mastering current of conviction—that we may teach the country what is *desirable*, instead of merely conceding, to a matured and determined popular opinion, the least that it will accept. We have, therefore, at present no excuse for drifting before an undefined current of liberal feeling. It is a time when we need not merely ask what English opinion will *bear*; there is room for much more—nay, much more than this is expected of legislators and of public men. English opinion is at present modified, and anxious to listen and judge. It has no clear, sharp course, as yet. The reform needed and looked for is of course a *liberal* measure; that is, a measure giving freer and fuller expression to the political wants of the community at large. But what, strictly speaking, a liberal measure ought to be, Englishmen have scarcely made up their minds. Let us attempt to lay down the leading principles to be kept in view. (1.) The aim of any truly liberal measure of reform cannot tend to any sort of class tyranny. Reform must aim at developing in the state the various social interests of the country in a fair and harmonious proportion—not measuring their representative importance by mere numbers, any more than we should measure the importance of "members" of the human body by numbers. Perfect political freedom would be the harmonious working of the various classes in one system—the numbers of each class being quite secondary to the moral and intellectual importance of the social

functions it is called upon to perform. Therefore (2) no worse end could be imagined for a reform movement than one which strove to make any *uniform* division of the electoral classes, and to lose the *variety* of interests which our different constituencies represent—nor, for a similar reason, could any worse end be imagined than one which should impede the harmonious working of these various interests, by bringing them out into too distinct and defined a contrast and antagonism, by elaborating the appearance of class-distinctions and putting out of sight the common and mutual ground on which all classes meet. Neither the counties, nor the large manufacturing towns, need or ought to have a representation at all in proportion to the numbers of the electoral classes they contain; because, both the counties and the large manufacturing towns are examples of what we have called the fixed and rigid kind of constituencies, sure to return members of a definite form and cast of political faith—little capable of including any great variety of social interest. The county members, to a certain extent, act in phalanx; and the manufacturing town members act in phalanx. When, therefore, we find that the counties of England and Wales, with an electoral constituency of 509,100, have only 159 members, while the boroughs, with an electoral constituency of 411,000, have 335 members, we do not recognise an “anomaly” in this proportion, but the operation of a wise principle. The county members have far more cohesion as a class, represent, in fact, a single interest far more completely, than the borough members; and therefore need less numerical strength, as holding more closely together. County members give little expression to the wants of the *minor classes* of the country, which, though representing fewer numbers, have just as much claim to be heard and more need of a hearing. Lord John Russell's last bill (brought forward in 1854) had this capital defect, that it increased the number of members representing these rigid county constituencies at the expense of those representing far more various interest of the different boroughs. The same remark is applicable to the great manufacturing towns, as compared with the smaller boroughs. One great interest—capital—overwhelms there all other interests. Men of one class are returned who represent mainly one political cast of thought. The great inference we draw from what we have said is then this: that whether in opening new constituencies to embody a new class of electors, or in reconstructing the old ones, we ought ever to keep in view *that uniformity and close cohesion of interests* in any set of constituencies is a strong reason against giving them representatives in numbers at all proportionate to their electoral strength; while great variety of social interest and social opinions in any set of constituencies is a stronger reason in favour of giving them representatives in numbers much more proportionate to their electoral strength, inasmuch as the smaller and less uniform interests of the country thus receive a protection which they could not in any more formal manner hope to obtain.—*Economist* January, 1858.

Reducing this abundance of words to propositions as simply framed as possible, we make out the following.

1st. That there should be no class tyranny of any kind. The "various social interests" should be represented in "a fair and harmonious proportion," not measured by mere numbers, but by "the moral and intellectual importance of the social functions they are called upon to perform."

2nd. There should therefore be no mere "uniform division of the electoral classes," doing away with the "variety of interests" represented by our constituencies. Neither should these "various interests" be brought into too distinct and defined a contrast and antagonism, by elaborating the appearance of class distinctions, and putting out of sight the common and mutual ground on which all classes meet.

3rd. And (as a conclusion from the two foregoing propositions,) in the contemplated re-distribution of representatives under a new measure of Reform, the element of numbers is to be considered only in places where there is "a great variety of social interests and social opinions;" and not where there is a "uniformity and close cohesion of interests," no matter how large the community may be, and whether it be a county, or a town.

And this rule is proposed with the object of providing that "the smaller and less uniform interests of the country may thus receive a protection which they could not in any more formal manner hope to attain."

The counties and the large manufacturing towns are set down by the writer, in the category of the communities in which there is that "uniformity and close cohesion of interests" which according to him, should have no claim for an increase of representatives, based on the mere fact of their large *numerical* amount of population. Like the clan of Lochiel,

"Their arms are a thousand, their bosoms but one!"

Be their population a quarter of a million, half a million, a million itself, or even upwards, still, according to the "*Economist*," their interests being closely and compactly bound up together, their representation cannot require to be otherwise than compact also. "Agriculture" in the one case, and "money capital" in the other, are precise, definite, "rigid" formula, which do not require any very extended expression. But there are a variety of minor interests, which are over-crowded and over-borne in counties and large towns by the two potent influences just named. The "minor interests" most do congregate in the smaller boroughs; and the latter should for *their* sake, and on their account, get an increased number of representatives. In short, the "*Economist*," and the section of Whig

Radicals which it represents, are for lessening the power of the lords of land and gold, and increasing that of the sturdy democrats of the middle classes.

In direct opposition to these views are the sentiments of the only member of the present administration (that of Lord Derby,) who has as yet spoken *out* at all, and disdained to avail himself of the mere abstract generalities under which several of his congeners have taken refuge. Sir Fitzroy Kelly, the Attorney General of the new government, at Ipswich, Thursday the fourth March, upon his re-election for the eastern division of Suffolk county, occasioned by his acceptance of office, thus delivered himself on the subject of Reform.

"There is another subject upon which I do not feel called upon to address you with any reserve, and upon which, as upon all others which are uninfluenced by temporary or peculiar considerations, you have a right to expect freedom and openness of discussion on the part of your representative,—I mean the all-important question of reform in the representation of the people. (Cheers.) I must say that upon this subject justice has hardly been done to that great Conservative party in the State to which I am proud to belong, and if I could presume to offer a complaint of anything personal to myself I should say that I had hardly had justice done to me upon this important question. It has been imputed to the Conservative party, and it has been imputed personally to myself, that we are insincere in our endeavours and in the expectations which we may hold out for reform in the representation of the people, and that we desire to prevent all reform, all change, all improvement in that, as in other departments of the State. Now I have long felt, in common I believe with those who have bestowed impartial reflection and attention upon the subject, that the elective franchise is confined to certain classes of the people who ought not exclusively to possess it. It has been supposed—nay, it has been publicly stated within these eight-and-forty hours, with reference to plans to which I have from time to time here and elsewhere alluded—that I desire to deprive of the elective franchise the freeholders, tenant farmers, and others in the county of Suffolk and throughout Great Britain. So far is that from being correct, that on the contrary I declare that I will never be a party to any scheme of reform by which one single British man who now enjoys the franchise shall be dispossessed of that franchise. My policy is all for extension; and when we reflect that there are now men in this kingdom—not numbered by hundreds or by thousands, but by hundreds of thousands—who are well qualified by education, by property, by character, by position, by all that can entitle a free man in a free country to the possession of the elective franchise—who have it not, and who are among the unrepresented in this country, I feel that we ought not, whenever the time shall come to legislate upon this subject, to leave one man in Britain, who is by the qualifications to which I have adverted entitled to the elective franchise, without it. (Hear, hear.) I therefore desire—and I hope that there is nothing that the

humbler classes of society will complain of when I say so—to begin at the upper end, and to descend in conferring the franchise as the state of education and intelligence among the people will permit. Whether in counties or in towns I would certainly confer the franchise upon every individual who possesses a sufficient income to afford a prospect of his exercising that franchise independently. I would likewise confer it upon every man in Britain who can show that he possesses a liberal education. I do not mean a first-rate classical education, but that he has a sufficient knowledge to justify the expectation of an intelligent, right thinking, and reflective exercise of that franchise, even although he might not be a freeholder in a county, or a 10*l.* householder within a borough. (Hear, hear.) It is necessary also—but here we come upon a task full of delicacy and difficulty—that a great number of towns throughout Great Britain, the population of which has increased of late years until they have become places of great importance and consideration, should no longer be deprived of the elective franchise. When you find, for example, towns like the neighbouring borough of Harwich with a small population returning two members, and others with a still smaller, or perhaps even with a larger population—for you all know that the number of inhabitants in a town varies from time to time from circumstances over which the Legislature has no control—returning one member to Parliament, while we have great and extensive towns in the North of England and elsewhere, with 30,000 or 40,000 inhabitants, returning no member at all, you must feel that that is an evil which ought to be remedied. I know no reason, for example, why my old friends and constituents in Ipswich who live in 10*l.* houses in the borough should continue to enjoy the franchise, when it is refused to the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Hadleigh, who are equal in character, in property, and in intelligence to the inhabitants of this town. (Hear, hear.) These are some of the evils which I would seek to remedy; and moreover I cannot but feel that a great and undue disproportion exists under the present law between the population and the number of members returned. I would, therefore, as far as may be, endeavour to restore the balance and to do equal justice to all the inhabitants of this country. I do not say—for it would be absurd to dream of such a measure—that I would endeavour to parcel out the nation into districts, with an exact proportion of population to members returned; but I cannot see why some 52 counties in England and Wales, with half a million of electors, and I am afraid to say how many inhabitants, should return but 150 members, while the boroughs within those counties return members in the proportion of at least three to one. While attempting to do justice, then, to the population at large, and to extend the franchise so far as the education, the intelligence, the property, and the general improvement in all classes of the people will permit us

the same time do justice to the counties,
 of members returned by the counties
 ear something like a fair proportion to
 and of their population. (Cheers.) In
 pon this important question, however,

permit me to remind you that I speak only for myself. The noble earl who has done me the honour to associate me with him in the Government of which he is the head, has lately announced in Parliament that it is his intention to take into consideration the state of the representation, and to bring forward some measures on the subject; but he has at the same time announced that he feels it impossible, consistently with his other public duties, and with a due regard to those other measures which are forced upon the immediate attention of the Legislature, to undertake that task during the present session of Parliament. I must freely tell you that this is all that I can say to you on the subject; for it is all that I know myself. I am not in the secret of the heads of the Government, if they have a secret; I know not their individual or general views upon this question; but speaking for myself, and for myself alone, I say that I shall be ready, whenever a fit and convenient time shall arrive—and I don't hesitate to say that the consideration of this question ought no longer to be postponed than the ensuing session—in my place in Parliament and whether in or out of office, to advocate and maintain these principles, even down to the details to which I have now alluded. (Cheers.)"

("Times," March, 9th, 1858.

Like all others of whatever party who have of late given us the benefit of their opinions on Reform, Sir Fitzroy Kelly is prodigal of assurances that "intellect," "education," and "independence," are the tests by which he would judge of the fitness of individuals and communities for increased political franchises. But he seems to expect that we shall take these as words of course and mere phrases, without any practical meaning or intention; for very soon afterwards we have the open declaration that his real object is "to do justice to the counties, by taking care that the number of members returned by them shall bear a fair proportion to the *immensity of their electors and of their population.*" In short, and in fact, he, speaking for his party, proclaims that the strongholds of democracy in the boroughs should be weakened by diminishing their quota of representatives, and the aristocratic power in the counties be correspondingly increased.

The frankness of Lord Derby's Attorney-General was by no means imitated by his President of the Board of Trade, the Right Honorable Joseph Henley, M.P. for Oxfordshire, at his re-election for that county, on appointment to office. On the contrary, he was as close as his colleague was communicative. Having presently to review the expressions on the same subject of the foremost man of the Derby administration in the Lower House, and practically the foremost man *absolutely* of both

the administration and the party with which it is identified, we would not make even a brief delay upon Mr. Henley's most diplomatic declaration (made doubtless with all that wonderful, or, as it has been irreverently termed, *owl-like*, solemnity of demeanour and tone that characterises him) were it not for the curious attempt he makes to enlist against Constitutional Reform the strong feelings excited in our breasts by the murderous plans and acts of foreign conspirators and Red Republicans. After expressing detestation of the conduct of the wretches concerned in the hideous affair of January last in Paris, he says :—

“ We must feel that the acts of these guilty men will have a fatal effect upon the cause of constitutional government and of liberty throughout the whole of Europe. Attached as I believe all Englishmen are to constitutional liberty, it is impossible for them not to see that the cause of free government and of liberty has of late gone back upon the continent. (Hear, hear.) It is impossible not to see and regret this ; and one must feel that guilty acts like that of which I have been speaking—acts not confined to attempted assassination, but embracing those struggles we have seen made abroad within the last 10 years—that these, I say, have a strong tendency to throw back the cause of constitutional liberty throughout the world. (Hear.) It has been said by a distinguished personage in this country that the cause of constitutional government has of late years been upon its trial here. I think we cannot help feeling that this observation is to a great extent true. Looking back at our history for the last 200 years, and, observing the struggles we have gone through, we cannot but see that the great ends at which we have arrived have been achieved by prudent, careful revision of our laws and institution. I hope the time will never come when that progress shall cease to be carried on. I know there is a claptrap kind of question talked about by many sections of politicians, who go about the country calling themselves this, that, and the other name ; but I, for one, have never belonged to any school of that kind. (Cheers.) I am speaking among those who know me, and I can say that I have always been one of those who think it better to do the most good we can with the tools we have to our hands, than to run about whooping and hallooing after something else, leaving undone what ought to be and might be done with the means already at our disposal. I have been questioned in this hall during stormier times than the present and in larger meetings. I have been asked what I would do upon this or that question, and among the rest it has been said to me, ‘ What about Reform ? ’ (Hear, hear.) To that question I have always, before my constituents or otherwise, given this frank answer when other men have been in power, ‘ Let me see what they are going to do, and then I will tell you whether I will support them or not.’ That has been the answer I have

given here before, and many may remember it. Now, I will tell you how I stand on this question at present. I could not have joined any Government in which my hands were to be tied upon that subject. But I feel that the question is one which has been dangling for some time before the eyes of the country, which has been put into the mouth of the Sovereign by several successive Prime Ministers, though none of those Ministers have chosen to bring any scheme before the country, for I don't think the most ardent Reformer will affirm that one or two Bills introduced by Lord John Russell seven or eight years ago can be called schemes of Reform. For this reason, no question having been brought fairly before the country, I have not felt in a position to say whether this or that particular measure should be adopted. But this I may tell you—that I would not have joined any Government if I were not able to say to my constituents that I stand unfettered upon this subject, that I am free to take into consideration that or any other subject I please, and that I am at liberty to act respecting it according to what I think to be for the good of the country; and whether the support I receive in this line of conduct be small or large, or none at all, to that I will adhere. This I think is as free an expression of opinion upon the subject as you can expect any man in my position to give."

No doubt that the "guilty acts" he speaks of—"acts," as he truly says, "not confined to attempted assassination, but embracing those struggles we have seen made abroad within the last ten years"—do "throw back the cause of constitutional liberty throughout the world. But the question at present is not of foreign countries." No one, except the wild speculators who ventilate their theories in the extreme Radical papers, has proposed, or dreamed of proposing, to legislate for them, or interfere in their concerns. True, there *has* been a step in that direction—the supremely absurd step of withdrawing the British Envoy from Naples, because the unasked and intruded counsel of the British Cabinet, in matters affecting the *internal* government of the Neapolitan Kingdom, was not immediately and obsequiously adopted. But that *brutum fulmen* has proved too eminently ridiculous to be imitated and constituted a precedent, even if there were question at present of further indulgence in the certainly too prevalent propensity of English statesmen, to bully and seek to dictate lines of policy to the weaker states of Europe. There is *no* such question at present; and all Mr. Henley's solemnity and verboseness, must fail to mystify the public about the plain matter in hand—the shaping out and bringing into operation a further measure of Parliamentary Reform at home. The former measure—necessarily much more extensive than this need be—was carried out

without superinducing wild Republicanism, or any derangement of society and order, and if there be reason to fear a different result now, Mr. Henley, in his position of a Cabinet-Minister, is surely bound to point out distinctly the dangers before us, and suggest what ought to be the policy of the country. But no—all he condescends to tell us is, that he is “unfettered on this subject—at liberty to act respecting it as he thinks proper”—and that when a Reform measure is brought before the country, he will then tell us “whether he will support it or not” !!

From the recent hustings-speech (on a similar occasion of re-election) of his leader and chief, Mr. D’Israeli, we take the following not much more lucid or promising declaration on the subject of Reform :—

“I ask you in a common-sense and a purely serious spirit is it decent, is it politic, is it honest and honourable, that a question of such a nature as this, a question which concerns the representation of what we believe to be a free and intelligent people, eminent for their love of liberty and progress in knowledge, should be made the stalking-horse of faction? (cheers)—that it should be hung up and taken down according to the exigencies of a distressed Minister, and that the highest principles of policy should be part of the stock in trade by which a Government is to shuffle through a disgraceful and discreditable existence? (Loud cheers.) No, gentlemen, I am convinced that it is the opinion of the people of this country that this question should be settled, aye or no. If a Reform Bill be necessary it must be produced, and it will be carried, and if it be unnecessary the Minister who is not prepared to grapple with the question ought frankly to state that that is his conviction. (Cheers.) Remember that a Reform Bill has been twice brought forward by Her Majesty’s Government; remember that only two months ago the attention of Parliament was called to the subject in the gracious Speech from the Throne, and, in my opinion, and in the opinion of those with whom I act, it is totally impossible that a question which has been introduced to the notice of the country by the proposition of the Minister, and by recommendation to the consideration of Parliament from Her Majesty herself, can any longer be trifled with. We shall therefore give to it our earnest and serious consideration. (Hear, hear.) But then we are asked, ‘When are you going to bring forward your Reform Bill?—after Easter?’ Those gentlemen who have been seven years playing with the question, who have postponed, procrastinated, and delayed year after year—as many years as my learned friend, Dr. Lee, had questions to put to me, now tell us that we are not sincere Reformers. ‘Where is your Bill?’ they say. ‘Haven’t you got it ready? An impatient people is not to be balked of an object for which it has such a ravenous desire.’ (Laughter.) We have, if possible, to effect a recon-

conciliation with our great ally ; we have to conduct negotiations upon which the peace of Europe may depend ; we have other tasks before us most difficult to fulfil ; we have to put down a revolt in India which will yet demand from this country no common efforts ; we have to carry a Bill through Parliament for the government of that country, based upon principles which I hope will recommend it to the national approbation ; we have to introduce financial measures of no ordinary gravity, and yet we are told we are not sincere Reformers, because our Reform Bill is not immediately to be brought forward. The course which we shall take will be this :—We shall give to that subject our most earnest and serious consideration, with the view, if possible, of bringing forward a measure which shall not be a mere party measure (cheers), which shall not be devised merely to prop up a faction, which shall not be invented merely to increase the political influence of a political section, but a measure which, dealing largely and completely with all those questions connected with the subject which are entitled to consideration, will, I trust, recommend itself to all temperate, rational, and sober-spirited men as a measure adequate to the occasion. (Hear.) Being ready to act in that spirit, I do not think that I am asking too much for Her Majesty's Government that we may be permitted to give consideration to the construction of that measure, and that we may have the time for thought and for labour which the responsibility for so vast a theme demands. I cannot believe—the hypocrisy is so flagrant—that any prejudice would be raised against us because in dealing with this subject we wish to deal with it like sincere and responsible men, and because in anything which we do we wish to do that which will be adequate to the occasion, and which will meet with the approbation of all sound thinking people in this country. (Cheers.) I feel that it is unnecessary for me to enter into details upon a theme which must be brought before Parliament in due time, and therefore it would be unwise in me to offer opinions which I might otherwise have laid before you, and which, indeed, I have expressed in this country on various occasions, on the various points connected with this subject—the different franchises, for instance, the modes of taking votes, and questions of that character. When the question is introduced to Parliament by the Government, that will be the occasion when our opinions will be offered to the country in a formal and matured manner, and that will be the occasion when the country will be able to form its judgment upon them."

The best commentary upon this wilderness of words, is that of the *Times* newspaper of Tuesday, March 9, the day after the delivery of the speech from which we have quoted.

"The new Chancellor of the Exchequer yesterday performed a task for which no other man is so competent. He had to make a speech, which must of course, be an able and effective one, out of nothing. The substance was *nothing*, and it could only be eked out by what was worse than nothing!"

Whig and Tory having thus spoken, come we now to radical utterances on the same subject. The "Northern Reform Union," from its head quarters at Newcastle-on-Tyne, thus pronounces:—

"Excessive taxation may be defined as the trunk of the tree of misgovernment whence spring innumerable branches, the unwholesome fruits of which have poisoned the body-politic of England; have impoverished the blood, debilitated the limbs, degraded the features, and depraved at last almost every natural function of what should be a free and healthy State.

To this grand source, then, it is that all the minor mischiefs of the realm are owing. Hence it is that the people have been taxed to help to occupy and to defend expensive colonies, for which extension of trade has been the pretext,—whilst places, patronage, and plunder were the real objects. Hence have come the governorships, the secretaryships, the judgeships, the political agencies, the commissioner-ships, the cadetships, the writerships,—in short, the whole host of employments, military and civil, which serve to gratify all who are ready to sell their country and their own souls for the sake of a base advancement. Hence has arisen a financial and monetary system at once so oppressive and precarious that, after having stripped the artisan of half his earnings, and the merchant manufacturer, ship-owner, and tradesmen, of half their profits, it subjects the whole industry of the country to periodical panics, which as they spring from the taxing system itself must perpetually occur as long as it shall last. From the same root has sprung into existence a poor-rate, which, originating, as it did, in the reign of Elizabeth, as an act of justice to the few poor persons at that time existing has gradually been swollen to a sum equal to the entire revenue at the accession of the Hanover family; and, when added to the pay of the gatherers of taxes makes a gross amount equal to the entire peace establishment of George III., after his accession, in 1760.

In a vicious and defective state of the representation is to be sought the proximate cause of these mischiefs. In an amended representation, the remedy alone is to be found. At present, the House of Commons represents, not the people of these kingdoms, but two or three small and dominant classes, to the exclusion of all the rest. Thus the great majority of the British commonalty may be justly said to be outlaws, to a certain extent, and, to a certain extent, serfs! They are denied the power of making laws for themselves, and they are expected to obey laws made for them by others. Thus hundreds of thousands of intelligent men, just as able to select honest representatives as those who now monopolise in order to abuse the privilege, are politically paralysed, and treated as if they only formed a sort of *caput mortuum* of the Constitution.

The chief remedy for this is, plainly, an extension of the Franchise. How far this extension should go, has been the subject of frequent and earnest debate. Such controversies, when examined, will be found to lead to one conclusion; and that is, if anomalies the most

ward and monopolies the most pernicious are to be avoided, the franchise must be treated as a right inherent in the individual. To make it depend upon any sort of property qualification, brings us, by a short step, not only to injustice, but to absurdity.

To give universality of suffrage, however, its healthful action, protection to the individual voter must be added. Manhood suffrage ceases to be manhood suffrage if one man be permitted in any way to control the vote of another; it is indispensable, therefore, to join to manhood suffrage the Vote by Ballot. It is by no means easy to state with decorous gravity the arguments (so-called) which are uttered by the opponents of an arrangement at once so simple and so salutary. One portion seems to make it a matter of taste only. It is 'un-English,' they say; and, according to them, in order to prove a poor voter truly 'English,' it is requisite that he should risk being ruined, together with his family, once in every three years. Another portion hold that absolute secrecy could not be effected. In associations of workmen, in the most princely institutions of commerce, and in the clubs of our aristocracy, we see it in practical operation—giving the completest secrecy, if the voter desires it. The example of its successful working in Australia will not be lost upon the British people; for it is absurd to imagine that they will long suffer the mother country to have a smaller share of liberty than the colonies, and that the farthest extremities of our dominions shall be freer than the great heart which gives life and animation to the whole. The Property Qualification of candidates is so constantly and notoriously evaded, that no one can now seriously object to its being dispensed with. Scotch members are not required to possess it. Why should those who represent English and Irish constituencies be asked to submit to a test from which Scotland is wholly exempt?"

And they very sensibly conclude their address with a recommendation that if all that is sought cannot be got at once, instalments should be cheerfully and thankfully taken.

One more quotation of radical opinions will conclude all that it is necessary, or that we have convenient space to give. On the 9th of March, Mr. S. J. Ricardo, one of the Staffordshire representatives, met his constituents at Hanley in that county, and exchanged expositions with them of his and their respective views upon Reform. The worshipful the Mayor presided, and did not mince matters in expressing his sentiments.

"There was no such thing, he said, as Finality in political Reform any more than in personal or any other kind of Reform. He did not hesitate to attribute in a very great measure the Repeal of the Corn-laws and the general enlightenment of the nation to the Reform Bill of 1832. There could be no doubt in the mind of any reasonable man that a large extension of the parliamentary suffrage was

imperatively needed, and he did believe that the nation would so demand it, that no government would dare to refuse."

"*Sun*" Newspaper, March 11, 1858.

The meeting, which appears to have been a very crowded one, went thoroughly with him and other speakers to the same effect; and the two following resolutions were unanimously adopted, viz. :

"That any measure of parliamentary Reform to be acceptable to Reformers should at least enfranchise in Borough towns, every person rated to the poor; and in counties every ten pound householder. That it should give to every voter the protection of the Ballot. That it should further abolish totally the property-qualification required from English and Irish representatives—(none such being required from Scotch,)—and that it should as equitably as possible, apportion representatives according to population, and shorten the duration of parliaments to three years.

That any measure of parliamentary Reform which should not give to the voter the protection of vote by Ballot, would be at once disadvantageous to the country and unacceptable to the people."

Ibid.

To these opinions and propositions, Mr. Ricardo gave his assent.

A very amusing piece of frankness on the part of one of the most plain-speaking, if not the most prudent of the landlord-party, uttered much about the same time, at a meeting in Northamptonshire, will serve to shew reason for this urgency on the subject of the ballot. Sir Henry Drury, one of the "men of large acres" at that meeting, thus delivered himself "for self and fellows."

"*Certainly* a tenant has no right to use his landlord's land to vote against him. He (Sir Henry in his proper person) did *not* canvass his own tenants; but before taking one he always satisfied himself as to the tenant's principles. And then, if afterwards the tenant thought proper to turn round, he (the great Sir Henry again) thought he might fairly *come down upon him*."

The newspaper that records these magnanimous sentiments, gives as an illustration of the close and careful adherence of the landlords of Northamptonshire to the policy indicated in these significant sentences, the fact that in the division of the county of which Sir Henry Drury is an ornament, the number of Parliamentary voters has increased only by 123 in the 24 years since the Reform Bill, while the increase of population was 22,300 !

The case of Ireland in respect of Reform, compels an abbreviation of our remarks upon the general question, and possesses a strong claim to what remains of our allotted space.

The late Mr. O'Connell frequently proclaimed and exposed the most unjust disparity of treatment which Ireland received in 1831-2, compared with that accorded to England and Scotland by the Reform measure of that period. In his "Letters to the Reformers of England on the Reform Bill for Ireland," (published by Ridgway, Piccadilly, London, in 1832,) he thus generally stated it :

"The English Bill greatly enlarges the elective franchise in the counties of England. The Irish Bill on the whole, diminishes the number of voters in the Irish counties. The Bill for Scotland exceedingly increases the number of voters in Scotch counties. The Irish Reform Bill diminishes the number.

England has at present two franchises, and acquires by her Reform Bill *seven additional* franchises. Ireland has at present two, and acquires only two more.

Wales, with a population of only 805,236, gets an increase of 4 members—Ireland an increase of only *five*, and one of these to Trinity College, which has already a member. Scotland, with 2,900,000, gets an increase of eight members. Ireland, as before, only 5, with a population of eight millions. Cumberland, with only 169,681, gets two additional members ;—the Co. Cork, with 807,366, does not get one additional.

Northamptonshire gets two additional members on a population of 179,276. Downshire, with 352,571, gets no increase. Leicestershire, with 197,276, increases her members from 2 to 4, while Tipperary County, with 402,598 inhabitants, remains with only 2 members. Wiltshire, with only 239,181, commands 4 representatives. Tyrone, with 302,943, is to have but two. Monmouthshire gets a third member, though its population is but 98,130. Mayo, with 367,973. Limerick, with 300,080, Clare, with 258,262, Kerry, with 219,989, Donegal, with 298,104, not one of them gets an increase...not one !

In few of the towns of England there is to be any diminution of the existing *resident* voters. In all of the towns of Scotland there is to be an *increase*. In many of the towns of Ireland there is to be a great *reduction* of the *resident* voters. The towns and Boroughs of England have three classes of voters more than those in Ireland."

We have, as the reader will doubtless perceive, limited ourselves to very few and much abbreviated extracts from Mr. O'Connell's letters, and given nothing whatever of the accom-

panying expressions of natural indignation and earnest (and it must be confessed utterly fruitless) appeal by him to English Reformers of high and low degree, against the unjust disparities of the two Reform Bills. Neither have we gone at all into his expositions in detail of the gross injustices in the nature and manner of obtaining the few franchises left to Ireland; changes having occurred in these points especially and also in some others, which render his remarks upon them less applicable at present. But enough has been given to shew the general character of the ill treatment Ireland received, and unfortunately its main features still remain unchanged.

Of those main features one in particular claims, and in fact *demand*s, our attention. It is the injustice involved in the disproportionate number of our representatives in comparison with the number for Great Britain. We have as every one knows, but 105 members, while the remaining 553 members belong to her. Our share of parliamentary representation is therefore to hers in even a smaller proportion than as one to five. What reason can there be for this disparity?

We are continually reminded that Ireland is "an integral part of the empire"—that "English, Irish, and Scotch are all one people," &c. &c.;—and while not altogether convinced of the accuracy of the latter declaration, we are ready to admit it for the sake of argument at any rate, while to the first we give an unqualified assent, at least in so far as its exact meaning can be ascertained. Taking these postulates therefore as granted, we are entitled to ask, why this same "integral part" of the empire, and this Irish portion of the one British people, should be treated otherwise than the other "integral parts" and "portions" of the same? Why should we not have our fair and duly proportioned share of representation in Parliament?

When the Income Tax was being imposed upon Ireland in 1852, the protests of our members against the additional violation of the terms of the (so-called) treaty of Legislative Union involved in that imposition were met with clamorous enquiries from English members, why we should object to be put upon the same footing exactly as Englishmen were, and thereby to become entitled to all privileges, franchises, and advantages which they enjoyed. "Hitherto," it was said to us, "you had certain exemptions from taxation which, rightly or wrongly, were made the ground of withholding from you

many things enjoyed by other portions of the Empire, but once the countries shall be assimilated in the important point of taxation, that objection and difficulty will disappear, and perfect equality will be at once conceded." The assimilation of taxation was accordingly forced upon us and established, but the *equality* has still been withheld.* We are still as we were before, in the miserable minority as regards Representation, of one to five!

It is not our business to dilate here on the subject of the Legislative Union, or enter into any discussion of its merits or demerits. But we may be permitted to say that few people, no matter how they approve of it and desire its maintenance, now refuse to admit that in many points it inflicted injustice. In none more so than in the inadequate representation it gave to Ireland. At the moment we write Great Britain and Ireland are thus respectively represented in both Houses of Parliament.

House of Lords. (*Spiritual and Temporal.*)

Great Britain, 405 Ireland, 32 (about as 1 to 13)

House of Commons.

Great Britain, 553 Ireland, 105 (as 1 to 5)

On this disparity in the Upper House we say nothing, as Peerage-Reform is not a question of the day, whatever it may become before very long. We merely give the respective figures for each country, in order to shew that even if the Irish Representative Peers were all imbued with Irish feelings, their numbers are too few to enable them to supplement to the deficiency of Irish influence and power in the Commons.

Lord Castlereagh in 1800 established as the basis on which to calculate the future proportionate representation of Ireland, the following comparative scale, deducing from it the figures set down below :—

For Population	...	202	Members	} The mean of these quantities gives 108½
„ Exports	....	100	„
„ Imports	....	93	„
„ Revenue	....	89	„
Total		434		

* Similar appeals are made to us in reference to the Vice-Royalty; and if Irishmen be weak enough to yield to them and consent to the abolition of it, the result will undoubtedly be the same. There will be no species of compensation.

These bases of computation were much contested at the time, and are now acknowledged to have been very unfairly stated as against Ireland. Still, even according to them, we were entitled to 108 Members. Yet we got but 100, and the Reform Bill of 1832, gave us only 5 more, thereby still leaving us, (as we are to this day,) deprived of 8 Members, to which additional number we were entitled even on the defective and unfair bases taken at the Union.

If, at the present day, it will be said that this injustice should not be remedied, the declaration will amount to an explicit confession that the Union has failed to benefit Ireland; when on the four points mentioned above, her proportion to that of England has not risen higher than it was in 1800.

And supposing that it has not done so, ought we not to get at any rate the *three* needed to make up the Union number of 108.

It is impossible now-a-days to make a new calculation of this kind upon the four points, or bases, mentioned above. Since 1825—that is to say, for nearly 33 years—there have been no separate accounts kept of the trade between the two countries, save as regards a very few articles; and as that trade includes not only the home produce and manufacture of each for mutual consumption, but (as regards *Ireland*) the greater part of her foreign trade, both of import and export, it will be at once seen that trade and commerce cannot enter into the new calculation. Population and contributions to the public Revenue can, however, still be used for the purpose, and very sufficient elements of comparison they unquestionably are. In reference to the first of them, viz: population, Ireland is of course at a great disadvantage at present; famine and the *still progressing* emigration, having reduced her numbers to what they were thirty years ago, or six millions; whereas, the population of Great Britain has risen in the interval, from 18 to, at least, 26 millions. Still, even under this disadvantage, the calculation will prove our case, especially as, in reference to the other element of comparison, that of taxation, we can shew even a stronger claim than ever before—our taxation having now for six years back, been equalized with that of Great Britain, a state of things which did not exist when last the question of proportionate representation was mooted.

In fact, the element of numbers of the respective populations

is by no means essential to the comparison. An axiom of the Constitution points out plainly the single consideration of rightful importance. That "Taxation should be founded upon Representation," is one of the best recognized and firmest established principles of the Constitution. Applying this axiom to the case before us, we have a right to say and to demand, that as Ireland has but the one-sixth of the Imperial Representation, she ought to have but the one-sixth of the Imperial Taxation. But out of the sixty millions or thereabouts, of Imperial Revenue, we pay equally with Great Britain to taxes producing at the least, fifty-five millions, or 11-12ths of the whole. We should, therefore, have a number of Representatives in a corresponding ratio, that is to say, as eleven to twelve, or 308 members for Ireland, and 320 for Great Britain. As we have nothing like this proportion, the Constitution is plainly violated by the overweening amount of taxation imposed upon us.

There is no hope, however, for justice being done us, either by reduction of taxation to its proper proportion with our existing quota of Representatives, nor on the other hand, by increasing the latter to the number above shewn to be our right. England is strong, and we are weak; and the weak always go to the wall. We must only lower our tone and humbly beg a minor concession. We must admit the respective amounts of population into the calculation, and it will then stand thus, viz:—

	Ireland.		Great Britain.		Ireland.	Great Britain.
Population as	1	to	5		109	549
Taxation as	11	to	12		308	320
					<hr/> 417	<hr/> 869
Mean of these 2 Proportions					<hr/> 203	<hr/> 435

Two hundred and three Members for Ireland, four hundred and thirty-five Members for Great Britain. To this, at any rate, we are entitled, yet assuredly shall not get this. Even the additional *three*, which the Union-calculation would entitle us to use upon our existing quota of 105, we shall not get, unless we bestir ourselves, and do so *heartily* and at once! But unfortunately, there is little hope of our doing so, disheartened, distracted, divided as we are!

There have been rumours of a scheme of re-distribution throughout the entire of the United Kingdom, of its representation in the lower House of Parliament. So far as these rumours took anything of a consistent form, they involved changes of great and very injurious importance for Ireland. Her scant and insufficient number of Members was to be diminished, instead of being (as it ought to be) increased; and an arbitrary shifting, or shuffling about of her remaining Representatives, was to be practised, tending on the whole to weaken the liberal and popular interest, and throw the preponderance into the opposite scale. But this most unjust and outrageous scheme appears to have fallen still-born, and we trust will be heard of no more. Nevertheless, the fact that it ever was spoken of at all, should act as a warning to Irish Reformers, and as an incentive to active preparation for the parliamentary campaign of next year; when according to the assurances of Whig and Tory alike, a general plan of Parliamentary Reform is to be among the first and leading measures of the Session. We will intrude upon them only one short counsel, and that is, not to commit the mistake in political strategy of merely standing on the defensive, but to make a bold forward movement, and demand that members be allotted to several towns of considerable population in Ireland, which are at present unrepresented, and that this be done, not only without taking away from the number of Representatives of the Irish counties and larger cities, but simultaneously with an *addition* of Members to such of the latter as may appear in comparison with Great Britain, to have a right to such addition.

A glance at the lists of the House of Commons in Thom's Directory, where the names of the Members, the places they sit for, the number of population of each, and the number of voters, are all set out for the three Countries, will enable the most casual observer to see the extent of the injustice done us in the existing allocation of Representatives. The following are a few cases taken nearly at random from among the Counties in England and Ireland:—

English Counties.	Members.	Population.	Irish Counties.	Members.	Population.
Cambridgeshire,	3	185,181	Antrim Co.,	2	250,355
Buckinghamshire,	3	165,554	Cork Co.,	2	551,152
Dorsetshire,	3	184,207	Down Co.,	2	317,778
Hereford Co.	3	115,489	Tyrone Co.,	2	251,869
Northumberland Co.	4	300,000	Tipperary Co.,	2	323,829
Hertford Co.,	3	167,298	Kerry Co.,	2	238,241

It is to be borne in mind in the case of the Irish Counties in the foregoing table, that their respective amounts of population, are set down, as they have been estimated *since* the great famine and emigration, and that therefore the injustice done them in the comparative apportionment of Representatives in 1832, although yet very flagrant, was still more outrageous, before the population of those counties, as of so much of the rest of Ireland, was thinned and wasted down to what it is at present.

In reference to the towns and boroughs, the following will give an idea of the comparative state of things.

England.	Members.	Population.	Ireland.	Members.	Population.
Andover,	2	5,359	Tralee,	1	13,759
Barnstaple,	2	1,000	Wexford,	1	12,819
Bridgewater,	2	5,724	Londonderry,	1	19,604
Erisham,	2	4,605	Drogheda,	1	16,845
Harwich,	2	4,400	Kilkenny,	1	19,973
Honiton,	2	3,420	Sligo,	1	13,627
Lymington,	2	5,260	Ennis,	1	12,165
Thetford,	2	4,074	Clonmel,	1	14,707
Totness,	2	3,828	Youghal,	1	9,211
Wells,	2	4,736	Dundalk,	1	9,841

These are only a few specimens out of, as every one knows, a multitude of cases of the grossest injustice towards Ireland, in the distribution of members between the two countries. They do not illustrate exceptions, but the general rule itself, that prevails and has prevailed in reference to that distribution.

The under-mentioned towns in Ireland, having a population of or exceeding six thousand, are totally unrepresented, and Barnstaple, Honiton, Totness, Thetford, Harwich, &c., might well spare them one member *each*.

Towns.	Population.	Towns.	Population.
Callan, ...	6,000	Loughrea, ...	6,400
Carrickfergus, ..	8,800	Nenagh, ...	8,600
Carrick-on-Suir, ...	10,000	Parsonstown, ...	6,700
Castlebar, ...	6,000	Tipperary, ...	6,980
Queenstown, ...	7,200	Thurles, ...	7,250
Fermoy, ...	7,150	Tullamore, ...	6,500
Killarney, ...	7,300	Tuam, ..	6,000

Although the English Reformers have no such grievances as ours to complain of, it will be seen from the following extract from one of their "Reports on the Franchise," that they are by no means content with the present state of things.

"The present representation in parliament is neither based on population, property, nor character. The House of Commons is

supposed to represent the entire people, but not more than one in eight have the right of suffrage at all. There are in the House of Commons 330 members, representing an aggregate population of 3,120,000 persons, while a minority of 328 members represent 23,873,000 of the population. The position of the population returning the majority is that of having one member for every 9,400 persons, while the minority have but one member for every 73,600 persons. The present representation consisted of 330 members returned by 180,000 electors. Then, as to property, the annual rateable value of that represented by the 330 members is but £6,200,000, while the rateable value of the property represented by the 328 members is £78,800,000. How is Lord Derby to deal with these facts?"

Of any change, however, in these respects during the present Session, the English Reformers do not seem to entertain an expectation. The extreme Radicals amongst them have been, through their newspapers, endeavouring to coax and coquet, with Lord Derby, since his accession to office; but as might be expected, the noble Lord, though willing enough to avail himself of their little *rancune* towards Lord Palmerston, does not choose for the sake of such support as in their fretful caprice they can afford him, to give mortal offence to his party, by opening up once more the sluices of reform.

The subjoined passages from a Report of the "Birmingham Reform Deputation," deputed to consult with the Liberal members of Parliament in London, upon the practicability of bringing in a measure of Parliamentary Reform, during the present Session, will shew that we do not speak without book, in stating that there is no longer an expectation of such a step.

"1stly.—The Liberal section of the House is disjointed; it has no constructive unity of action. Occasionally powerful to overthrow, it is powerless to construct. The short time that many of its members have been in Parliament, the want of a rallying cry, as in 1831 and 1848, the *absence of any glaring abuse*, the apathy of the public, the absorbing nature of the war-question, the natural aversion there is to a dissolution, all have their influence in deterring the Radicals from active co-operation. Isolated motions for shreds of Reform are occasionally brought before the House; but no one dreams of united action for organic change.

"2ndly.—The advanced party have no leader. At present the majority of them cluster round the standard of either Palmerston or Russell. But a large number believe in neither. One other man they would follow, but this session at least he will not take active measures to organize a party. We refer to John Bright, our own Representative. His day will come, we have confidence, but not yet.

3rdly.—Perhaps the most conclusive argument against the hope of the Bill this year, is that it must be the work of a government.

No private member could command the time and information necessary to a re-construction of our electoral system. It must be done by those having the reins of power; who have the official resources and highest legal knowledge of the country at their disposal."

This is very uncheery, and yet it is all very true. The Liberals of the House are but too surely a disjointed body, if indeed they are to be called a body at all, in the sense of mutual coherence and association. The old comparison of a rope of sand is far more applicable and more correct. Lord Palmerston has *his* party, and Lord John Russell can boast of his, and then there are two other parties to be taken into account—one very small indeed, but occasionally making itself felt in the squabbles of the larger sections—the party under the leadership of Mr. Maguire,—and the other most formidable from its including such men as Cobden, Bright, Milner Gibson, and Roebuck. We are, perhaps, scarcely warranted in classing the little knot of Grahamites and Gladstonites—the remnant of the once mighty following of Peel—among the sections of Liberals, and yet their influence over the proceedings of the latter is very great, and although an additional difficulty in the way of effective concert in Liberal councils, is created by the uncertainty as to how they will vote on particular emergencies, they have occasionally given very valuable aid against the Conservative enemy. With these five independent commands, it is impossible to have a well-ordered army; and the energies that ought to be combined against the small, but compact and disciplined cohort of Toryism in front, are too often wasted in internal divisions, or baffled by mutual jealousies and distrust. Lords Palmerston and John Russell, are contending for the Premiership, and each alike refuses to tolerate a rival near the throne. The Whig party are eager to regain and re-establish their monopoly of office, while the Peelite party on the one hand, and the advanced Radical on the other, is each on its own account, struggling to put an end for ever to that monopoly. Then upon the nature, the extent, the principles, and all the leading details of Reform, these several parties are further divided and indeed *sub-divided*. And finally, upon the question of England's foreign policy, there is an equal amount and weight of difference and dissension. With all these elements of discord, who shall say when what is called "the great Liberal Party," will again be in a condition for battle, or how unexpectedly long a lease Lord Derby may not have of power!

The time when the Liberals will rally again, and rally for Reform, is a question not very easily to be answered or predicated of. But another, a greater and far more difficult question, is, what is to be the extent and probable operation of the Reform-measure to be proposed? The nature of the franchise itself, the manner of exercising it, and the allocation of Representatives, are all highly important points for consideration and discussion; but paramount to them and to every thing else is the consideration of the end, the object, the ultimate tendency and effect of the measure. It is quite evident from what we have quoted of Whig and Tory opinions on the subject, that their only and common aim is, to depart as little as possible from the existing state of things, and to maintain as far as possible (and if possible to *increase*) the power and influence of the aristocratic element in the British Constitution. We have also quoted from certain organs of the Radical party enough to show that they are equally intent on making the balance of power incline towards democracy. Our former quotations, however, from their manifesto having been mainly directed to exhibit their views of the *means* (viz., the increase of the popular franchise and the taking of votes, by secret Ballot) we shall quote from it again in further and more special illustration of the great end for which they proclaim themselves to be laboring.

“To those who would pourtray the multiform mischiefs flowing from Oligarchical Legislation, the only difficulty is selection. The giant mischief, however, is sufficiently prominent—Excessive Taxation. Tyranny in its grosser forms has shrunk before the slow progress of public opinion. Open Rapine can no longer be hazarded, she must now take the shape of taxation.

Of British Taxation it may safely be said, that nothing approaching to it is recorded in history. When the Romans were masters of the world, the highest taxation under their emperors never exceeded two thirds of the sums now annually wrung from the toil of a few millions of Englishmen. So appalling has been its growth, that the sums paid to Tax-Collectors are now more than the whole revenue of Queen Anne; and more than twice that of the much vituperated Stuarts. When a minister is invested with the patronage of such an enormous expenditure, to talk of public liberty is a farce. The more distinctive forms may be cunningly maintained—municipal government may exist—justice be in certain cases administered. These, however, are only employed to cover the corruption and depravity within.

When the means of comfort and independence are taken from an industrious people to this astonishing extent, the consequences are the same whether the end be obtained by force or fraud. These

consequences are the maintenance of a landed and moneyed oligarchy, who, without seeming so to do, in reality rule everything—the enriching a few at the expense of millions—and an aristocratic monopoly of every source of honor and emoluments that can possibly be monopolised; while the toiling masses from whom all this comes, may be accurately likened to men placed on a tread mill, who toil incessantly without advancing one step, but whose toil grinds abundance for those who set them there.

* * * * *

In addition, an insidious policy has been adopted by a certain portion of the press of this country, which, while it tolerates and encourages the discussion of abstract political truths, only does so upon the well-understood condition that the vulnerable parts of the system shall not be touched.

* * * * *

It is this policy which prompts this section of the press to boast perpetually of the national wealth and high civilization, while the country is covered with work-houses, rivalling castles in size;—while a gazette is published which, instead of recording three or four bankruptcies in the year, as was the case before the revolution of 1688, now records on an average more than three a day;—whilst the kingdom is so prolific of crime, that the gaols and penal colonies cannot contain the convicts; and immorality has so pervaded all ranks, that the legislature itself now helps to find materials for the criminal calendar. It is this policy too, which prescribes education and cheap literature as the panacea for this epidemic of crime, not appearing to see that these must tend *rather to stimulate than to decrease vice*, by rendering men more keenly sensible of the privations and hardships of their position, and giving them a taste for refinements, which whilst they envy them in others, they have neither means nor hope of realising for themselves."

Mr. Bright, the popular and very able member for Manchester, gives the following endorsement as it were, to some of the most advanced opinions, just quoted from the manifesto of the Northern Reform Union. Writing in answer to an "address from the unemployed of Birmingham," he says:—

"I confess I see no remedy for your distresses, so long as we find our Taxes constantly on the increase, and our national expenses augmenting. We now spend twenty millions more than we did a few years back, and military expenses have doubled since 1835. This year we shall have to raise fifty millions more than the revenue of the United States. We should compel a more economical government."

Down with the oligarchy! Cut down to the quick, the enormous public expenditure, the management and attendant patronage of which has given them such power, weight and influence. Extend the Franchise till it embrace the whole of

the classes below them, and shield its exercise with the secret Ballot, and thus muster together and send forward into action the army of democracy, then become irresistible by the combined effect of its enormous numbers and the destruction of the enemy's intrenchments ! This is what the radicals of England aim at, and the true and indeed openly declared meaning of their agitation. And as all this could not but result finally in a republic, the cry of "down with the *monarchy*" is in fact to be understood when we hear that of "down with the oligarchy !"

Whether to this complexion of state affairs we shall come at last, or to the other alternative of Napoleon the First's prophecy, *Cossackism*, i. e. government savouring of Russian Autocracy, is a problem the solution of which we shall not attempt. Meanwhile for the present, oligarchy seems to entertain no intention or idea whatever of letting itself be "put down," and *à fortiori* will not consent to see the monarchy put down. And doubtless they are strong to resist. Strong not merely in constituted, well organized and well buttressed authority, and effective physical power, but in what is so potent with Englishmen, the moral force of old established custom and traditionary honor. And they have yet another and adventitious source of strength which has been pointed out by Lord John Russell in one of his most favourite apothegms, viz. that "while the aristocratic order in other countries has, (from its inaccessability) been *the despair* of the classes beneath it," the aristocracy of these countries is "*the hope*" of the same classes with us. The detailed meaning of his apothegm plainly is, that the accessibility of aristocratic grades amongst us to the successful professional man, commercialist, or industrialist, enlists to a great extent their feelings and wishes in favour of an order thus placing its honors and privileges within reach of energy and ability irrespective of birth and connexion. But however true all this may be, we must not exaggerate its value, nor omit to take seriously into account the daily growing spirit of exaction and encroachment now pervading our democracy at home, and making its members less and less inclined as time goes on, to be propitiated by a few occasional promotions from their ranks. It is no answer to the apprehensions suggested by this consideration, to tell us that this exacerbation of the democratic spirit at home, is but a reflex and a consequence of the extravagance of the same spirit abroad. On the contrary, we have therefore the more ground for alarm. It is not the usual habit

of Englishmen to be impressionable by foreign influences. The sturdiness of the native character, their very prejudices, tend all the other way ; and have in a hundred instances that might be cited, absolutely interfered to prevent, or at any rate to delay, improvements, where the first idea or example of them was derived from abroad. The unusual impressionability or susceptibility in the present case can therefore be explained only by attributing it (with but too much probability) to the spontaneous fermentation in the popular mind of the old revolutionary leaven of the times of the Commonwealth. This process is quite noticeably increasing, instead of abating ; and with it of course the predisposition to receive the impulses of foreign propagandism. And the latter may, how soon we know not, exchange its present inculcations by theory, for those by practice and example, in some of the darkly but distinctly fore-shadowed convulsions of Europe.

How to prepare for such an emergency—an emergency that the *death of a single man* may bring upon us—how to guard against and prevent in these countries rash and disastrous imitations of the wild actions and events then developing themselves abroad, is the pressing difficulty of the moment. Education, from which so much was expected in the way of regulating and elevating popular impulses, has hitherto acted as Mr. Bright and his friends inform us, rather as a stimulant to misdoing, by rendering men more keenly sensible of the disadvantages of their position. And taking the most enthusiastic view of it, its operation at best can be but slow and its ultimate efficiency remote, when it has accomplished so little up to the present time. Something else more practical and immediately to be felt, is required by the urgency of the time. Concession there must be—let us speak it out, concession on the part of those who have hitherto wielded the powers and moulded the destinies of the empire. If made in time, while yet men's minds are cool, a safe and wholesome limit for it may be defined. If obstinately refused, there is too much reason to fear that it will have to be made and perhaps before long, under a pressure of events that will preclude all reason and argument save the argument of force. But be it made now, or later, under circumstances favorable for a due consideration of the rights and interests of all, or under circumstances utterly precluding it, that concession must involve an alteration and re-adjustment of the relations between the various classes of society, and that

alteration and re-adjustment cannot but bring us some steps further than we have yet been, on the road to democracy.

In that direction therefore must be the tendency of the new Reform measure, and it is for the statesmen of England frankly to recognise and accept this necessity, and give their chiefest attention now to the means of rendering safe and consistent with the maintenance of property and order, the inevitable further developement of the democratic element in the constitution.

ART. VII.—EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

1. *Report of her Majesty's Commissioners, appointed to inquire into the Endowments, Funds, and Actual Condition of all Schools endowed for the purpose of Education in Ireland, accompanied by Minutes of Evidence, Documents, and Tables of Schools and Endowments.* Dublin: printed by Alex Thom and Sons, for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1858.
2. *Letter to the Right Hon. Sir George Grey, Bart., M.P. G. C. B. Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.* By Archibald John Stephens, Esq., one of Her Majesty's late Commissioners of Inquiry into the Endowed Schools of Ireland. London: printed by Eyre and Spottiswood, Printers to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, 1858.
3. *National Education in Ireland.* By William Dwyer Ferguson, L.L.D., lately Assistant Commissioner, Endowed Schools Commissioner. London: Seely and Co. 1858.

The Report of the Endowed Schools Commission is at length before the Houses of Parliament, and taken along with the evidence and statistics upon which it is founded, may be treated as a book of authority upon educational subjects. It is scarcely matter of regret that all the Com-

missioners should not have signed the Report, although to some this will appear a miscarriage of the Commission. The truth is, that in exchange for the signatures of two Commissioners, we obtain their individual opinions, which are thus brought under public review, and in this way no aspect of the inquiry conducted by them, is shut out from the public by consents and compromises to which the public could not be a party. When the Commission was appointed its inquiries were not generally understood to have so wide a range as was opened to them in the course of the proceedings. The words of the Commission were, it is true, sufficiently large to include every description of educational endowment, public or private, but no one anticipated an inquiry into any endowments which had not previously attracted public interest. It was principally with reference to the Royal and Diocesan schools, or to the more considerable private endowments, like those upon the foundation of Erasmus Smith, that information was sought by the public. Usage in fact had for many years past affixed a popular meaning to the term, "Endowed Schools," and limited its application to schools, in connexion with one board in particular, whose familiar name is borrowed from its place of meeting, Clare-street. Indeed the jurisdiction of that Board had been extended by acts of Parliament to many schools of private institution, and had the inquiry been confined by the terms of the Commission to the trusts administered by that Board alone, it was felt that the duties of the Commissioners would still have been laborious and profitable. The Commissioners, however, rightly acted upon a more comprehensive notion of their duties, and although to many they may appear to have travelled a field of the object of the Commission, they will be found upon examination to have kept within the verge of their authority. They were directed to apply their inquiries to the actual state and condition of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland, and to the management of the funds "given, granted, or applied" for their support. Under a strict interpretation of this power it would have been competent for the Commissioners to found a jurisdiction upon the grant or donation of any sum however small, and to bring the school which had been or should have been its recipient within the scope of their inquiries. The Commissioners

may now be taken to have treated these words as intended to facilitate the discharge of their duty, and to cover any variety of inquiries they might find it desirable to institute, but not to limit their discretion by defining what was to be understood as an endowment. Accordingly they adopted the principle of not considering any bequest of less than £100, *unaccompanied by directions to invest*, as constituting an endowment that they should inquire into. In the case of money left for school building, or expended on building school houses, they did not consider that alone as constituting an endowment, but when the site was permanently secured, they took such money into consideration as affording means of estimating the value of the endowment. The adoption of this principle is mentioned by the Commissioners with especial reference to bequests, but there can be no doubt that it was applied also to the case of donations; and "the general principle to be extracted from the tables of endowments would seem to be, that any sum from whatever source or how trifling soever, or any portion of land no matter how small, if permanently secured to school purposes, should be dealt with as an endowment. The practical application of this principle had an appearance of strain at the outset, and to many was not quite intelligible. Country school-masters and country Clergymen, received the news that they were the masters and patrons of endowed schools, with almost as much surprise and incredulity as was shown by M. Jourdain when he learned that he had been speaking prose all his life, without knowing it. The effect of that rule, however, was not only to make the country acquainted with numerous small endowments, the sum of which is very considerable, but to lay bare the management of every class of schools, and every system of education at present existing in Ireland. This was done in most instances by sample only, but in some cases by a sample nearly equal to the bulk. Thus upon a rough estimate far more than a moiety of the Church Education Schools, and a large though not equal proportion of the National Schools was brought within the jurisdiction of the Commissioners; while several of the schools of the Christian Brothers, and a quite sufficient number of Convent Schools, were drawn under inspection, to warrant the public in forming an opinion upon the entire class. There is therefore the less reason to regret that the labours of the Com-

mission so far outgrew the calculations of its original promoters, and doubtless of the Commissioners themselves. They have in truth done the work of more than one Commission, as far at least as the accumulation and tabulation of statistics are to be taken into account. It may be said without exaggeration, that there is no one class of schools, to which their inquiry has been directed, which would not of itself have supplied materials for an investigation such as theirs. They may all have erred in their conclusions, and probably have done so; the recommendations of some may be found to be impracticable, and the objections of others will be treated as frivolous; but however that may be, the public mind will have been informed by the labours of the Commissioners; henceforward there can be no room for doubt or mystification as to facts; the materials for judgment will be ready to every man's hand; and should the public fail of turning them to practical account, the blame will rest with the public itself.

For some time previous to the appointment of the Commission the public had manifested its sense of an admitted want; the want of secondary instruction for the young, promoted by the State according to its obvious duty. With the primary instruction, supplied by the National Schools, the nation had general reason to be satisfied, and it did not profess to have grounds of complaint against the instruction supplied by the universities to those for whom they were intended. But the State, it was alleged, had neglected its duty with regard to secondary education, either abandoning it altogether to private enterprise, or encouraging a few unduly preferred, and exclusive establishments, in fraud of the general interests of society and of education. It also occurred to the public, that notwithstanding the protection so given to those establishments, the results might be found upon inquiry to bear no proportion to the bounty of the State, even within the limited range assigned to that bounty. And further it came to be doubted whether those favoured schools were as exclusive in their constitution rightly understood as they had become in practice; whether they might not, in the spirit of their constitution, be made available for general instruction; whether from having been educational charities, they had not come to be educational jobs; and finally—whether it might not be possible to restore them to

their original character. Those considerations were enforced as they had perhaps been suggested, by circumstances which had a plain and strong bearing upon them. The State, it was contended, had within a few years created and endowed two systems, one of primary, and the other of academical education. The third and intermediate system was yet wanting, the supplement to the former, the complement of the latter, and without which no national system in the broad sense, could be said to exist. But this was not all: the State was urged to deal with the question, upon the additional grounds that the State itself had diminished the resources of the country for secondary education, and an appeal was made to the State conscience for something like restitution. There can be no doubt that when the National Schools first came to be established, there existed, throughout Ireland, a number of schools in which a kind of secondary education might be had at small expense. Brinkley's Primer, the Eton Grammar, Tommy and Harry, Lord Chesterfield on Politeness, and Cicero's Offices, were learned under the same ferula, and not always ill. The establishment of the National Schools caused the almost total disappearance of schools such as we have mentioned, and nothing was done or thought of to provide a substitute. Schools of a superior description were not of course in any way affected by the spread of the National Schools. Several of the State seminaries, if we may so call the Royal Schools, and several independent schools continued, as they still continue, to afford excellent intermediate education, but it was only available to those of considerable, even if not of affluent, means. The substantial country shop-keeper, the improving, though not absolutely extensive, farmer, who could not afford to send his sons to Portarlington or Dungan-non if Protestants, or to Clongowes or Carlow if Catholics, had nothing better than the National Schools at or near their own doors. Now those people, it was argued, although thrifty, and perhaps over thrifty, were by no means averse to give their children the chance of promotion afforded by a good education, if such were to be had at home, and within their means. This would be no more than reasonable on the part of men so circumstanced, and of men whose well-considered wishes are entitled to as much consideration from the State as those of any other class in the Commonwealth. They it was,

undoubtedly, or those who acted in their interest, that gave its first impulse to the movement which resulted in the Commission. But then there was no reason why the inquiry should be conducted in their interest only, if other interests might require to be protected and advanced. There was reason to believe not only in the existence of endowments which might be made applicable to this and that purpose, but in the existence of endowments which had either been perverted from their legitimate and proper use, or which had been lost to all intents and purposes. There was likely to be question of endowments available perhaps for use, at the discretion of the State, but rendered unproductive by bad management. In other cases, where the State could not pretend to control over the administration of endowments, remedial or protective measures might be suggested for the security and rightful application of the fund. The system of education administered under existing endowments, and under special classes of endowments, would naturally and necessarily form part of any such inquiry; and as every class of citizen is or ought to be equally precious in the eyes of the State, an endowment for the support of a poor school was equally entitled to safety and purity of administration, with an endowment for a college or university. Sinecurism, and false pretence, and incapacity and meanness, would require to be stirred to their lowest depths, and much commotion and croaking might be expected to ensue.

For instance, the Rev. Pelobates Jones, endowed master of a disendowed school, would insist upon his right to walk in the mud, as his worthy father, Limnisius, had walked in the mud, all the days of his life without reproach or molestation. Cousin Physignathus Jones would point to his own round cheeks and sleek person as proof that mud is a wholesome element, and conducive to the fullest development of the species; while Kraugasides, the orator of the family, would be prepared to lift up his voice, declaring the pillars of the state to be embedded in the very mud the Commissioners were seeking to disturb; and ready to topple over in shorter time than he had taken to foretell it, unless the disturbers were to desist from their insane attempt. But there were other subjects of inquiry more alarming still. Corruption, fraud, breach of trust, negligence hardly less culpable, jobs of

endless variety, and vested wrongs assuming to be vested rights, were said to have burrowed into and honeycombed the entire system of endowed schools. Meridarpax, so called from an hereditary habit of taking more than his share, had his retreat in a back office, under a board room, in a quiet street, that could only open to an act of Parliament. Psicarpax had drawn together so many and such substantial crumbs that he might consider himself victualled for a siege, and in a position to fatigue the endurance of the most patient mouser. Artepibulus, who ambushed for the bread of the poor, was so sharp a practitioner that no one could tell where to find him; and Tyroglaphus, renowned for cheese-paring, so far from having incurred blame, was commended for economy, because he only pared the scholar's cheese for the benefit of the master.

It was worth knowing whether all this was the fact, and accordingly the Commissioners began their task of inquiry into the "endowments, funds, and actual condition of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland." The history of the Commission, at all events, is a subject upon which there is no difference of opinion amongst the Commissioners. After the preliminary arrangements, they proceeded according to the tenor of their patent; and in determining the schools to which the inquiry should be limited upon the principles above stated, recourse was had, as appears from the Report, to every authority, documentary or otherwise, in which mention was made of an endowment for educational purposes. No tradition, however obscure, no record, how loosely worded, or informal soever, was neglected; and the result was, that although in many instances reputed endowments failed of proof, there were equally numerous cases of endowments, the proof of which but for the inquiry just expired should have been completely lost. The authorities referred to in the first instance, and cited in the course of the report, are given at page VII.

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Charters and Letters Patent of King Charles II., p. 64.

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- Commissioners of Education in Ireland, Minute Book of, 143. Reports of, pp. 36, 41, 66, 68, 107, 243.
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- Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, 1824-8, Reports of, pp. 14, 16, 19, 20, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 71, 90, 103, 126, 127, 128, 130, 176.
- Commissioners (on Municipal Corporations, Ireland), Report of, pp. 1, 150.
- Commissioners of Public Records in Ireland, 1810-15, Reports of, pp. 17, 24.
- Committee of House of Commons on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland, 1835-8, Reports of, pp. 20, 30, 31, 53, 92, 127.
- Davies' (Sir John) "Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued till the reign of James I." (Dub. 1666, 3rd edit.), p. 24.
- Dublin University Calendar for 1843 and for 1848, p. 53.
- Harris's "Hibernica" (Dub. 1747), p. 7.
- Irish Society, Concise View of the Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings of the, (Lond. 1842), p. 7, 65.
- Appendix to Case of, in House of Lords, p. 8.
- Journal of House of Commons (Irish), pp. 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 90, 103, 104, 115.
- Journal of House of Lords (Irish), pp. 8, 12, 13, 14, 16, 25, 104, 108.
- Laws made by Erasmus Smith, p. 64.
- Leah's "History of Ireland," p. 6.
- Letters Patent (see *Charters*).
- Letters Royal of King James I., p. 7, 47.
- Letters Royal of King Charles II., p. 48, 49.
- Letters Royal of King George III., p. 48, 49.
- Lodge's Records of the Chancery Rolls, p. 64.
- Mann's, Horace, Report of an Educational Tour in Germany, France, &c., p. 205.
- Mant's, Bishop, "History of the Irish Church," p. 33.
- Parliamentary Papers, pp. 9, 52, 53, 58, 67, 115, 120.

Patent Rolls in Chancery, in Ireland, p. 7.

Register of Governors of Erasmus Smith's Schools, p. 11.

Reid's, Rev. Dr., History of Presbyterian Church in Ireland (3rd Ed., 1853), p. 8.

Reports (see *Committee, Commissioners, &c.*)

Report, Annual, and Course of Studies in the High School of Edinburgh, during the Session ending July, 1855, p. 204.

Rules of Governors of Erasmus Smith's Schools, p. 65.

Smith, Erasmus (see *Charter, Rules, Laws*).

State Papers, published under the authority of his Majesty's Commission, 1834 (Vol III., Part 3), p. 6.

Strafford Letters, p. 10.

The Commission bears date the 14th November 1854, and the Commissioners held their first meeting on the 28th November, in the same year. Having in the first instance directed that a list of endowed schools should be drafted from the above authorities, they sent circulars to the masters and trustees or patrons of the principal establishments, requiring information as to certain particulars, and commonly received answers more or less explicit from the parties applied to. The various educational boards also, one only excepted, complied with the requisition, and that one, the board of the Erasmus Smith foundation, absolutely refused to do, and claimed for its schools an exemption by charter from any visitation not under express parliamentary authority.

It is almost, as of course, to say that the governors of these schools had very sufficient motives for their resistance, as had the Commissioners on their side for overcoming that resistance by a special Act of Parliament. The act of the 18 and 19 Vic. cap. lix., was framed accordingly "to facilitate inquiries of Commissioners of endowed schools in Ireland;" and the Commissioners took advantage of its passage to introduce a clause for the appointment of assistant Commissioners, whose authority as to the inspection of schools, and examination of witnesses under the direction of the principal Commissioners, was made identical with that of the latter. The special reports of these gentlemen form an important feature in the proceedings of the Commission. Pending the passing of the act the Commission proceeded to hold courts of inquiry in all the country towns of Ireland pursuant to due notice, and their course of

proceeding was the following:—The secretary read the list of endowments existing, or supposed to exist in the county, and the public was invited to give evidence, to prefer or rebut charges with reference to the management of the schools, and generally to supply whatever information was at the command of each individual. The evidence so collected fills one volume of the appendix, and includes the depositions of the Mayors of towns, the Masters and Patrons of schools, Clergymen of all denominations, Country Gentlemen, Shopkeepers, and others interested in education. In the course of their circuit the Commissioners visited the more important schools, and those in particular with reference to which complaints had been preferred; and the Dublin office continued meanwhile to forward circulars to the clergy of the principal religious denominations, as well as to the masters and trustees of schools. The letters addressed to the clergy are stated in the report to have been in number 3,588, (p. 2,) and the answers received to have been 1793, by means of which the Commissioners state they have been enabled to discover upwards of one hundred endowments, the existence of which could not otherwise have been traced. Before the Commissioners had concluded their visitation, four gentlemen, Messrs. Arthur Sharman Crawford, George Whitley Abraham, Frederick William M'Blain, and Edward Pennefather, were appointed assistant Commissioners pursuant to the Act of Parliament, and began their duties in the month of November, 1855. The nature of these duties will best appear from the form of report which they took with them from the Commissioners upon their tour of visitation. That report (Forms. Evid., vol. 2, p. 399,) embodies 109 queries, to which the assistant Commissioners were required to find answers, and they were also expected to subjoin a general report of the defects or excellencies of each establishment visited by them. That these questions touched the management of schools and the state of their endowments at every point may be easily supposed; but it also formed part of the duty of the assistant Commissioners to inquire into lost or misapplied endowments; and it is hardly necessary to say that the latter inquiries were prosecuted to equal advantage in the districts to which they related as were inquiries into schools in actual existence. The districts assigned to each

of the assistant Commissioners would seem to correspond more or less with the four provinces. Thus upon an analysis of the tables, Mr. Crawford appears to have visited all the Munster counties, and the County of Tyrone in Ulster. Mr. Abraham visited the province of Connaught, the Counties of Longford, Westmeath, and Kilkenny, with the King's and Queen's Counties, in Leinster, and the Counties of Cavan and Monaghan in Ulster. Mr. M'Blain took the principal part of Leinster, and Mr. Pennefather, or his successor Mr. Ferguson, the Ulster counties, excepting Tyrone. During those tours of visitation, they inspected 1321 schools, representing 976 endowments in actual operation; they established the existence of 296 endowments not in operation, and reported upon 178 endowments lost or expired.

The labours of the assistant Commissioners appear to have closed with a general report from each, containing the impressions produced upon his own mind, respecting the subject of his inquiries; particular regard being had to special classes of schools, and to general causes of efficiency or inefficiency. We shall have occasion to advert to their reports in the course of this paper. Finally, an inspector of school estates was appointed to report upon their management. The various societies, to which aid for building or other purposes had been given from parliamentary grants, produced their books and accounts for inspection, and the Board of Charities furnished to the Commission extracts from wills containing any devise or bequest for educational purposes. Upon the materials so supplied, the Commissioners founded their report.

It would be impossible, within reasonable limits, to give a full abstract of so voluminous a report. It covers 287 pages of folio, and the reports of the assistant commissioners, and of the Inspector of Estates, run to fifty-four pages additional. Neither do we consider it necessary to advert to every view or suggestion contained in the report, as it must be confessed that many things necessary to the completeness of a State paper, are not of uniform interest to all concerned. The Report contains, first, the history of its own proceedings, which we have given in very thin outline; secondly, the history of educational endowments in Ireland from the reign of Henry VIII. forward;

thirdly, the result of the inquiries whether of the Commissioners or Assistant Commissioners, into the more important schools; and fourthly, and lastly, the recommendations of the Commissioners with reference to the protection development and application of endowments for school purposes. The late Solicitor-General for Ireland, who dissents from his brethren, assigns his reasons for so doing in a letter subjoined to the Report, and Mr. Stephens, the remaining Commissioner, has published a long and elaborate letter, containing his reasons for dissent and the recommendations he was prepared to make. Accompanying the Report are three volumes of papers, two of which contain the evidence taken by the Commissioners in their public courts, while the third consists of tables of schools compiled from the statistics gathered or certified by the assistants, and accompanied by extracts from their special Reports, to which also we shall find it necessary to refer.

The history of educational endowments in Ireland, as they exist at present, begins in the reign of Henry VIII. The parish clergy had for many years previously, either from a misconception of their duty, or from some unexplained cause, neglected the secular instruction of the young, and that duty had fallen upon the religious orders, by whom it was gladly undertaken, and, as at the present day, efficiently discharged. When the monasteries were about to be suppressed, the Commission appointed to report upon that measure, prayed that six educational communities should be excepted from its operations, but without success; it thus became necessary to make provision for the instruction of children elsewhere; and the duty of doing so was thrown by the civil law upon the incumbents of parishes. Thirty-three years later (1570,) by an act of Elizabeth entitled "An act for the erection of free schools," the system of diocesan schools was instituted upon paper, where alone it continued to exist for several years. The act provided that there should be, thenceforth, "a free school in every diocese of Ireland;" the school-houses to be erected in the principal shire town (where a school-house had not been already built, at the cost of the whole diocese in the proportion of one-third to be paid by the Bishop, and the remaining two-thirds by the beneficed clergy. The diocesan schools so continued to exist on paper for a lengthened period,

and one of the earliest acts of the Irish Parliament in the reign of William III., includes provisions for the suppression of Catholic education and for the establishment of diocesan schools. But it was not until the reign of George III. that a few of the diocesan schools feebly broke their shells, after an incubation by Crown and Parliament of nearly two hundred years, and they seem never to have recovered the effort.

This was the first attempt at converting the Irish by means of education. The royal schools were founded in the succeeding reigns of James I. and Charles I. and endowed out of the forfeited lands, more for the benefit of the Ulster plantation than for that of the native Irish. They too for a long period had only a nominal, or at best an imperfect and vegetable life, but some of them, by reason of their large endowments, and under many favorable influences, have become really good and flourishing schools, but not in any sense what their charters constitute them—free schools.

The schools upon the foundation of Erasmus Smith, an Alderman of London, who had acquired property in Ireland, during the protectorate, come next in order. He conveyed all his property to a board of Governors incorporated by Charter, for the Government of three grammar schools in Drogheda, Tipperary, and Galway, upon portions of his own estates. He is sufficiently explicit in the statement of his own views, as appears by a letter which he addressed to the Governors from London, under date June 6, 1682. “My end,” he writes, “in founding the three schools, was to propagate the Protestant faith according to the Scriptures, avoiding all superstition, as the charter and bye-laws and the rules established do direct.” And farther on in allusion to the unpromising condition of his schools, we find these words ominous of future legislation—“My Lord, my design is not to reflect upon any, only I give my judgment why these schools are so consumptive; which was and is, and will be, if not prevented, the many Popish schools, their neighbours, which as succors do starve the tree. If parents will exclude their children, because prayers, catechism, and exposition is commanded, I cannot help it, for to remove that barrier is to make them seminaries of Popery. I beseech you to command him that shall be presented and approved by your honours, to observe them that decline these duties, and expel them, which will oblige [me,] my Lords

and Gentlemen." In course of time, the property of the foundation became so considerable, that pursuant to special acts of Parliament, numerous English schools of the same class and character as the ordinary parish schools, were opened and supported by the Governors throughout Ireland. Of a somewhat different description, but with a similar object, were several private endowments, such as Wilson's Hospital in Westmeath, the Farra institution in the same County, and the Pococke institution in Kilkenny, into which no children were, or indeed, are, properly admissible, except the children of Catholics. The incorporated society for the promotion of English Protestant schools in Ireland, shortly called the "Incorporated Society," represents the next large class of endowed schools. We do not consider it necessary in this place to touch the history of the private grammar schools, founded by the Duke of Ormond, in Kilkenny, Lord Weymouth in Carrickmacross, and Alderman Preston, in Navan and Ballyroan, although we may find it necessary to return to them for illustration sake hereafter. The Incorporated Society therefore was founded in compliance with an address from several Noblemen and Gentlemen in Ireland, which is referred to but not quoted by the Commission. The address is found in the appendix (No. 11,) to the third Report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education, (Clare-street,) in Ireland, (1809-12.)

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of the Lord Primate, Lord Chancellor, Archbishop, Noblemen, Bishops, Judges, Gentry and Clergy of this Your Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland, whose Names are hereunto subscribed,

Humbly sheweth—That in many places of this kingdom there are great tracts of mountainy and coarse land, of ten, twenty or thirty miles in length, and of a considerable breadth, almost universally inhabited by Papists; and that in most parts of the same, and more especially in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, the Papists far exceed the Protestants of all sorts in number.

That the generality of the Popish Natives appear to have very little sense or knowledge of Religion, but what they implicitly take from their Clergy, to whose guidance in such matters they seem wholly to give themselves up, and thereby are not only kept in gross ignorance, but in great disaffection to your sacred Majesty and Government, scarce any of them having appeared to be willing to abjure the Pretender to your Majesty's throne: so that if some effectual method be not made use of to instruct these great number

of people in religion and loyalty, there seems to be very little prospect but that superstition, idolatry, and disaffection to your Majesty, and to your Royal posterity, will from generation to generation be propagated amongst them.

Among the ways proper to be taken for the converting and civilizing these poor deluded people, and bringing them (through the blessing of God) in time, to be good Christians and faithful subjects, one of the most necessary, and without which all others are like to prove ineffectual, has always been thought to be, that a sufficient number of English Protestant Schools be erected and established, wherein the children of Irish Natives might be instructed in the English Tongue, and the fundamental principles of true Religion, to both which they are generally great strangers.

In pursuance hereof, the Parish Ministers throughout the kingdom have generally endeavoured, and often with some expense to themselves, to provide Masters for such schools within their respective parishes, as the law requires them to do; but the richer Papists commonly refusing to send their children to such schools, and the poorer, which are much the greater number, not being able to pay the accustomed salary, as the law directs, for their children's schooling, such schoolmasters, where they have been placed, have seldom been able to subsist; and in most places, sufficient Masters are discouraged from undertaking such an employment. Nor is it (we conceive) to be expected, that the residence of the Protestant Clergy upon their respective benefices, will ever be a sufficient remedy for this growing evil, if some effectual encouragement be not given to such English Protestant Schools.

To the intent, therefore, that the youth of this kingdom may generally be brought up in the principles of true religion and loyalty in all succeeding generations,

We, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, most humbly beseech your Majesty, that out of your great goodness, you would be pleased to grant your Royal Charter for incorporating such persons as your Majesty shall think fit, and enabling them to accept of gifts, benefactions and lands, to such a value as your Majesty in your great wisdom shall think to be proper; that the same may be employed under such rules and directions as your Majesty shall approve of, for the supporting and maintaining such Schools as may be erected in the most necessary places, where the children of the poor may be taught *gratis*.

And we are the more encouraged to make this humble application, from the good success which the same method has already had, and (through God's blessing) we hope will further have, among your Majesty's subjects of North Britain;

And also in some measure by what we have seen already done in this Kingdom in some few places, where such Schools have been erected, and maintained at the private expense of charitable persons.

We humbly submit ourselves to your Majesty's great wisdom and goodness, and as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Dated this 17th day of April, 1730.

One hundred and forty-two names are subscribed to this characteristic document, by the light of which the history of the Incorporated Society's schools requires to be read. It is not at all necessary to preserve for the benefit of science the peculiar logical process by which the memorialists arrived at the conclusion, that the Popish natives were kept in gross ignorance by their clergy, seeing that Popish schoolmasters or ushers incurred the same penalty by the practice of their profession as did a regular priest : that is to say, transportation for entering into or residing within the realm after a certain day, and the penalties of high treason for a repetition of the offence. Unfortunately the identical system of logic is popular still, and the present month has already furnished specimens sufficient for the most enthusiastic collector. The wishes of the memorialists, however, were graciously complied with, and a Society was incorporated for the promotion of English Protestant Schools in Ireland. It was even a favourite with Crown and Parliament, and continued for many years to receive rich benefactions and endowments from private sources. And yet its name during a great portion of the time was all that could recommend it to the most enthusiastic Protestant. It was the parent of the well known Charter Schools. Those Charter Schools might be divided into nurseries, and schools properly or improperly so called. The nurseries were supplied from the various foundling hospitals, and also by mothers and fathers in the regular way of trade. From the nurseries and central institutions, the children were drafted into the country schools, and, from the country schools, they were apprenticed to Protestant tradesmen. The charter itself did not limit the advantages of these beneficent institutions to the intended converts ; they were established for "the children of the Popish and *other* poor natives of the kingdom : " but the heads of the Society, in the years 1775 and 1776 restricted admission to the children of Popish parents, and matters continued in this state up to the year 1803, when the rule was relaxed, and the "other poor natives were admitted " to a share in the privileges, the exclusive possession of which had failed either to convert or conciliate the incorrigible Papists. In the interval between those two dates the Charter Schools appear to have been in what the Commissioners of the

Board of Education, (Third Report, p. 24,) call "a wretched state;" nor was the prosperity, consequent upon the relaxation of the rule, so remarkable in character as to preserve the Charter Schools from decay and extinction. "Whilst," say the Commissioners, "we warmly and sincerely applaud the pious and patriotic efforts of those who contributed to the establishment, and laboured for the success of this institution, we feel ourselves bound to state that, during a very considerable period of its existence, it appears to have fallen short of attaining the purposes for which it was established, and to have failed of one great object, that was intended and *expected* from it" (beautiful simplicity)—"the conversion of the lower orders of the inhabitants of Ireland from the errors of Popery. The utter inadequacy of the institution in point of magnitude and extent for that object, is sufficient to account for its failure, independently of the operation of other causes. The number of Popish children in all the schools at any one time has probably never amounted to sixteen hundred; and this must have borne so small a proportion to the whole number to be educated, as to have no sensible influence on the great mass of the population, even allowing that all who were educated in these schools continued in the Protestant persuasion; this, however, is certainly not the fact; and though it is impossible to ascertain the number of those who have returned to the Popish persuasion, there is reason to believe that it has not been inconsiderable." (3rd Report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, p. 24.) Further on the Commissioners say, that, "the reluctance of Popish parents to commit their children to the care of the Society seemed to have subsided;" and that there were "constant instances of earnest solicitations on the part of Popish parents for the admission of their children."

But notwithstanding the subsidence of the reluctance, (commissioners of education as well as ministers of State mix metaphors occasionally), nay the irrepressible eagerness of Catholics to commit their children to the Incorporated Society, in some way or another the Charter Schools most unmistakeably died out. It was the fate of every attempt at the conversion of Ireland. Just at the very moment when all Ireland having gone to bed in Popery was about to awake in Protestantism, something occurred to mar the happy consummation, and Ireland became more hopelessly Popish than ever.

The Charter Schools were on the eve of atchieving the most signal triumphs when they were suppressed ; so was the new reformation about thirty years ago ; so were the Connemara and Dingle movements in our own time. It was the old story of the horse that died of starvation at the very moment when he was beginning to get used to it. But the study of those attempts is profitable nevertheless, for although they have not, as formerly, the countenance and support of the State, they are still repeated in various forms and command a degree of sympathy in many of our fellow-subjects, quite sufficient for every purpose of insult and annoyance, and requiring to be kept in constant and careful check. Indeed it would be a great mistake to suppose that the most moderate, fair-spoken, and gentlemanly advocates of State endowment, for what are called "Church Schools," or "Scriptural Schools," are one degree behind the "Church Missionary Society," in their zeal for corrupt proselytism, or that they would not reorganize the Charter Schools in their most odious shape if it were in their power. It did not, of course, form any part of the duty of the late Commission to enter at large into the constitution of endowments that had expired some twenty years ago, and could never reappear at least in their old form ; but as there is an absolute identity of purpose between the mass of those who assail the present system of national education on Protestant grounds, and those who endowed and organized the Charter Schools ; nay as their tactics are almost identical ; a somewhat close inspection of the old system which aimed at precisely the same end as the new, would not be amiss. No matter what be the professions of the chief opponents of the national system of education, [for we, ourselves, are not its apologists in the abstract,] we must regard those gentlemen as the admirers, if not the inheritors of the Charter School system ; penetrated with the same spirit, and as more dangerous because more experienced, less confident, and less rash, than their predecessors. The following tabular return was the result of an inspection made by order of the Commissioners of the Board of Education (Clare street), and given in the Appendix No. 7 to their Third Report, (1808) p. 78. It shows the relative proportion of Catholic and Protestant children in the charter schools, and is compiled from one of two returns, made by a certain Dr. Beaufort, and Mr. Corneille respectively. We copy the first by way of sample merely. The other is similar in every respect.

ABSTRACT OF REPORT

Upon the Schools visited by Dr. Beaufort.

SCHOOLS, and Number of each Establishment.	MASTER'S Name and time of Ser- vice.	Number of Children and Religion of Parents.				Num- ber of Beds	State of Health.	State of Education. Reading. W. Writing. C. Catechism.	Stat Cloth
		Both Popish	One Popish	Both Protes- tant	Total				
Female Schools									
1. Castlebar ... for 40.	Moore ... 8 years.	27	5	3	35	20	9 sore eyes	{ R. pretty well W. very well C. well }	Good
2. Dundalk ... for 60.	Balmer ... 5 years.	27	1	30	58	30	5 sore eyes	{ R. well W. well. C. pr. well. }	Very
3. Loughrea ... for 60.	Lane ... 20 years	39	6	21	66	31	{ 1 Scrofula 1 feverish }	{ R. well W. very well C. well }	Extr.
4. Maynooth ... for 60.	Jones ... 2 years.	26	14	17	57	28	{ 1 decline 2 scald hd. }	{ R. extr. well W. well C. well }	Good
5. Roscommen ... for 40.	Clarke ... 4 years.	...	..	41	41	21	{ 1 scald head 1 cutaneous eruption }	{ R. pr. well W. pr. well C. very well }	Very
6. Santry ... for 80.	Russell ... 2 years.	32	24	22	58	43	2 sore eyes	{ R. pr. well W. ext. well C. very well }	Extr.
7. Trim... for 60.	Egan ... 1 year.	24	14	19	57	29	All well	{ R. very well W. pr. well C. very well }	Extr. g
Boys' Schools.		175	64	160	399	202	...	...	...
1. Ardbraccan... for 60.	Christian ... 5 years.	26	7	21	54	30	5 sore eyes	{ R. very well W. pr. well C. extr. well }	Very good
2. Athlone ... for 40.	Foot ... 8 years.	...	...	39	39	22	1 dropsy	{ R. remarka- bly W. very well C. very well }	Extr. good
3. Creggan ... for 40.	Gilmer ... 13 years	15	4	24	43	20	{ 1 scald head 4 cut. erup }	{ R. middling W. middling C. extr. well }	Pretty good
4. Farras ... for 100.	Boyle ... 1 year.	26	16	10	52	53	All well	{ R. pr. well W. pr. well C. very well }	Very good
5. Longford ... for 80	Ring ... 1 year.	26	22	6	54	26	1 complica- tion of disor- ders.	{ R. very well W. pr. well C. well. }	Good.
6. Sligo... for 80.	Hines ... 8 years.	66	...	16	82	49	All well.	{ R. pr. well W. extr. well C. very well }	Good.
Mixed Nur- sery. for 100.	Davis ... 21 years	54	14	19	F. 81. B. 56. } 87	50	{ 1 ulcerated arm 1 decline }	{ R. very well W. well C. very well }	Extr. good
Boys in Nursery ...		223	63	135	421 Boys.	243	...	...	...
For 400 Girls		...	...	...	56				
For 370 Boys					390				
Girls, including Nursery ...		...	...	..	430				
100 Nursery									
Total of Children in the Schools }		398	127	295	820	445	...	...	..

Figures such as we have just quoted would be very alarming at the present day, and it is evident that nothing short of absolute dominion on the one hand, and absolute subjection on the other, could account for the presence of so many children of Catholics in the charter schools. With Catholics in the enjoyment of civil rights and political power and influence as now, such a thing would be simply impossible. The application of the Patriotic Fund may have accomplished somewhat similar results amongst the orphans of Catholic soldiers, but they are not avowed and gloried in. What was then lawful trade is now smuggling, what was then war is now piracy; but the result was very much the same. Formerly the children were bought and ticketed as the offspring of Catholics, now they are stolen and disguised & once, but no one will pretend to say that there is a balance of morality on one side or the other. The Reports of which the tables are abstracts, vary considerably in character; some schools are favourably dealt with, and others very hardly treated. The description of one of the latter class, the Castledermot school, is worth preserving:—"There were forty boys in the school," says the inspector, "when I visited it; of those about two-thirds were healthy looking children, and the rest were delicate and puny; of which number, one had a broken back, another a scrofulous scar under the chin, and a third a tumour over his right eye; some of the children had eruptive pimples which I thought was the itch, but the master said it was heat of blood from the stirabout."

In his report upon the Lintown factory upon the Pococke foundation, the inspector says—"The catechist visitor further informed me that as far as he could learn, the lads who were of Roman Catholic parents by both sides, when they had served their apprenticeship relapsed to the Romish persuasion"—and farther on he details a characteristic circumstance which will be found to run through some of the reports of the present Commission, with reference to the state of secular education in Scriptural schools. "An application," he says, "was lately made to the Society to allow the head class, who had read all the present school books, to read the Roman and Grecian histories, but it was refused by the Society, they not considering such books

fitted for charity schools, but they desired the master to select any of the *religious* books which should be sent. I saw their secretary's letter dated the 17th August, 1808, on this subject." App. p. 84. That the same idea with reference to secular education prevails to a large extent amongst the patrons of the "Scriptural schools," is manifest from the report of the present Commission. The clergy of the Established Church would seem to consider the communication of any degree of knowledge to a parish school boy, over and above what is necessary for stumbling through a verse of Scripture, a most inconvenient, not to say a revolutionary and radical proceeding. There should be a sliding scale of knowledge in every well regulated parish. The minister should naturally have, or get credit for having, the greater portion; the squire might possibly come next; the apothecary and attorney next, at a sufficient distance; the parish clerk next, and the parishioners at large last. Some curious instances of this fact, and particularly curious in relation to the passage we have just quoted, are to be found in this Report, and in the reports of her Majesty's inspectors of schools in England, where the clergy of the Established Church have their own way in the national schools belonging to their own denomination. We first quote a passage from the general report of Mr. Abraham, one of the assistant Commissioners.

The school-books are of an inferior description, being, in fact, the old stock of the Kildare-place Society, every way out of date, and behind the time. The only geography in the hands of pupils is a compendium of about twenty pages; and their spelling-books give them no assistance whatever in learning the derivation of words. Indeed, I have not visited a single Church Education Society School in which the pupils had been taught any thing with respect to the roots of words, or the nature and power of prefixes and affixes, with which the pupils of the National Schools are so familiar.

I have found the local clergy to attach far less importance to the secular instruction given in their schools than it would seem to claim, viewed even as nothing more than a medium of religious teaching. I have generally observed that in entering their visits in the Report Book they make no allusion to the result or nature of the examination they hold, beyond mentioning occasionally that they heard the pupils reading a chapter in the Bible or New Testament. In many schools the Bible was the only reading book. The following circumstance will serve to illustrate the views of the clerical superintendents of the parish schools. The master of a school in

the county of Monaghan, in filling up the printed form of return sent to him by the Commission, wrote what follows under the head of "General Remarks:" "The Holy Scriptures is (*sic*) compared to a lamp, and a school-master to give light and teach; and as the (*sic*) make the simple wise unto salvation, the (*sic*) are taught here daily, although the majority are Roman Catholics. From the above I am taught by the Saviour, if I love him, to feed his lambs, together with arithmetic, book-keeping, and mensuration." I drew the attention of Archdeacon Russell, of Clontibret, the rector of the place, to this production, when he admitted that the author was quite illiterate, but, at the same time, an invaluable teacher, and one whose loss could not easily be supplied. I had occasion also to notice before another clergyman, the rector of Monaghan, the ignorance of the meaning of the simplest words, exhibited in a school in his neighbourhood; but he asked me to bear in mind that it was a *Scriptural* school—as if the use of the Scriptures, and a knowledge of the meaning of words, were incompatible.

As to the special reports of the Assistant Commissioners, upon industrial schools, we might refer to them ~~again~~ for illustrations of contempt of secular learning in the Scriptural Establishments; but before closing the paper we shall perhaps offer a "spicilegium" of short extracts bearing upon this point. To shew, however, that it is not confined to Ireland, where the voluntary poverty of the Established Church schools will not enable the rectors to procure the services of decent masters, but that it extends equally to England, where the Established clergy enjoy the advantages of the National system; the following specimen of writing from dictation, in answer to a question from the Church catechism, may well take its place beside the specimens in the reports of Mr. Abraham, and the other Assistant Commissioners. It is taken from the general report for the year 1855 by her Majesty's inspector of schools, the Rev. W. H. Brookfield, M.A., on the schools inspected in Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and the Channel Islands.

"My complaint," says the inspector, "is not that the Church Catechism is taught, but that it is not taught; not that time and toil and patience and impatience are spent upon it, but that they are spent so much in vain,—that sound, or an approximation to the sound, is all that is in too many instances attained,—that two children of average intelligence (for they were such), of about eleven years each, who did their arithmetic and reading tolerably well, who wrote something pretty legible, intelligible, and sensible, about an omnibus and about a steam-boat, should, after the irksome, the weary, the reiterated drilling of four or five years, half an hour a day, day school

and Sunday school, write such an answer as the following to the question—"What is thy duty towards thy neighbour?"—"My dooty tords my Nabers to love him as thyself and to do to all men as I wed thou shall do and to me to love onner and suke my farther and Mother to onner and to bay the queen and all that are pet in a forty under her to smit myself to all my goodness teaches sportial pastures and mastures to oughten mysilf lordly and Every to all my betters to hut no body by would nor deed to be trew in jest in all my deelins to bear no malis nor ated in your arts to kep my ands from pecken and steel my turn from Evil speak and lawing and slanders not to civet nor desar othermans good but to lern labor trewly to git my own leaving." Here is another sample, taken, it is stated, from the slate of an intelligent boy at a good school:—"They (my godfathers and godmothers) did promise and voal three things in my name first that I should pernounce of the devel and all his walks, pumps, and valities of this wicked world, and all the sinful larsts of the flesh," &c.

Notwithstanding the narrowness of our intellects and the enslavement of our souls, we are not quite prepared for this sort of thing as yet, and are perhaps even less able to appreciate its advantages now than we were in the time of the Charter Schools. There is no part of the Charter School system, not even excepting the broken backs, sore eyes, and scrofulous humours, that some of those who now seek to alter the National system of education would not gladly see revived; nay, the very affectation of a desire in those parties to liberalize their policy and soften down objections, should be jealously watched, as the alterations are all made with a view to the original end, and not by any means from a wavering or change of purpose. The Committee of the Incorporated Society itself—whose express business was the promotion of Protestant schools in Ireland—were not anxious to continue any part of their system that was shewn to be superfluously odious. They were quite satisfied to suppress an objectionable book, or a book with an inconvenient name, although that name was borrowed from their own peculiar function, from their very reason of existence. Thus in the report which we have already quoted, the Commissioners of Education state their belief that "the impressions of Popish parents adverse to the society, will assuredly abate in proportion to the confidence that must result from general good management. From the *liberal* principles by which admission is now regulated, and from the Society having removed a *well founded objection to the course of religious education by the discontinuance of the forms called*

the Protestant Catechism." Those liberal principles, this removal of well founded objections, and this denial of the name of Protestant, were not founded on any diminution of zeal or abatement of desire to corrupt and protestantize the children of Catholic parents, but from the very opposite reason, and it is therefore that unless those who seek to alter the present National system do give distinct pledges and securities that they have abandoned the end which they sought by their resistance to it, any reformation of the system, in their interest at least, must be opposed and defeated. We shall have occasion later to return to this branch of the subject.

Although the charter schools were gradually suppressed and their endowments in land re-conveyed to the various proprietors, still large endowments had been given by individuals to the society, without reference to the Charter Schools, and several important endowments yet exist upon those foundations. The estates vesting in the society are very considerable, and its schools are for the most part well administered. The education given in these schools is purely Protestant, and their general merit is such that they are quoted by the late Solicitor-General for Ireland, one of the dissenting Commissioners, as illustrating the superiority of separate over mixed education. They make no pretence of proselytism at present, and it is believed have far less of the substance of it than the common parish schools. Returning, however, to the general history of school endowments, we find that in 1791 a report was made by a Commission nominated in 1788, under an act of the Irish Parliament, 28 Geo. III., c. 15, enabling the Lord Lieutenant to appoint Commissioners for inquiring into various classes of schools. The act itself was passed in conformity with resolutions of the Irish House of Commons, recommending a scheme of educational reform, so comprehensive as to include the establishment of a second University, and of provincial grammar schools, such as the Diocesan and Royal Schools might be if properly administered. The final report of this Commission made, as has been stated, in 1791, represents "that the charter, parish, royal, and diocesan schools had not answered the intentions of the founders; that the parish and diocesan schools, with very few exceptions, had been of little use to the public, and that the bene-

fit derived from schools of royal foundation had been totally inadequate to the expectations that might have been justly formed from their large endowments; that in many of the charter schools the clothing food, health, and education of the children had been shamefully neglected; and that that great national charity had not yet produced those salutary effects which the public expected from the institution." They gave it, too, as their decided opinion "that when the peculiar constitution of a school or the intentions of founders did not interfere, no distinction should be made between the professors of various religions, and they further recommended that Roman Catholics should be admitted to the parish schools, and that the clergy of all persuasions should have access to those schools to instruct the children belonging to their respective communions in the principles of religion." They also recommended the establishment of classical schools, and they further proposed the establishment of a species of polytechnic institution, to be called the professional academy, for the purpose of giving professional training to those intended for the army, navy, or commerce.

We have dwelt thus long upon the report of 1791, because its recommendations are not generally known, and because it embodies the principle of the present national system of education, although in a very rudimentary form.

The remaining history of educational endowments is traced by the late Commissioners through four periods. The first of these extending from 1791 to 1807, includes the removal of Catholic disabilities in respect of education; the appointment of the old board of charities; the establishment of the Hibernian Society for founding schools and circulating the Scriptures in Ireland; the incorporation of the Society for Discountenancing Vice, and the establishment of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, commonly known as the Kildare-place Society, and which may be considered as the immediate predecessor of the National Board. The next period from 1813 to 1827, embraces the establishment of the Clare-street Board, the first considerable suppression of the Charter Schools, and the commencement of Parliamentary grant in aid of the erection of school houses, which was placed at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant, and continued to be so

applied by the holder of that office for a series of years. An advance from this fund was rarely made until a proportionate sum had been raised by private subscription and a small endowment in land, or a site for the building at all events secured in perpetuity, or for a considerable term to educational purposes. This was in point of fact, nothing more than an additional endowment of the Established Church ; in as much as a very large proportion of the parish schools have been built out of this fund, and out of the private funds and endowments in land, attracted by the Parliamentary grants ; and in as much as ninety per cent of the school houses so built are vested in the minister of the parish, either alone, or in conjunction with the landlord or the church wardens. The third period, extends from the report of the select committee of the House of Commons in 1828, which resulted in the establishment of the National system, to the report of the Committee of the House of Commons presided over by Mr. Wyse—(1835-8 ;) and which recommended amongst other things the adaptation of the present royal and diocesan schools to a system of county academies or grammar schools, and also the establishment of provincial colleges, and of a second university for Ireland. This last recommendation, as we all know, has had its effect in the establishment of the Queen's University. To the fourth period belongs the interval between the Report of Mr. Wyse's Commission and the present time. The want of schools intermediate between the Queen's University and the National Schools, having been urged upon the late Lord Lieutenant by persons connected with the Presbyterian Church, an address to her Majesty was voted in the House of Commons for "an inquiry into the endowment funds, and actual condition of all schools endowed for the purposes of education in Ireland, and the nature and extent of the instruction given in schools ;" and the address was followed by the appointment of the late Commission.

The Report, after this general history of educational endowments, takes up the history of special classes of endowments, beginning with the diocesan schools, and giving a short account of such of those establishments as are in existence. In their general remarks the Commissioners notice the inconvenience and mismanagement of the machinery which the State has provided for the support of those schools, in the shape of an assessment upon the beneficed clergy, and of pre-

sentments by the Grand Juries of the various counties for building or repairs. It also notices the complete neglect of these schools by the Clare-street Board, observing that "since 1833 it does not appear that they (the Board) have taken any step to check the increasing decay and inefficiency of those schools." The Commissioners state it to be their opinion that those schools are essentially non-exclusive in character, and recommend that they should be placed under the government of a proposed Board of Commissioners of Endowed Schools. They also recommend arrangements for the admission of free pupils which are in themselves liberal and conceived in a right spirit, and suggest several reforms of detail with which it is not our purpose to concern ourselves at present, as it is with principles we mean to deal. The report proceeds similarly with the Royal Schools, the next important class, and arrives at the conclusion that they also are completely non-exclusive in character, and consequently fall under the jurisdiction of the proposed Board. We think it unnecessary to refer to the particulars of the re-distribution of income, and to the various reforms administrative, or otherwise, suggested by the Commissioners; but it may be right to say that the Commissioners recommend an increase in the number of exhibitions to be granted out of the funds of the Royal Schools, and suggest that they should be given in connexion with the Queen's colleges as well as with Trinity College, Dublin. The Royal Schools are evidently treated as of a better class than the Diocesan Schools, and their teaching is more directly subordinated to University education, but in other respects they are dealt with exactly as the Diocesan Schools. With reference to the schools upon the foundation of Erasmus Smith, their character is exclusively Protestant, according to the intentions of the founder, and the terms of the charter. The history of that class of schools is likewise given at considerable length, and it would appear from the Reports of the Assistant Commissioners that they are generally in an unsatisfactory condition, and that those for whose benefit they were intended derive very slight benefit indeed from them. The proceedings of the Board of Governors appear also to be of a most slovenly and perfunctory character, more so perhaps than even those of the Clare-street Board,* and attended with the same evil consequences. We cannot say that we take any interest one way or the other in the

* Reports of Assistant Commissioners, Appendix, p. 5.

measures recommended by the Commissioners for the amelioration of this division of schools. To the nation generally they are equally odious in their founder, their objects, and themselves. Although of private foundation and, therefore, necessarily governed by the will of the founder, they cannot be regarded as ordinary Protestant schools, established out of Protestant funds, for the education of Protestants. They were endowed out of lands then recently acquired, through confiscation, and the founder was a truculent bigot, whose spirit fortunately interfered to mar his own work. The Incorporated Society schools next come under review, and as they, being exclusively Protestant, are withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the proposed Board, the recommendations of the Commissioners in their regard can have no direct bearing upon the question of mixed education, which seems, by the consent of the Commissioners as well as of the public, to be the real question, for the adjustment of which, the facts, if not the recommendations of the Report, must be made available. It seems to have been so understood by the three Commissioners who signed the report, as well as by the two who dissented from their brethren and from each other. Mr. Ferguson also, who acted for some time as one of the Assistant Commissioners, and whose name appears on the title page of a pamphlet in our head list, seems to take a similar view, and Mr. Abraham, one of his colleagues, reports, as we shall afterwards have occasion to observe, that it does not appear possible to remove the objections of Catholics to the system of mixed education, which it is proposed to administer in the Royal and Diocesan Schools.

The Report next proceeds to deal with the schools under the Association for Discountenancing Vice, an association which only exists *pro forma*, and exercises no visitorial or administrative authority. The Report recommends the transfer of such of its schools as may happen to be non-exclusive to the proposed Board of endowed schools. The Report next deals with a subject of extreme importance, namely, the relations existing between the Board of Charities and educational endowments. We have nothing to do with the shortcomings of the former Board of Charities, although its history is given in the Report. The constitution of the present board is sufficiently well known. The Commis-

sioners of charitable donations are thirteen in number, three being ex-officio, namely the Master of the Rolls, the Chief Baron, and the Judge of the Prerogative Court, and ten nominated by the crown, of whom five are Catholics. The Protestant and Catholic members respectively are standing Committees for the consideration of matters of discipline and usage affecting their respective Churches, and the Commission is served by two secretaries, of whom one is necessarily a Catholic. The Board is a corporation, to which endowments may be devised, in trust, for charitable purposes, but the Catholic body is altogether unwilling to vest its charities in a government board, and prefers resorting to what is considered the less objectionable though cumbrous and costly machinery of trustees. There is, however, one function of the board, the exercise of which, so far from being objectionable to Catholics, they would be gratified to see favoured and strengthened. The board is empowered to sue for charitable donations withheld, concealed, or misapplied; and this provision applies not merely to charities vesting in itself, but to charities in whomsoever vesting. Their jurisdiction, however, appears very defective in this respect, and the Endowed Schools' Commissioners illustrate its defectiveness by reference to the case of the Elphin Catholic diocesan seminary, for which the late commission succeeded in recovering a sum of £350. The defect of jurisdiction in the present Board lies in the fact that in order to make their jurisdiction attach, complaint must have been made that the charity has been withheld, concealed, or misapplied. They have no original jurisdiction to see from the outset that a charity be not withheld, concealed, or misapplied, and even where it has been so dealt with they have no authority to set on foot an inquiry until complaint shall have been made. The Commissioners' refer in the following terms to the Elphin case.

The facts relating to this endowment, as reported to us by our Assistant Commissioner, are fully stated in the Tables of Schools and Endowments. We think it right to direct attention particularly to them, as furnishing a remarkable example of the evil effects which result from limiting the duty of superintending and controlling the administration of educational charities to cases where the intended endowment has been "withheld, concealed or misapplied." Such a restriction operates, we think, injuriously in two ways. In the first place, the action of the public authority is gener-

ally delayed to a period far beyond that when its intervention has become desirable, and not unfrequently, until the benefit intended to the public has been seriously compromised, or even lost. In the next place it is possible that even this tardy protection may never be extended to the endowment, since it may be for the advantage of all best acquainted with the estate to be administered to disregard the interests of the charity. The present case illustrates both these defects in the law as it now stands; for a lapse of thirteen years occurred, after the death of the testator, before any portion of the educational bequest was secured. Moreover, the steps by which this was affected were taken by the Board of Charitable Bequests, only on our suggestion made in consequence of the circumstance being brought under our notice by the Report of our Assistant Commissioner, who states that he has not been able to learn that either of the trustees named in the will "ever acted in the trust, or interfered in any way, for the protection of the charity."

Mr. Abraham, from whose report they quote, has put the matter very broadly, and there can be no doubt that this is not a solitary case, but that in very numerous instances charities have been totally lost by this want of jurisdiction in the Bequest Board.

"The case," observes Mr. Abraham, "appears to me to be a strong illustration of the defective working of the Bequest Board, whose jurisdiction requires to be attracted by the abuse, and too often by the loss of the charity. Were that, or any similar Board, enabled to take cognizance of charities from the moment their interest should vest, mal-administration of the kind I have had occasion to refer to would become impossible, and it would be an acceptable relief to executors of good faith to have their responsibility sheltered by the intervention of such a Board, under whose protection, even should the charity fail to establish its claim, the failure at least would be placed beyond suspicion."

In page 185 of the report, the Commissioners refer to another case illustrative of the same defect of jurisdiction—the case of the Illerton School in the County of Galway. As the passage is not long, and the illustration it supplies seems very forcible, we give it in full.

"The history of this endowment, which, after the lapse of nearly half a century, is not yet in operation, presents a remarkable example of the injury which results to educational charities from the want of an efficient system of public supervision. If such a control existed, and were accompanied with adequate powers of inquiry and control, legal proceedings would be more effectual, and, in all probability, the necessity for it would less frequently occur. This endowment, created by the will of Mr. Persse, in 1812, consisted of a legacy of £50, and a rent-charge of £25 (Irish). The lapse of twenty-seven

years which occurred between the testator's death and the institution of legal proceedings by the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests, in 1839, caused the loss of the legacy and of considerable arrears of the rent-charge, extending over the long period from 1812 to 1830. The particulars of this case are stated in the extract from the report of our Assistant Commissioner, which will be found in the Tables of Schools and Endowments. We concur with him in regarding it as a striking instance of the insufficiency of the powers given to the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests under the 12th sec. of the 7 and 8 Vic., c. 97, whereby the funds of a charity must have been withheld, concealed, or misapplied, before they can be brought within the jurisdiction of the Commissioners. This limitation is productive of evil in two ways; first, because such a postponement of interference on the part of the public authority tends to render it nugatory; and, secondly, inasmuch as one of the best modes of protecting public charities consists in stimulating private interest to efforts in their behalf; and this can only be accomplished by insuring a prompt and efficient attention to the representations of persons locally acquainted with the circumstances of each case."

This case, however, like many other cases in the report, would seem to illustrate something more than a want of jurisdiction in the Board of Charities; for upon reference to the report of the Assistant Commissioner upon which the above has been founded, it appears that four entire years were wasted in negotiations between the Commissioners and the opponents of the endowment. Nay, there is one case in which an endowment created by a will dating so far back as 1776, was not brought under the notice of the Commissioners of Charities before the year 1848, and even then the Commissioners thought proper to accept a compromise from the owner of the property, out of which the endowment issued, in virtue of which a perpetual rent charge was given up for an allowance during the life time of the then proprietor. We copy the entire case, as it exemplifies nearly all the prevailing defects in the constitution, and to some extent in the practice of the Board of Charities.

Monaghan Edenbrone School.—This school was endowed by Edward Lucas, the elder, of Castleshane, in the county of Monaghan, October 17, 1756, the date of the will of said Edward Lucas. Probate was granted to Francis Savage and Edward Lucas, Esqrs., April, 26, 1757. After various other bequests, the testator bequeaths to his executor the sum of £30, Irish, to be applied in building a schoolhouse on the lands of Edenbrone, near Castleshane, for the use of the poor children of parents residing, or who have resided in or near Castleshane. He further bequeaths to Francis Savage the

fee-simple of the site of the intended schoolhouse, and charges the lands of Fategar and Carrivekeel, near Monaghan, with a rent of £20, Irish, payable to his executors half-yearly, in trust for the use of said school and schoolhouse, and of the teacher or teachers to be employed in same. He next appoints the minister of the parish of Monaghan or Buckwallis, for the time being, and the proprietor of the Castleshane estate, patrons and managers of the school. A power of distress is given to Francis Savage and his heirs, and the rent is made chargeable from the date of the building of the schoolhouse and appointment of the master by the managers, at whose discretion the apportionment of the rent charge is declared to remain. The lands of Fategar and Carrivekeel aforesaid, subject to the rentcharge and to such other charges as the testator shall make, pursuant to a power reserved in the will, are devised to Francis Savage in trust for the use of the proprietor of the Castleshane estate for the time being.

The executors neglected to build the schoolhouse, and consequently the condition upon which the rentcharge was made to vest never came into existence. The matter was brought before the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests in the year 1848, and a correspondence was entered into with the Right Hon. Edward Lucas, proprietor of the Castleshane estate, in the course of which Mr. Lucas stated that, although prepared to dispute at law the claims of the charity, he was willing during his own lifetime, to contribute £20 per annum to the salary of the National schoolmaster of the district, provided the National Board would agree to contribute a like sum. This arrangement was acceded to, and it would appear with some degree of alacrity, by the Commissioners, and the present school has been in operation since 1848.

I have no means of learning upon what grounds or under what advice the Commissioners accepted the compromise proposed by Mr. Lucas, and by which the perpetuity secured to the charity by the will of his ancestor, has been reduced to a life interest at best. The only reason put forward by the Commissioners would hardly appear to sustain the decision at which they arrived. "The Board," they write, in a letter addressed to Mr. Lucas, and which closes the correspondence, "considering the liberal proposal made by you, do not feel called on to press a claim, now, for the first time, as far as they can learn, brought against your property under a will of so old a date as 1737." Without pretending to measure the discretion of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests as guardians of the interests of a charity, I believe I am warranted in saying that nothing short of a strong opinion from the legal advisers of the Board against the claims of a charity, or the practicability of their enforcement, could justify a compromise of this description. It is extremely probable that the Commissioners have used a sound discretion, and acted under competent advice; but as this is a case involving nice questions of law, it is to be regretted that there is no record of the opinion which guided the Commissioners.

We confess we are not quite disposed to agree with Mr.

Abraham, whose report we have quoted, as to the existence of any extreme probability or vehement presumption that the Commissioners of Charities had used a sound discretion and acted under competent advice in this matter. We are bound to assume that the case had never been submitted to the Attorney General, as the Commissioners of Endowed Schools were unable to discover any trace of his opinion ; or rather it appears highly probable that no such opinion does in fact exist, as in case it ever had been given, the solicitors of the Commission would have an entry of it in the cost-book. But if that be so, is it not natural to suppose, without any disparagement of the distinguished persons who compose the Board of Charities, that over-worked judges, eminent practising barristers, and men in high office, have neither the physical power nor temper of mind requisite for deciding upon a difficult point of law, without the assistance of the Attorney General. It would seem to be no improper function for a properly qualified barrister to sit as paid commissioner for the purpose of giving his undivided attention to questions of law, and of suggesting or discountenancing compromises such as we have just noticed. On the other hand we are sensible that the Commissioners have a very delicate duty to perform in relation to small charities especially, when they have to decide upon legal proceedings. The entire expense must be borne by the charity, even where successful, if the opposing interest have not wherewithal to meet the costs. Great judgment, caution and tact are plainly necessary on the part of the board in the early stages of its proceedings with a hostile or reluctant party,—but such prompt acceptance of a compromise like that suggested by Mr. Lucas in the foregoing case, is something that we cannot understand, in the absence of all proof that there was anything to justify it.

With respect, however, to the recommendation of the Commissioners that the duty of “superintending and controlling” the administration of educational charities should not be limited to cases where the endowment has been withheld, concealed, or misapplied ; it must be observed that the terms “controlling” and “superintending,” are not those which we should prefer to use in defining the jurisdiction of the present or any future board of charities.

It is not doubtful that any attempt to extend the powers of the Commissioners of Charities so as to give them a perpetual right of interference in the administration of any fund, once the fund should be what the lawyers call "at home," would be effectually resisted. The people of this country, Protestant as well as Catholic, are averse, and properly averse, to any thing like an administrative action of government boards in what must be considered purely private charities. The powers of the Board of Charities might safely and advantageously be extended so as to enable the Commissioners to originate inquiry and every other proceeding for the discovery of a charity, but they should be rigorously kept within those limits. If the Commissioners be enabled to discover a charity, to take proceedings for its recovery, and to lodge it in the right place, they will have done a very handsome amount of work. The remainder may safely be left to the regular tribunals of the country. To have a perpetual Board of superintendence and control intermeddling in the management of any charity, educational or otherwise, after that charity should even have reached the proper hands, is what the country never will permit.

The great importance of this question and its bearing upon the main subject, have taken us somewhat out of our direct road, and we shall close this branch of the subject with the recommendations of the Commissioners, regarding the extension of new powers to the Board of Charities, and determining its relation towards the proposed Board of Endowed Schools.

"The Court of Probate in Ireland should be required, in all cases of wills containing bequests for educational purposes, to make returns to the Registrar of School Endowments, showing the value of the testator's property, as estimated, with a view to the imposition of probate duty, together with the names of the representatives who have proved the will. The succession and legacy duty office should make similar returns, in any case where the representatives apply either to have a deduction of probate duty made, or to pay an increased amount. The same officer should return the exact sum or estimated value of all gifts made for educational purposes, whether by deed or will, consisting of real or of personal property, which it became necessary to ascertain, with a view to the collection of the legacy or succession duties.

The Court of Probate and the Succession and Legacy Duty Office in England ought to make like returns, in respect of any wills proved, or deeds executed in that country, which should contain gifts for educational purposes to be applied in Ireland.

There is no provision in the Bequest Act giving the public a right of access to the extracts in the Bequest Office, even on the payment of fees.

For searches by the public at the office for Registry of Wills fees must be paid, and where full copies of wills are required these fees are very considerable. The persons searching are not allowed to take copies, nor will extracts be given to them. The officers of the Board are allowed to make searches without paying fees, and to obtain copies at half the usual charges.

We are of opinion, that the Registration of Charitable Bequests for schools should be consolidated with the registration of deeds and other documents containing evidence specially relating to educational endowments, under an officer charged with this special duty.

That the Registrar of School Endowments should compare every extract with the probate of the will, in order that the registered extract may be a complete document on which all persons may safely act.

That all searches in the office of the Registrar of School Endowments should be free of expense, the public being permitted without payment to take extracts or copies of the documents there lodged.

In defining the powers of the proposed Board of Commissioners of Endowed Schools, care should be taken to guard against any divided responsibility between them and the Bequest Board.

That for this purpose it should be declared to be the primary duty of the Bequest Board to institute proceedings incidental to the recovery and realization of trust funds, in all cases where proceedings can affect other charities not under the care of the proposed Board of Commissioners of Endowed Schools.

That it should be the primary duty of the Commissioners of Endowed Schools to proceed where the entire funds to be recovered would come under their care.

That either Board might take proceedings on the neglect by, or with the consent of the other Board, to recover funds falling under the jurisdiction of both.

That the Bequest Board should not retain any funds belonging to, or any control over, schools under the jurisdiction of the proposed Board of Commissioners of Endowed schools, but should transfer the funds, as soon as realized, to the latter Board."

The Report then proceeds to deal with the Grammar Schools under the Board of Education, which include several private establishments in addition to the Royal and diocesan schools already treated of under their heads. It next takes up the English schools under the same Board, to both of which we shall revert farther on, and both of which have been almost equally neglected and mismanaged. The schools in connexion with the old Kildare-place society and those which had received various grants from the Lord Lieutenant's school fund, are next reviewed. The statements of the

Commissioners with reference to the schools of the Christian Brothers are of so remarkable a character that we deem it right to give them in full.

“ In the Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, in 1825, the establishment of the association of ‘ The Brothers of the Christian Schools in Ireland ’ is noticed. The superior of the institute at that time was Mr. Edmond Rice, of Waterford, who, in the year 1802, had submitted the plan of the proposed association to Pope Pius VII., by whom he was encouraged to proceed with it ; and by whom it was eventually approved of and confirmed in 1820.

The knowledge communicated in these schools embraces not only reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, and book-keeping, but also an acquaintance with such branches of mathematical science as are suited to the tastes and talents of the pupils, and to the stations in life they are destined to occupy. Geometry, mensuration, drawing, and mechanics become special objects of attention. As to the manner of communicating knowledge, the most approved methods have been carefully reduced to practice. But it is to the communication of religious knowledge that this institution is chiefly devoted. To this object the members direct their main energies. The teachers are all under a religious obligation ; they are in the first instance carefully selected and trained, and they are placed under a strict system of organization and discipline.

Since that time the Christian Brothers’ schools have considerably extended, and there are, as we are assured, at present 15,000 pupils in their schools in Ireland, and 3,500 in England. Some of the largest of their schools of which those at Cork are liberally endowed, and have been visited by us, and inquired into at our public courts.

The Christian Brothers’ school at Cork, was endowed in 1835, but had been in operation for several years previously, and is noticed in the Second Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, 1826. It is there stated that the schoolhouse had been built by subscription, at a cost of £1,500, and was supported by subscriptions and charity sermons. It is now endowed under the will of John Barry, Esq., who left about £9,000 for schools in Cork. The money has since been invested in land, of which the gross rental, in 1853, amounted to £369, and the net rental to £243 5s. 2d.

Our Assistant Commissioner reports very favourably of the school. In addition to the school first established at Peacock-lane, the Christian Brothers have two other schools in Cork. Besides the endowment before noticed under the will of Mr. Barry, several small bequests have been made for clothing and apprenticing and otherwise benefiting poor children in these schools. All the teachers are Christian Brothers, and they receive no remuneration for their labours, but are supported out of the general funds of the order, the rules prohibiting any member from possessing private property. About one-half of the pupils pay $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a week ; but, with this exception, all are free. There were present, at the time of inspection, 918, all of whom were Roman Catholics ; the attendance was then less than the average, as it was only the first week after vacation.

There was no roll, so that the attendance at other times could not be ascertained. The children answered admirably in the course of instruction, which included mensuration and geometry, besides the ordinary branches of English education.

The instruction given in drawing in the Christian Brothers school was the best that we found in any schools that we visited.

The Christian Brothers have established six schools in Limerick, which are now very numerous attended. It was stated in evidence before us that in one of these institutions many of the middle classes of the city of Limerick received their education, until a short time previously, when a classical school was opened as a private speculation, and proved very successful.

Our Assistant Commissioner inspected these schools. Some of them appeared to be endowed with sites only, and in other respects supported by funds of the Christian Brothers, not appropriated to any one of the schools in particular. There were present in the school at the time of inspection 1,458 pupils, all of whom but one were Roman Catholics. Most of the pupils paid 1*d.* or $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* a-week for stationery and other school requisites, and as a fund for premiums; but these small payments being optional all the pupils are practically free. Some of the schools are reserved for the reception of very young children, and as these advance they are removed to the other schools. The state of education is noticed as excellent. Several of the pupils could draw very well; their writing was generally unexceptionable; and the answering in Euclid, mechanics, arithmetic, and all the ordinary departments of English education, including dictation, was of a very superior order.

In May, 1855, the Christian Brothers opened a school in Tralee. The principal stated in evidence before us that the school had been originally under the National Board, but was then no longer in connexion with it. The attendance, he stated, had been about 150 when he commenced keeping school, but had since risen to more than 400, the increase being partly composed of the sons of the neighbouring shopkeepers. The course of education comprises 'reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, use of the globes, mensuration, shorthand, book-keeping, all that is included in an English and commercial education.'

Our Assistant Commissioner visited the school, which was represented to us as been an endowed one, but he learned that the alleged endowment had not as yet come into operation; and that in any case it did not appear that it was intended for the Christian Brothers School. The endowment consists of about nine acres, which were granted in 1855 by a Mr. Mulchinch to trustees for the building of a school for sons of poor and industrious Roman Catholics resident in the parish of Tralee; the rents to be applied, until the building should be commenced, towards the clothing of girls receiving instruction in the Tralee Presentation Convent. The trustees cannot obtain possession of the lands for building purposes so long as a lease to which they are subject subsists.

The entire amount of endowments belonging to the Christian Brothers' schools is very moderate. Several of them were inspected by our Assistant Commissioners, and are returned in the Tables of Schools and Endowments. In their general reports, some of our Assistant Commissioners notice the state of instruction in these schools.

Thus, Mr. Crawford says :—"The most efficient schools, in my opinion, are those managed by the community of Christian Brothers, and I attribute this efficiency to the excellence of their system, the training of the teachers, and their zeal in the cause of education."

Mr. Pennefather says :—"In the school under the management of the community of the Christian Brothers, which I was directed to visit, I found the teaching efficient, and the masters zealously devoted to their work."

Dr. M'Blain says :—"I was much impressed with the general aspect presented by these schools, and particularly with their discipline and order, combined with the cheerfulness and docility of the pupils. The boys educated in the Christian Brothers' Schools have in general attained an unusual degree of proficiency in the different branches of learning in which they are instructed."

"The superiority of these schools is doubtless, in a great measure, to be ascribed to the extraordinary personal influence exerted by the teachers over the pupils—an influence based on the distinction, that these teachers have devoted their lives to the cause of education, for no private or personal gain or reward, but solely in the discharge of a sacred and self-imposed duty."

"In addition to this cause, the Christian Brothers who teach in the schools appear to have been remarkably well trained for the business of instruction ; not merely that they are themselves good scholars but that they have acquired a great aptitude in the art of teaching, and no ordinary skill in devising the most efficient method for the organization and discipline of their school."

With respect to the schools under the care of the Christian Brothers we received no complaints. Our Assistant Commissioners have expressed most favourable opinions as to these schools, in which we entirely concur.

We have reason to believe that the managers of these schools object to any inspection or other control over them, exercised by an extraneous authority.

Under these circumstances we are of opinion, that it would not be desirable to interfere contrary to the wishes of those most interested in them.

We think that the endowments should be registered by the Registrar of School Endowments, so as to afford to them the protection which an efficient registration would secure."

The schools in connexion with the National Board, and those in connexion with the Church Education Society, are severally reported upon ; but, as we shall have occasion to deal with this branch of the inquiry in particular, we reserve

our analysis of this portion of the Report. Various Classical Schools of private foundation, comprising Catholic Diocesan Seminaries, have also their place in the Report; the schools of the Society of Friends, and numerous schools besides, which, though falling under one or other of the classes already mentioned, seemed to require particular notice; are individually reported upon by the Commissioners. The remainder of the Report includes observations upon the "Tables of Schools and Endowments," contained in the third volume of the appendix; remarks upon the course of instruction and discipline in endowed schools; and lastly the recommendations of the Commissioners for the promotion of intermediate education, the protection of educational endowments, and the general furtherance of the objects for which the commission was nominated. Upon an analysis of the "Tables of Schools and Endowments" it does not appear as a result of the inquiries of the Commission that there are very many floating or unattached endowments which can be dealt with at the discretion of the State. The Royal and Diocesan Schools are, perhaps, the only endowments so circumstanced. The total number of schools in actual operation, say the Commissioners, is 2,828, with permanent endowments amounting in the aggregate to £76,465 1s. 1d. The endowments not in operation amount in annual value to £7,170 11s. 11d. The contingent endowments which may or may not come into operation amount to £1,883 7s. 6d., and the annual income which has been lost to educational purposes, whether fairly or unfairly, has been fixed at £2,574 18s. 7d. The tables also contain what are called "alleged endowments," by which we are to understand endowments which cannot be satisfactorily brought to proof. Under the head of "Course of instruction and discipline in Endowed Schools" the Commissioners enter at considerable length into the requirements of education generally, and more especially of primary and intermediate education. Their views as to the necessity of adequate instruction in modern languages, and first of all in English literature, are such as recommend themselves to any man of even moderate experience. Their observations also regarding the standard of instruction which it may be desirable to maintain in primary and intermediate schools, upon various branches of knowledge, such as history, geography, mathematics,

drawing, mensuration, and so forth, are also well considered and practical ; but we are very far from adopting all their opinions upon the subject of classical education, although quite concurring in most of them. The Commissioners, indeed, appear to be sufficiently impressed with the dignity and office of classical studies, and we think with them that altogether too much attention is given at present to minute research, to unlimited speculation, and to burthensome, and therefore easily-forgotten learning of etacism and iotacism, and digammas, and accents, and particles.

Disputes of *me* or *te* or *aut* or *at*
To sound or sink in "*cano*" *O* or *A*,
And give up Cicero to *C* or *K*.

If this microscopic examination of the ancient languages be pursued so as to shut out the entire field of view that lies outside each little particle, the time so spent is certainly worse than useless, and if we leave school with unenlarged ideas and unimproved taste, without any perception of the beauties of the ancients, or any knowledge of the canons of criticism, we shall have profited little by Bopp, Viger, Matthiæ, Donaldson, Clinton, and their entire tribe. Nay we may be able to account for every bead in the boss of the shield of Hercules, and for every spoke in the chariot wheel of Diomed, or to construct a system of heraldry for the seven allies against Thebes ; and yet have learned Homer or Æschylus to no account. But we think that some of the observations of the Commissioners are founded upon an altogether incorrect appreciation of the use of certain departments of classical teaching that exist in the superior schools by very old prescription. Thus they seem to treat with very unmeasured contempt the practice of writing in Greek and Latin verse, and describe the time so employed as time lost and nothing else. Were it intended by instruction of this kind, to qualify men for acquiring fame as Greek and Latin poets, it would of course be impossible to bestow time less profitably ; but it is well known that no such object is proposed in the composition at school of Greek and Latin verse. Nor is it a thing of which we are at liberty to speak in the abstract, or upon which we are entitled to generalize as completely as the Commissioners seem to have done. If you had to deal with the education of a lot of South Downs or Short Horns ; what would be good for

one might safely be applied to all ; but there does not exist anything like this happy uniformity in a class of boys, and it is not because the same studies affect individuals very differently that you must either abandon those studies altogether, or break up one class into five or six. The study of composition in Greek and Latin verse may actually develop poetical genius in one member of a class ; he may catch the very spirit and exact expression of the original ; another, not so fortunate, may nevertheless acquire an intimate acquaintance with the structure of the ancient metres ; a third, less fortunate, and unable to acquire even the mechanical faculty of making verses, will at least know why he cannot make them, and will rarely be caught in a false quantity. And if such be the application of this practice to individual cases, we think, on the whole, it will be found to give a high breeding, a spirit, and a finish to classical teaching wherever it is followed, that we should be sorry to miss. We confess, moreover, to a strong dislike for anything, that tends, however remotely to deteriorate the quality of any branch of instruction, but more especially of that branch without which it is impossible for us to have a literature at all. At all events this is a matter which must be left to the general taste and judgment. No state interference will be suffered to alter or regulate, or almost to suggest the course of studies in a country such as this. That may answer for the meridian of France. The minister of public instruction there issues his programme of the year's studies, like a general order to the semi-military lycées of the Empire. The standard of classical studies is not maintained at such a height in that country that we should be warranted in taking it as a model ; and notwithstanding the exemplary attention which is devoted to the study of the French language, and literature, in every school in France, no one can pretend to say that it is not a state of degeneracy which we at least have no difficulty in connecting with the shallowness and narrowness of classical studies throughout the Empire. Let us not, however, be misunderstood. It is not our wish to speak slightly or flippantly of France, or of French systems. We acknowledge great merit in many of them, and it cannot be doubted that the special schools of France for military, scientific, or theological studies, are in the highest degree efficient, and every

day produce the greatest results. In a little and in much we should gladly become like unto France excepting always those bonds.

But in truth we do not see that the middle classes ask, and still less that they are entitled to, a separate education for themselves as a class. Neither must drag down the education of the upper classes to any level they may fix. The only distinction of classes that can be recognised in education, is the natural distinction of calling or profession. But it would be something intolerable that a boy should be ticketed and told off for a third class or middle class school, because his father happens to be a shopkeeper or farmer. The dusty and foot-sore student that made his way from the Black Forest to Paris, or Padua, or Oxford, with his pack and his staff, chumming on the road, perhaps with a tinker or shoemaker on his probationary round, sat on the same benches with the son of a prince or a Palatine, and eventually perhaps lectured from the chair that had been filled by Thaulerus or Albertus Magnus. Nothing can be more uncatholic, nothing more insular or petty, than this spirit of classification. It is the besetting vice of English legislation, and reacts injuriously upon the English character. It is insisted, for instance, that all our soldiers must be rustics, and all our officers gentlemen. The non-commissioned officer again, must belong to a certain class, and just be qualified for pen work, and his wife must belong to a class and be qualified for washing; but to think of encouraging a system which would include gentlemen among the rank and file, or would have some regard to merit in promotion; to have any derangement, in fine, of the system according to which our army must be composed of boors, clerks, and gentlemen, in fixed and immutable proportion; that would be such perdition as nothing else could match. There are lectures for the working classes; sermons for the working classes; "special services" we think they are called, for the working classes; and we must confess we should be sorry to see special education for the working classes. People in this country like to talk down to other people and to patronise them, and the less our inclinations in this respect are gratified the better will it be for us all.

If, therefore, we are to have middle schools under a State board, let them be middle in relation to primary and superior education, but not with reference to this or that class

of the community. Your middle school must be such as to give the best classical, and best English, education, that its rank, namely the middle rank, in the educational system justifies. Classical studies must not be degraded or displaced for the convenience of one class, or English studies neglected for the prejudices of the other. Should taste and inclination so develop themselves in the son of a shop-keeper as to lead him towards literary or professional, instead of commercial, pursuits, the quality of his classical education should be the very best that could be provided by the State. On the other hand, to exalt classical studies at the expense of English and modern languages, is a substitution of the means for the end, and should not be tolerated for one moment. Look at our primary schools, those under the National Board, the Christian Brothers, or religious communities of women. Their system of education is not calculated according to the requirements of this or that class; the education given in these schools is, so far as it goes, quite good enough for the heir to the throne, and very much better than many gentlemen receive at present, although it is not pretended that it would be necessary to send the children of gentlemen to the National, or Christian Brothers' schools. We, therefore, have primary education almost as fully developed in our schools as it is possible it should be; why not give a similar opportunity to secondary education? Why cramp or stint it in any particular to meet the wants or tastes of one class when it may be made ample and pliant enough to suit itself to all? If commerce be in honour, if commercial tastes prevail, book-keeping is not a very abstruse or black-letter science; and we may rely upon it that a man will find his way to the counting-house from Eton or Harrow just as readily as from a commercial academy in Finsbury Square; and, on the other hand, did the heads of Eton and Harrow condescend to teach book-keeping or Tare-and-Tret, it certainly would be no disqualification in a Chancellor of the Exchequer to have studied there. Nay, it is not unlikely from a statement in the Report itself, that we have already in one institution, of an unpretending character, the very union of primary and intermediate, of classical and English, education, that will give to every boy, from what class soever, his chance of promotion in any branch of the public service or of literature. The "Hevey Institution," noticed by the Commissioners, is intended

to include two departments of education, English and classical; the English to be entrusted to the brothers of the Christian schools, and the Classical, to competent masters. We are much mistaken if the operation of this plan will not justify the highest expectations of its promoters, or if a classical institution built upon so solid a foundation as the English teaching of the Christian Brothers, will not be such as to qualify a student for any studies or any pursuits to which circumstances may lead him.

But while we deprecate state interference in the regulation of studies, we do not mean to say that the State, as representing the country, should not promote reform, when called upon to do so, nor do we insinuate that it was the wish of the Commission to recommend an interference of the kind, to which objection has been made. Undoubtedly if great educational bodies like the Universities the creatures of the State and the servants of the public, think that they exist by divine right, and if they will, exclude reform upon their private responsibility, and in contempt of public opinion and public necessity, the State is called upon to interfere. If a public Corporation, like the University, will not tender its accounts for audit; and if its governing body will try to smother inquiry by censure, and to purify its character by penalties, then, of course, it becomes necessary for the State to interfere at the call of the country. But according to our notions, and to our general course of action in this country, it is not for the State to reform the teaching, or the teachers, unless in very extreme cases. We must make the teaching body reform itself, and come into harmony with the wishes, and feelings, and interests of those for whom it administers a trust, and nothing more. If the country say to the State: We want to learn French or History, or to have good training for competitive examinations, or to overhaul the College accounts, but the University people meet us with reprimands and censures; we ask them for bread and they give us a stone, we ask them for fish and they give us a serpent; it then becomes the duty of the State to make the University or any similar body reform its own teaching and mend its ways, but by no means to usurp the functions of that body: for it will be sure to execute them more clumsily, and perhaps not more honestly.

But these speculations may be held over in presence of

the serious difference of opinion between the Commissioners upon the subject of mixed education, and the controversies to which it has given rise. The recommendations of the Commissioners, with reference to the appointment of a Registrar of school endowments, and to the various other expedients for the discovery and preservation of educational charities, are such as to recommend themselves to the experience of every one of us. Their other recommendations, as to improved systems of inspection, and similar matters, are more or less connected with the point upon which they subsequently differed, namely, the possibility of extending the system of mixed education, now prevailing, or supposed to prevail, in the National Schools; to schools for intermediate education. This the majority prefer to do, by means of a Board of Commissioners, with ample powers of visitation and inspection, to which every school not necessarily exclusive, that is to say, confined to pupils of one religious persuasion, should be subject. The late Solicitor General for Ireland dissented from his brethren upon this one point,—Mr. Stephens upon that and several others. In order better to understand the controversy it would be desirable to give shortly the opinions of the Commissioners in their own words.

RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO SCHOOLS AND ENDOWMENTS GENERALLY, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR SPECIAL NATURE OR OBJECTS.

The General Government of Schools.

We are of opinion—

1. That the intentions of the founders of all private trusts should be adhered to.

2. That the chief causes of abuse and inefficiency in endowed schools of all kinds are the following:—

a. The want of inspection, conducted with authority by duly qualified inspectors, visiting at short and uncertain intervals.

b. The want of properly trained masters receiving adequate remuneration, and animated in the discharge of their duty by the prospects of promotion and of retiring pensions as the reward of faithful service.

c. The smallness of many of the endowments.

d. The incomplete and unsafe modes at present in use of keeping the accounts of school funds and revenues, and the want of a proper system of audit.

e. The want of a clear definition and public announcement of the qualifications and rights of pupils to free admission.

3. That it is possible to separate the courses of secular and religious

instruction so far as to enable scholars of different religious denominations to receive instruction of the former kind in the same school, without compromise of opinions or risk of offence ; and that one of the chief recommendations of day schools, and of the great advantages which these possess over boarding schools, consists in the facilities which they afford for combining home instruction in religious and moral principles with school instruction of a purely secular nature.

4. That the trustees of all boarding schools should be enabled to discontinue the boarding department, and to employ the endowment in the support of the pupils as residents in families specially selected on the principle of their holding the same religious belief, and residing in localities where the children can attend day-schools approved of by their parents or guardians, and where they can also enjoy the spiritual instruction and care of the clergy of the same denomination.

5. That it is objectionable for the master to be allowed to conduct a school in connexion with any other office or appointment.

6. That any delay in the appointment of masters in vacancies in schools is peculiarly injurious, as the education of the children is interrupted, and the risk incurred of the school being entirely broken up.

7. That masters should be required to record the infliction of flogging in the report-book of the school, and that the observance of this rule should be rigidly enforced.

8. That the intentions of founders, as to free admissions, are very generally evaded ; that the trustees, and others charged with the management, should take steps to define clearly the rights of free admission ; that they ought strictly to enforce the observance of the rules thus framed, to make them known to the persons interested, by a public announcement, and to guard, by examination or otherwise, against any abuse of the privilege of nomination, so as to secure to all those intended to be benefitted the full and fair opportunity of sharing in the privilege of free admission.

9. That it is desirable that a well-regulated system of distributing prizes should be established in connexion with all endowed schools.

RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO THE PROMOTION OF INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION.

We are of opinion—

1. That the establishment of a system of primary education by the Government has had the effect of greatly diminishing the resources which, though no doubt, scanty and imperfect, formerly enabled the middle classes, to a certain extent, to provide a suitable education for their children ; and that there seems to be no prospect that the void thus left will be supplied by exertions of a purely voluntary nature.

2. That the deficiencies admitted to exist in the system of intermediate education in Ireland cannot be supplied by a redistribution and different application of the educational endowments already in being.

3. That the demand for intermediate education is so considerable,

especially in the North of Ireland, that we are called on to suggest means of supplying it in accordance with principles that we can approve of, in those localities where it is required by the inhabitants, without providing a Government system of intermediate education in places where it might not be acceptable to the majority of the population.

4. That this may be effected by the union of local funds, under the management of local trustees, with grants of public money.

5. That the provision for local management would enable the trustees to make suitable regulations, for religious instruction, provided that the school, as a condition of its partaking of the grant of public money, admit of the united education of persons of all religious persuasions; and provided, also, that the local managers be subject to the direct control of the proposal Board of Commissioners of Endowed Schools.

6. That it is expedient to continue to hold competitive examinations for appointments in the public service, from time to time, in Dublin, but open to all your Majesty's subjects; and that this measure would constitute an effectual method of promoting intermediate education.

7. That the educational tests best adapted for examinations for the public service would be, of all others, the most general in their character, and therefore those best calculated to direct the efforts of teachers to that course of mental discipline and moral training, the attainment of which constitutes the chief object of a liberal education.

8. That with a view to the maintenance of this just standard of school education, and in order to avoid the serious evils which would arise from directing the attention and efforts of masters to what may be called the special requirements of the public business, it is very important that the same generality which has hitherto characterized the public competitive examinations should continue to prevail as the application of the system is extended to more numerous branches of your Majesty's service.

9. That school scholarships, such as already exist at the Enniskillen Royal Free School, might with advantage be established in connexion with all schools for intermediate education under the proposed Board.

The importance of the reasons assigned by Mr. Hughes, for his dissent from those recommendations, will more than justify, our giving his letter in full.

LETTER FROM HENRY GEORGE HUGHES, ESQ.,
Q.C., TO THE MARQUESS OF KILDARE, REV.
CHARLES GRAVES, D.D., AND ROBERT AN-
DREWS, ESQ., LL.D., Q.C.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

I have read with great interest and the utmost attention, the Draft of the Report which you propose to submit to Her Majesty.

We all concurred in opinion, that the demand, in Ireland, for "intermediate" education is considerable. I believe that it is not only considerable, but that the demand is rapidly increasing, while the means of supplying it are diminishing, and it is therefore of the most serious importance to the State to devise and carry out a system which will provide for that increasing demand.

The adoption, by the State, of the most correct theory on the subject of education, if unsuited to the condition of the country in which it is to be applied, will have the effect of postponing the education of the classes it is intended to promote. The mere effort to carry out a system that is opposed to the religious convictions of a people, increases the difficulty of providing for their education; and it is therefore, I believe, essential, that any theory the Commissioners propose should not only be right in principle, but suited to the condition of society in Ireland.

In the Draft Report you state your "belief in the possibility of separating the courses of secular and religious instruction, so far as to enable scholars of different religious denominations to receive instruction of the former kind in the same school without compromise of opinions, or risk of offence;" and you then proceed to suggest the means of carrying out a system of "intermediate" education on that principle, "by the union of local funds, under the management of local trustees, with grants of public money."

I cannot concur in a Report which proposes to establish a system which I believe to be wrong in principle, and impossible in practice; and it is therefore right that I should state the reasons which induced me to oppose the adoption of the principle of "mixed" education, and which now induce me to concur in your proposed Report.

I will be admitted, I believe, that education must be conducted either on the "mixed" system, or on the "separate" system. That is, the system must be, either for the united education of persons of different religious dominations in respect of secular instruction, or for the separate education of the members of each religious persuasion.

I believe that religious instruction should form a portion of every system of education. I am persuaded that the religious belief of the teacher must, of necessity, and, perhaps, even unconsciously, influence the mind of the pupil, and that the wiser and better the teacher is, the more dangerous is that influence to the faith of the pupil who differs from him in religion.

The legislature has imposed on some of the officials of this country an oath, in which they declare that they believe the religion of the Church of Rome to be "idolatrous." It is not unreasonable to expect that the religious instructor of a Government school would teach his Protestant pupils to believe in the truth of that declaration. On the other hand, Roman Catholic divines have pronounced the Protestant religion to be "heretical." A Roman Catholic religious instructor would be unwilling to dispute the soundness of that doctrine. You now propose that pupils thus instructed shall receive their "secular" education from a teacher whose religious faith is liable to be thus impeached or denounced. The pupils find their secular

teacher a wise man, and they believe him to be a good man; they remain under his tuition, and subject to his influence for many hours daily: Their religious instruction occupies but a small portion of the week's work. The secular teacher is constantly before them; the religious teacher seldom. Is it safe to leave the mind of the pupil to waver between the wisdom and virtue of the secular teacher and the doctrines of the religious teacher? I fear that under such circumstances the pupil would, in a short time, regard his secular teacher with a deference involving the sacrifice of faith or an approach to indifferentism. I have, therefore, come to the conclusion, that the teacher and the pupil should be of the same religious persuasion.

In your Draft Report you state—"That such may be done by competent teachers towards imbuing the youth of both sexes with a high sense of moral and religious responsibility, and inspiring them with an elevated tone of feeling and character." "To do this," you say, "in the daily course of secular instruction, requires qualities which are not easily met with; and this consideration gives additional weight to the view we have already insisted on, as to the great moment of securing the services of teachers superior by nature as well as in point of acquirement."

I heartily concur in these opinions, but what is to become of the faith of a child who is placed under the tuition of a teacher of a different religion, who is, "superior by nature, as well as in point of acquirement," and who "does much" in the course of secular instruction, "towards imbuing the youth with a high sense of moral and religious responsibility"? If the child respect and trust his teacher, he may adopt his views of religious responsibility, and the faith of the child would thus become shaken or altered. I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that it is dangerous to separate "religious" from "secular" instruction.

But even if the "mixed" system were right and sound in principle, I believe that it is incapable of being carried out in Ireland. It is admitted that the education of the middle classes, or, as it is called, "intermediate education," ought not to be effected altogether at the expense of the State. It is felt that the middle classes should be made to contribute to the expense of the education of their children either by donation or by local assessment. I think it is manifest that voluntary contributions, either by temporary or permanent endowment, would not supply the requisite funds. It would, therefore, be necessary to have recourse to an educational assessment to be enforced in the localities that would receive Government assistance. If then, in the north of Ireland, the majority of the inhabitants of a district shall receive from the Government a grant for "mixed" education, on the terms of providing a local assessment, the Roman Catholics of the district will be compelled to contribute to the sustenance of schools from which they will be practically excluded. What I have said of Roman Catholics in the north of Ireland is equally true of Protestants and Presbyterians in the south and west of Ireland, if they shall be opposed to education on the "mixed" system. Of course, Protestants and Presbyterians will determine

for themselves whether they will adopt or repudiate the system of "mixed" education. But the most authentic documents prove that it would receive the determined opposition of the Roman Catholic Bishops. I cannot believe that a new tax, involving questions of religious feeling and distinction, could now be enforced in Ireland. "Tithes" have been reduced, and "Ministers' Money" has been abolished, in consequence of the resistance to the collection of these ancient imposts, and it would involve this country once more in rancorous agitation, if a new assessment were imposed in aid of a system of education from which Roman Catholics would be practically excluded. I, therefore, assert that the "mixed" system, if requiring the aid of local assessments, would be impossible.

In the year 1811, Mr. Leslie Foster, then a member of the Board of Education, addressed a letter to the secretary of the Board, in which he stated, "That whatever plan may appear to this Board most eligible, it should be laid before the heads of the Roman Catholic clergy previous to our Report." "No person," he adds, "acquainted with the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland can doubt, that on the sentiments of the bishops will depend the degree of resistance or co-operation which such a plan would receive from the subordinates of their religion." I believe that the same discipline still exists, and that the same results would inevitably follow. The sentiments of the Roman Catholic Bishops on the subject of "mixed" education are beyond doubt. The documents which I laid before the Commissioners, and some of which accompany your Report, demonstrate that the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland disapprove of and condemn the system of "mixed" education. Their views on that subject are not peculiar either to their order or to their religion. Similar views have been entertained by the most eminent divines of the Protestant Church,* and have been advocated by the most distinguished statesmen in the British Senate.†

I am, therefore, of opinion, that under these circumstances, the "mixed" system you propose cannot be made to provide for the education of the Roman Catholics. If it does not include them in its arrangements, then it only provides for the education of the fewer and the richer, at the expense of the many and the poorer. It not only endows the fewer and the richer, but it contemplates that a portion of that endowment shall be levied from the funds of the excluded and the poor.

If, then, the "mixed" system will not be adopted by the Roman Catholics, why not apply the "separate" system? The latter prin-

* The late Archbishop of Canterbury, 3rd May, 1839; Hansard, 3rd Series, vol. 47, page 764; 5th July, 1839, *ibid.*, vol. 48, page 1248. The late Bishop of London, 10th June, 1839, Hansard, 3rd Series, vol. 48, page 91.

† Lord Derby, 14th June, 1839, Hansard, 3rd Series, vol. 48, pages 229—230. Lord John Manners, Hansard, 3rd Series, vol. 80, pages 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140. Lord John Russell, Speech at Sheffield, 25th September, 1857, Reported, *Times*, 26th September, 1857. The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Hansard, vol. 80, page 1261. Lord Dunraven, Hansard, vol. 80, page 1143.

ciple is that carried out in England under the Privy Council, and it cannot be said that it would not succeed in Ireland, because it has been tried here and has succeeded. The existing schools in Ireland, that have received the highest commendations of the Commissioners are those of an essentially "separate" and exclusive character. They are the schools of the Christian Brothers,* the schools of the Incorporated Society,† and the schools of the Society of Friends.‡ In these schools the managers, teachers and pupils are of the same religious persuasion. In these institutions religious instruction is not only incorporated with secular instruction, but the latter is made subservient to the former, and it has been ascertained that in these "separate" schools larger numbers receive a better education, at less expense, than the pupils of any other schools that came within the scope of our Commission.

I am convinced that the "mixed" system is wrong in principle, and cannot even if right, be carried out in Ireland. I believe that the separate system is sound in principle, and if that is doubted, I think it is worthy of being submitted to a fair trial, as to the only alternative the State can adopt, if it proposes to legislate for the education of the middle classes.

I have the honour to remain,

My Lord and Gentlemen,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed)

HENRY GEORGE HUGHES.

29th January, 1858.

Mr. Abraham appears to have been led to similar conclusions, although he has stated them with some reserve in his general report, and as the result of his inquiries merely.

"I have taken pains," he writes, "to ascertain the feeling of such of the Roman Catholic clergy or laity as I have had occasion to meet, with reference to the advisability of Roman Catholics resorting for education, under proper guarantees, to institutions like the Royal Schools. That feeling I have found to be invariably hostile; and, for my own part, having regard simply to what may be possible, and omitting altogether the consideration of what might be desirable or the reverse, it would, I apprehend, be quite hopeless to think of making the Royal Schools available for Roman Catholic education. It has constantly been urged upon me that the absence of tampering with religious belief and the most absolute respect for conscience are purely negative advantages, and that it seems strange to leave a boy without positive religious instruction, at the precise age when the best and worst qualities of mind and heart are in process of formation."

* *Vide*, p. 132, 199, 207, 213, 214, 216, *supra*.

† *Vide*, p. 97, 98, 99, *supra*.

‡ *Vide*, 140-1-2 *supra*.

The reasons named by Mr. Stephens for his dissent from the report of his brethren, and that of Mr. Hughes, are embodied by him in a letter to Sir George Grey, published apart from the report. In his introductory observations, Mr. Stephens states certain matters of fact in a way that would seem to insinuate something like overreaching on the part of his colleagues.

The proof sheets of that draft, extending to 284 folio pages, were forwarded to me at intervals between November the 27th, and December the 19th, 1857. I immediately entered on a careful examination of it in Dublin, and finding that it embodied principles and plans against which I had strenuously objected when they were under our consideration more than a year ago, I informed the majority of my Colleagues that I could not concur in their Report, nor make myself in any way responsible for it.

My objections to the Report were too strong to allow me merely to abstain from affixing my name to it, without assigning the grounds of my dissent. And, as I could not do justice to the views which I entertain within the ordinary limits of a protest at the end of the Report, I proceeded to draw up a statement of my objections for the consideration of my brother Commissioners. I furnished them with the principal heads of my objections; but time did not admit of my being able to complete the detailed statement previous to the signing of the Report; after the Commission had expired, I discovered, on examining a perfected copy of the Report (then for the first time furnished to me) that alterations had been made in it, of which I had not been informed when it was tendered to me for signature. This circumstance led to a further and unavoidable delay in completing my observations.

Admitting the accuracy of Mr. Stephens' statement in every particular, (which is more than we are authorized to do), it ought to amount to nothing more than this, namely, that after he had declined to sign the Report and discharged himself of all responsibility in its regard; his colleagues thought proper to make alterations—not such alterations indeed as might have induced him to change his mind had he been allowed the opportunity—but alterations simply, of the extent, nature, or gravity of which we are not informed. The names of the Commissioners who signed the Report are a guarantee to the public for honour in their dealings with each other, and with the Country, so that they are not held to notice an insinuation or imputation of the kind; but if their colleague found it necessary to make the statement he has made, it would have been well for his own sake had he guarded against the possibility of being

misunderstood. He differs with his brethren upon certain other matters of fact, but as a reference to disagreements of this description are painful and unprofitable, we think it better to pass at once to the question of principle upon which he grounds his dissent. Mr. Stephens finds fault with the Report because its recommendations have all reference to the definition of exclusive and non-exclusive schools, into which the Commissioners naturally divided the educational establishments with which they had to deal. Exclusive schools were understood to be "those into which pupils of only one religious persuasion have a right of admission, or where the trustees being of one religious persuasion have power to compel all the pupils to receive religious instruction in their own tenets."* All schools outside this definition are taken to be non-exclusive. The Commissioners having recommended that all non-exclusive schools should be placed under their new Board, Mr. Stephens contends that were the above definition allowed to operate, either the whole of the Church Education Society's schools would be transferred to the new Board, which would amount to confiscation; or else that not more than eleven of the number, which are admittedly non-exclusive, would come under its government; and this last idea he contends is almost too ridiculous to be entertained for a moment, as in that case we should have a permanent and salaried Commission for the government of some eleven schools. Mr. Stephens appears to omit altogether from his consideration the fact that the proposed board would have the government of all the Royal and Diocesan schools, a charge quite sufficiently important and engrossing for any board in existence.

Now it will be observed there are two branches in the definition of exclusive schools given by the Commissioners. First, a school is said to be exclusive into which pupils of one religion only have a right of admission; and secondly, that school is exclusive the trustees of which, being all of one persuasion, have it in their power to compel instruction in their own tenets. With reference to this branch of the definition, Mr. Stephens observes that "it was so framed as to exempt Roman Catholic schools which profess to be for the education of all religious persuasions, from the definition

* Report, 273.

which so seriously affects the Church and Protestant schools." We can hardly trust ourselves to characterize this line of reasoning, especially when taken in connexion with the illustration adopted by Mr. Stephens in a subsequent part of his letter. He barely does not say in terms, what he does say by a very pregnant implication, namely, that his brethren framed a trapping definition for the purpose of protecting Catholic and of confiscating Protestant endowments. He leaves it to be inferred that the definition was framed not only with the view of improperly classing certain Catholic schools amongst the exclusive and independent schools; but also of transferring to the non-exclusive class the schools of the Church Education Society; and of thus removing them from the management of that body. That is a fair statement of Mr. Stephens' argument. It cannot be denied that the imputation of such an intention is highly injurious to his colleagues. Let that pass, however. It is only necessary for us to see, whether, if the Commissioners, including such a clergyman and gentleman as Dr. Graves, had an intention of the kind ascribed to them, they did really advance their views by the definition upon which they agreed. We are far more willing to impeach Mr. Stephens' logic than his candour, but his argument looks disingenuous in proportion to its plausibility. It is he alone who contends that the Church Education Society's Schools are non-exclusive, and yet he wishes it to be believed that his colleagues so regard it. It will be necessary for ourselves to test their non-exclusiveness presently for another purpose; but it will be worth our while in the first instance to determine whether such of the Irish Church Education Society's Schools as were endowed under the Lord Lieutenant School Fund, the Association for Discountenancing Vice, and the Kildare-place Society, do in truth come within the second branch of the definition, that, namely, which makes the religion of the trustees a test of the exclusiveness of the school. We take a Church Education School at random from the Tables, vol. III., p. 465, the Kilmore Bottle Hill School; and we find under the head "Object of the School," and upon the authority of the "deed of endowment," that the "object" is, for "a resident school-master to teach children selected by *Minister of Kilmore*, or master, English and arithmetic under regulation of *Minister*:" and under the head "appoint-

ment :” we find upon the same authority, that the appointment of the master rests in the “*Minister*.” Now there is not, we venture to say, one Table in the entire volume which does not contain mention of similar schools ; and if this be not a school in which the trustee has *power* to compel all the pupils to receive religious instruction in his own tenets, it is impossible to conceive a school in which a trustee could have such a power. We must assume the object of the school and the right of appointment to have been correctly abstracted from the “ deed of endowment,” in as much as Mr. Stephens has not taken exception to them, and it is to be supposed that they were submitted to each of the Commissioners in proof. Mr. Stephens’ course of reasoning is as good a specimen of what Dr. Whately would call “undistributed middle” as could possibly be selected. He argues that these schools are non-exclusive under the second branch of the Commissioners’ definition, if the trustees have no power to compel the instruction of the children in their own tenets. He then affirms that the trustees have no such power, and concludes that, therefore, the schools are non-exclusive under the second branch of the definition. In proof of his minor premiss he adduces a rule of the Church Education Society, according to which children of all denominations are admitted to these schools, on condition of reading the Sacred Scriptures. Here lies the fallacy, we hope unintentional, of Mr. Stephens’ argument. He tacitly applies the term “ trustee ” to the *Church Education Society*, while his colleagues understand it, as they, and he were bound to do, of the *Minister* of the parish, or of the minister and church-wardens, as the case may be. Had the Commissioners been actuated by the motives ascribed to them they could not in the case of the parish schools have more effectually defeated their own object than by the definition they adopted. In the proposed distribution of endowed schools amongst the various boards in existence, or to come into existence, they assign to the new or mixed board, such only of the present Church Education Schools as are non-exclusive in character, thereby distinctly affirming that some of them are exclusive in character; while it must be evident, that if tested by the Commissioners’ definition, schools, the trustees of which are either the minister and churchwardens, or

the minister alone, with power to appoint, direct, and remove the master, are exclusive in the most absolute sense of the word, and therefore withdrawn from the jurisdiction of that Board which Mr. Stephens insinuates, the Commissioners are so anxious to aggrandize at any cost. We do confess that we are obliged to call in the aid of all the charity we can master, to enable us to account for a proceeding like that of Mr. Stephens on the part of a gentleman, a lawyer, and, probably, a graduate of one of the English universities.

But we are called upon to notice the case to which he appeals, in sustinment of his charge, [for after all it assumes that character] of unfairness against his colleagues. He takes two schools, one the Rathvilly school in Carlow, and the other, the Hevey school in Mullingar, and states "that under circumstances in all *essential* respects analogous (the italics are our own) his colleagues treat the Rathvilly school, under Protestant trustees, as non-exclusive, and the Hevey school, under Catholic trustees, as exclusive; we give his illustration, or, argument call it, in *extenso* :

I will now compare the Rathvilly schools with *Hevey's* schools :—

RATHVILLY SCHOOLS.

Mr. D'Israel bequeathed "to the *Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, and the minister and churchwardens of the parish of Rathvilly,*" 1,000*l.* for building a school; and to the same persons 2,000*l.* for the expenses of the school, "to be applied by the said *Bishop of Ferns, and the minister and churchwardens of the parish of Rathvilly* for the time being, to the uses and purposes of said school, which it is my wish and desire *should be conducted on the most enlightened and liberal principles,* under the care and superintendence of the said *bishop, minister and churchwardens,* or such person or persons as they may think proper to appoint for the purpose."

HEVEY'S SCHOOLS.

Mr. Hevey, bequeathed his property to the Right Rev. John Cantwell, Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath, the Right Rev. William Higgins, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ardagh, the Rev. Patrick Kelly, Roman Catholic Administrator of Mullingar, Sir Richard Nagle, of Jamestown Bart., and Gerald Dease, Esquire, of Turbotstown, with powers of adding new trustees, &c., for a school in Mullingar; "provided, however, that no difference of religion shall be the ground or reason for not selecting, excluding, or expelling any child from the benefit of this bequest."

Admitting that in each case the trustees are "of one religious per-

suation," it seems at least as strong to say that "no difference of religion shall be the ground or reason for not selecting, excluding, or expelling any child" from a school, as to say that it shall be conducted on the most enlightened and liberal principles."

Yet Hevey's school is declared to be "exclusive," and Rathvilly school is claimed from the Church as "non-exclusive."

There may be various opinions as to what is "enlightened and liberal." The framers of the Report appear to differ from the opinion of the testator, for *they* do not think it "enlightened and liberal" to put a "non-exclusive" school under "bishop, minister and churchwardens." It is unwarrantable that an arbitrary construction should be placed on the words "enlightened and liberal," so as to violate the intention of the founder, that his schools should be in strict connexion with the Church.

The majority of the Commissioners pronounce it an "objectionable proceeding" to have placed Rathvilly School under the inspection of the Church Education Society.—Rep. 120. They have perhaps overlooked that clause of the founder's will which directs that the school shall be conducted "under the care and superintendence of the said bishop, minister and churchwardens, *or such person or persons as they may think proper to appoint for the purpose.*"

If Hevey's school be treated as a Roman Catholic school, I cannot comprehend why Rathvilly should not be treated as a Church school.

This, as it stands in Mr. Stephens' letter, has every appearance of a complete case against his colleagues, and would be a triumphant case, were it not that Mr. Stephens has suppressed the *most essential* circumstances of the Hevey endowment, while he states that the two endowments exist under circumstances, in *all essential* respects analogous. Upon referring to the Tables of schools and endowments, vol. iii, p. 4, we find the object of the Rathvilly school to be as stated in Mr. Stephens' letter; but will any one say that the trustees are empowered by the terms of the will creating that endowment to enforce the teaching of their own tenets; at least until it has been so decided by competent authority? If however we turn to the same Tables, page 224, for the objects of the Hevey institution, we shall find that it was not intended by the testator for a school simpliciter, but for a school or college to be under the superintendence of the Roman Catholic priest of Mullingar for the support, maintenance, and education in literature, science, and THEOLOGY, under the regulation of the trustees, of poor children resident in the parish of Mullingar to be selected by the trustees; the great majority of the children to be Roman Catholics. Then follows the proviso upon which Mr. Stephens relies as constituting the Hevey

institution a non-exclusive school; namely, that the school shall be open to children of all religious persuasions. According to Mr. Stephens, therefore, the divinity classes of Oxford or Dublin are non-exclusive, because a Catholic can have access to them, and may be trained a Protestant upon payment of the proper fee. It would argue uncommon simplicity in Mr. Stephens, if with the circumstance of *theological* instruction, under the superintendence of a *parish* priest, and under the regulation of the trustees, including *two bishops*, appearing upon the face of his letter as the object of a school, he were to class such a school as non-exclusive; but we are afraid to say what the omission of this circumstance from the case as given by Mr. Stephens would argue, if we were to deal in imputations open or covert. We fear that Mr. Stephens has somewhat sunk the Commissioner in the advocate, unconsciously we believe, and that he has been copying from his brief; but there are circumstances which even an advocate is bound in good faith to disclose to the court, although they tell against his cause; when once he pledges his professional honour to the disclosure of all that is essential to the decision of the question.

Mr. Stephens further argues that the Royal and Diocesan Schools, are strictly and properly Protestant establishments, because at the time of their establishment it was thought superfluous to surround their exclusiveness by all the safeguards that the present state of the law would require. At the time of the establishment of many of them it was little less than hanging matter for a Catholic to act as school-master or usher, and we think, ourselves, there can be no doubt that the presence of a Catholic as master or usher in those schools was not contemplated by their founders. But that alone is no reason why, when the disability of Catholics to act as school-master or teacher was removed, a Catholic might not lawfully so act in a Royal or Diocesan school, if it were desirable that he should. Those establishments cannot, with reference to the intention of the founder, be regarded in the same light as private endowments. The king in such matters is a mere abstraction—he is the State; those institutions are the creatures of the State, and may be re-modelled, parcelled out, or abolished at its pleasure. Mr. Stephens indeed argues upon the construction of several statutes, to show that according to law a Catholic cannot

officiate in those schools ; and, holding the opinion, upon the subject of mixed education that we do (our opinions in a great measure corresponding with those of Mr. Hughes) ; we cannot say that we have a very particular interest in the question of law thus raised by Mr. Stephens. Whenever the question of mixed education, primary or intermediate, comes to be finally adjusted, it will be time enough to dispose of the Royal and Diocesan Schools. Neither shall we concern ourselves at present with the recommendations which Mr. Stephens was prepared to offer, and a draft of which he has given in his letter to Sir George Grey. We are admonished that our space is narrowing; and that the one question, whose determination solves every minor difficulty, remains to be argued upon the issues raised by Mr. Hughes.

Mr. Hughes' propositions are two in number, first that the system of mixed education, as applied at least to intermediate instruction, is not right in principle ; and secondly, that if right, it is not practicable in Ireland. He is supported in his belief that the system is not right in principle by eminent authorities, Protestant and Catholic, to whom he refers, and he considers that were all the authorities on both sides in error, yet, there are certain living authorities, namely, the Catholic clergy, so confirmed in their error, and so resolute in their opposition, and so well supported by their flocks, that they never will permit the system to come into operation. Now suppose we take up the last of Mr. Hughes' propositions first, there can be little doubt that mixed education has no sincere friend in Ireland. The National system is generally adopted by Catholics because as a rule it affords separate education accompanied by some distasteful conditions, but not by any means because it affirms the principle of mixed education ; the Established Church opposes the National system because it keeps him out of his neighbour's preserves ; and the Presbyterian who, if the truth were known, objects perhaps to the sign *plus* because it is in the form of a cross, would gladly have a freely and avowedly Presbyterian school. When the Catholic can do so he establishes strictly Catholic schools ; and upon the testimony of Mr. Stephens as well as that of Mr. Ferguson, the schools of the Christian Brothers, being what chemists would call a concentrated exhibition of Catholicity,

are displacing the National schools in the centres of population. It is not long since they actually closed the National schools in Tralee, although the Catholic bishop of Kerry admitted the great advantages which the people derived from the National system in the rural parts of his diocese. Mr. Ferguson speaks "of the admirable schools of the Christian Brothers, a wide spreading institution embracing all the great centres of population in the south of Ireland, and bidding fair to extinguish the National schools in that quarter," p. 77. Mr. Stephens makes the same statement almost *in hæc verba*, and there can be no doubt that the public mind in Ireland is as little reconciled to any system of mixed education, primary or secondary, as it has been at any time these hundred years.

Moreover it is taken as admitted upon all hands, and none are more forward to admit it than the Commissioners whose report we are considering, that the religious element is indispensable to every well-ordered system of education. Now an element is not only a constituent part of any substance, but it is a part diffused in no matter what proportion throughout the entire of that substance. Oxygen is an element of air or of water, nor can you find a particle of air or of water, how small so ever into which that element does not enter. In like manner if we suppose religion to be an element of education there is no part of education which religion should not pervade and penetrate. Religion is not properly an element of education if it be laid upon a shelf, or turned with its face to the wall, during the greater portion of the school time, and just aired for half-an-hour in the course of the day, or perhaps of the week. You could not say that the sprig of lavender you throw into your drawer to kill the moths is a portion of your dress, and it would be equally absurd to say that religion fills in the National schools the place she ought to occupy. See how it is with the Christian Brothers. Look at their reading books, their geographies, their histories; everything is informed by a religious spirit. That spirit is professedly excluded by the National system, and therefore the National system, great as are our obligations to it, does not satisfy the legitimate requirements of Catholic or Protestant. Mr. Ferguson has put it fairly and forcibly in his pamphlet on the subject of National Education in Ireland which appears in our head list.

“ If it be asked,” he says, “ Is it right to refuse relief in an hospital to a patient who will not listen to our spiritual instruction ?—or would it be endured to obtrude a religious lecture at the hospitable board of a friend ? I should answer, that an hospital is founded professedly for temporal relief,—the hospitable board is spread for festivity ; and it begs the question to assume that a school is an institution designed or proper for secular instruction merely, and not for education in a sense that comprehends something more than secular teaching. Clergymen and Christian laymen are all agreed that education, without religious instruction, if not a contradiction in terms, “ an unreality,” is at least essentially imperfect, and wants its better part, and perhaps a majority of reflecting men think it positively mischievous.”

We frankly accept this statement of the case, as an expression of our own views and of the views of the country generally, but when we come to the question, how are those views to be met by the State, we are beset by all the difficulties that have tried and foiled the ingenuity of the greatest and best statesmen of the country.

Mr. Hughes suggests the adoption of separate education, or the “ denominational system,” as it exists in England under the minutes of the Privy Council. That is probably the simplest solution of the difficulty, and under proper precautions would no doubt content and gratify reasonable men. We have already expressed our private preference for that system, but the clergy of the Irish Establishment look for something very different. They pronounce in favour of education at once mixed and religious, but they must be the compounders themselves, and the religion must be of their own providing also. Nay, they protest that theirs is the only true mixture, and modestly seek to have it protected by patent, and to have the appearance of their name upon the government stamp. Did the clergy of the Establishment merely seek to have the advantages of the National system extended to their schools, on the understanding that the teaching in these schools should be purely Protestant, and that a similar privilege should be extended to Catholics, we could have nothing to object, and should have reason to be thankful ; but their object is very different. They ask to endow side by side with the National schools as they are constituted at present, a second system of schools, into which they may be at liberty to draw Catholic children, and subject them to the process of what is called Scriptural instruction ; what kind of instruction that is in reality we shall

perhaps be able to collect from the Report. We may have put this somewhat broadly, but that is their avowed object. In other words, they ask an endowment for the Church Education schools on condition of their adopting the books and submitting to the inspection of the National Board, but at all hazards preserving their present system of religious instruction, according to which it is competent for the minister of the parish to cause the Scriptures to be read in the authorised version, and to give Scriptural instruction to the pupils of all denominations. Such is the substance of what Mr. Ferguson proposes, and (it is believed) not without a sufficient imprimatur from the highest Protestant authority, in his pamphlet upon the subject of National Education, which was published shortly before the report of the Commissioners. His views are best stated by himself.

“Regarding the National System of Education as a settled institution of the country, doing a great deal of good to the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian communities, though still excluding from its benefits some important sections of each, let us, lastly, consider whether any modification or enlargement of the system can—without subverting or endangering its essential constitution, or infringing the acquired rights of those who have already joined it—admit the co-operation of the Established Church—the Wesleyan Methodists—the Christian Brotherhood—the Sisters of Mercy and Charity—and the residue of the Presbyterians.

Three plans are before the public, with more or less of authority to recommend them. The first plan was that which Lord Granville, as the organ of the Government, opened to the Committee of the House of Lords in July, 1854. He suggested that the Church Education Schools (mentioned, I suppose, *exempli gratia*) should receive grants of school-books and school requisites from the National Board, and that the benefit of inspection by the officers of the Board, and access to its training-schools, should be extended to them.

The second plan was that proposed by the Earl of Derby, and differed from the first in giving, in addition to these advantages, an allowance to the teachers for the actual progress of the pupils, founded on the Report of the Inspectors of the Board.

The third plan was that submitted by Mr. Walpole to the House of Commons in June, 1856. It sought for such a modification of the rules of the Board as would extend the advantages now enjoyed by non-vested schools to any other than vested schools, whatever might be the regulations of the school as to the mode of religious instruction: subject to the condition that no child should be required to learn catechisms, creeds, or formularies, to which his parents objected.”

We cannot collect that Mr. Ferguson declares absolutely

in favour of any of those plans, but all of them embody the principle that by State subvention, the Established clergy should be enabled to force what is almost profanely styled Scriptural instruction on the Catholics attending their schools. At present Mr. Stephens commends them for their liberality in *admitting* Catholics into their schools, and pathetically complains that their liberality should be drawn into a pretext for confiscating their endowments. We have already seen the truth of this insinuation, and that it is of about as substantial a texture as the liberality of the patrons of the Church Education schools.

Now it is worth observing that in the Report upon the Charter Schools, the Commissioners whom we have already quoted spoke in exactly the same style of their "liberality," although the teaching in those schools was avowedly as here it would be covertly Protestant. The Established clergy do much more than *admit* the poor Catholics to their schools, they exercise all their influence, and all the influence they can command to draw the Catholic children from the National school, and into their own. They exact one only condition of attendance, and that is the reading of the Scriptures. Neither have they exacted this at all times. The Commissioners of 1806-12 to whom Mr. Ferguson appeals, and with some reason, as the originators of the present National System, recommended in their fourteenth report, the establishment of a number of schools, supplemental to the existing parish schools, and the governing principle of which should be a total absence of interference with the religion of the pupils, on the condition, however of scripture extracts to be read in common by Protestant and Catholic. This, of course, was considered a proposition of extreme liberality, as coming from two bishops of the Established Church, together with Mr. Lovell Edgeworth, and Mr. Leslie Foster; but they tacked a good consideration to it in the shape of additional parish schools, so that there should be one for every parish in Ireland under the care of the Established clergy. Now considering that many country parishes in Ireland would not furnish a single Protestant to the projected school, the modesty of this proposal is not its most remarkable feature, and Mr. Foster himself dwells upon it in a letter to Mr. Corneille, the Secretary of the Board. "There are parts of Ireland," he writes, "where the population is almost exclusively Roman Catholic. In the returns from some

parishes in the diocese of Waterford, may be observed 400 and even 500 scholars without a single Protestant among them. What possible inducement could the Commissioners have for preferring the establishment of a Protestant to that of a Roman Catholic in those places?"—Fourteenth Report, p. 345, App. 3. The parish school extension scheme was never acted upon formally, although it was carried out to some degree in the application of the Lord Lieutenant's school fund; but the scripture-extract nostrum was tried for a series of years, and was only finally given up just before the retirement of Dr. Whately from the National Board.

Some Catholics, and even dignitaries of the Church, seeing that there was nothing theologically wrong in the practice, were induced to consent to it, not without an uneasy sense of compromise and dishonour. But at length the thing *ate down* from the essential weakness of its principle. It broke down in the assumption that the Protestant clergy had any right, under any circumstances, even to suggest an element of Catholic education. It almost conceded, and would undoubtedly be wrested to concede, what was claimed by the Protestant Primate in 1824 when he wrote to the Commissioners of that period, "As to the persons to whose superintendence the education of the poor should be entrusted, I find that in the Report of the Commissioners it was the intention of the State, by the statute of Henry VIII. and Wm. III., to commit this important charge to the Established clergy. I am happy to express my concurrence in this opinion. It appears to me that such is not only the true interpretation of the statutes referred to, but the obvious nature of the thing. If the superintendence of a national system of moral education be entrusted as a duty, the obligation naturally devolves upon the Established clergy; if, on the other hand, it be regarded as a privilege, and a mark of public confidence, they seem best entitled to such a distribution." And at a later date he observes, "I have already expressed my opinion in a former letter, and I do not think it too much to repeat it now, that the State, particularly a State like ours, where so much depends upon public feeling, has an immediate interest in the moral and social principles of its members, that this interest gives it a right, or rather imposes upon it an obligation of providing

a system of national instruction, *and that the trust of superintending the system is most consistently reposed in our Established clergy.*"

Now, to defer in any particular, however trifling, to the wishes of the Established clergy, in respect of the religious education of Catholics, would be to admit to some extent that those gentlemen were responsible for the religious education of Catholics. But if so, it would come to be asked "in what right are they responsible?" and the answer to Catholics would be—"in virtue of your own recognition." Scripture extracts are not only innocent but profitable; one of the most characteristic prayers of Catholics, the "Hail Mary," is a scripture extract; but if the acceptance of a scripture extract at the hands of those gentlemen were regarded as a kind of feudal service, nay, a sort of minor or incipient Protestantism, as a kind of "step in the right direction," then it ceased to be innocent, and became infected with the taint of its origin. It would go to keep up the desperate delusion which law, or the fiction of law, now encourages in the Established clergy, namely, that they are the pastors of parishes and not the ministers of mere congregations. Those results were not all at once taken in by those of the Catholic clergy, who at first accepted the conditions tendered, but they soon came into evidence. It really is not pretended that the Protestant clergy effect much in the way of proselytism by their scriptural instruction to Catholics. They think, however, that they have attained a sufficient triumph when they induce a poor child to live in contempt of the directions of the only clergyman he thinks himself bound to obey. Upon the evidence of this Commission, and of Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools in England, the Scripture that is profanely gabbled, whether as a lesson or a punishment, by the pupils of the Church Education schools, does not seem to have much more relation to the real thing in the comprehension of its reader, than the old crambo, "forte dux fel flat in guttur," has to the English words that are imitated by its sound. We abstract now from the circumstance that by Catholics the authorized version read in the church schools is regarded as falsified of purpose. It is enough for us that a thing which might be indifferent or praiseworthy in itself is adopted as a symbol of apostasy, or of an approximation or

condescension to it. It was not more essentially wrong in the ancient Christians to say "Domine Cæsar" or "Tolle Impios," than it would be for us to say, "God save the Queen," or "down with the Sepoys." There was no necessary evil in throwing a grain of frankincense into the fire or in eating a salt cake, as there is no original harm in treading upon two sticks set crosswise if you want to get admission to Japan. But when these things had an accepted significance, such as belong to the reading of the Scriptures by a Catholic, under, or at the suggestion, or in compliance with the desire, of a Protestant clergyman, then it became the same offence in the ancient Christian to comply with them that it is in the Catholic priest or layman to admit in any way the right of the Protestant authorities to interfere with his flock.

But there is another and a very serious matter to be taken into account. It is found convenient upon questions of this kind to treat the Protestant clergyman in Ireland as an abstraction. What is the incumbent of a parish in the abstract? He is a gentleman of education, with a university degree, the excellent husband of a comely wife, the father of a blooming family, and in the enjoyment sometimes of a modest, sometimes of a good income no matter whence derived. He preaches in a Geneva gown and bands, with or without a surplice or hood, according to the taste of his congregation, lives peaceably, and allows other people to do the same. We believe that to be an average sample of the established clergymen in the abstract. What is he in the concrete, that is to say, what is the Irish clergyman who seeks to alter the National System? He is a man who lives in a state of active hostility with the Catholic clergy and people around him. He gives his name and subscription to one or more societies, whose avowed object is a Protestant propaganda. He circulates handbills amongst Catholics inviting them to controversial classes in which it will be proved (*God willing,*) to their entire satisfaction, that idolatry, theft and lying are part of their creed. And those classes he invites them "specially and affectionately" to attend. From his pulpit and his platform, to which also they are specially and affectionately invited, he treats them to eloquence of the following style, when in speaking of the most sacred ordinance of the Church

he calls it "A consecrated paste and water hocussed by the priest." In common and intimate conversation he is never known to apply any other than the nickname of Romanist, or Romish, or Papist, to the Catholic Communion; and in public life, with a few honoured exceptions, he is the unabashed defamer we have described. Now it is not to be conceived that the Catholic clergy could yield anything to the importunities of men of this kind, no matter how indifferent or how praiseworthy the thing might be in itself. It is not at their instance at all events the National system can be set aside. "*Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostræ etiam gloriamur. Qui enim scit illum intelligere potest, non nisi aliquod grande bonum a Nerone damnatum.*" We do not mean a literal application of this tolerably plain Latin of Tertullian to the Protestant clergy of Ireland. That body contains some venerable and great names, although we have not seen from any one of them a repudiation of the abominable ribaldry, the unavoidable defilement of which, we were obliged to extract, from a writer quite unlike Tertullian. We mean simply to state, that any proposition coming from enemies so determined cannot be well meant, well understood, or accepted at all. Let them keep to their black flag, we do not fear it; but let us have no piracy under National colours at all events. Considering the authority under which Mr. Ferguson is supposed to have put forward his views, it may be worth while to extract one or two passages from his pamphlet. In the first may be seen what is the real grievance of the Protestant clergy in this matter. It is that Catholics have the strongholds of education in their own hands. That they are firmly intrenched in several thousand schools. It is not pretended they have encroached upon Protestant ground, but the complaint is simply that they are the guardians of their own schools.

Lapse of time, and usage have, in a manner, established the present system. It has conferred great advantages on the Roman Catholic population, and the State has derived corresponding advantages from it, which it would be unwise to throw away. Anything which would annul what has been done since 1831, by supplying the Roman Catholic priesthood with an adequate motive and moving power to withdraw the Roman Catholic population from the National Schools, would be regarded as little short of a national calamity. The pre-

text of an organized State proselytism might be as spurious as the greased cartridges of the Sepoys, but it might be one which would furnish an appeal to the inmost souls of the people, and should not lightly be offered. On the other hand, let us not exaggerate, and thereby add to the danger we fear ; let us not so far give way to timorous counsels as to become insensible to the claims of justice and the interests of education. To propitiate the Roman Catholic priesthood, and keep them quiet, it is not wise to deliver over the rising generation of our Protestant brethren to their mercies. It is not only an unrighteous but a dangerous experiment to take the education of the country altogether out of the hands of Protestant clergymen and laymen, and commit every educational stronghold in the kingdom to the Roman Catholic priests. We may rest assured that whatever they may threaten, so long as the Roman Catholic priests are left the exclusive dominion of the great majority of the National Schools, it will not be their interest nor their policy to withdraw their children from them. The rebellion against the Kildare-place Schools was because the priests had not the control of them. As regards the National Schools, the Roman Catholics are securely entrenched in more than 3000 of them ; and the danger that is to be apprehended now is—that, by practising on the compressibility of the Government, they shall get the command of all the schools, and of the entire educational machinery of the country as regards primary instruction. Each fresh instance of undue deference to their behests inspires them the more with an inordinate estimate of their power and importance, and of the facility and weakness of the Government ; it raises their expectations, and increases their demands.

The Decrees of the Synod of Thurles, and the Pastorals of the Papal Legate, indicate a determination on the part of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to effect a total overthrow of the system of National Education from its two fundamental bases—first, as a system of mixed education of Protestants and Catholics ; secondly, as a system of secular instruction sanctified by a moral and religious element. Statesmen may disregard these fulminations, and imagine that because they outrun the sympathies of the laity and inferior clergy, and even outrage the proprieties of educated and independent Roman Catholics, they are vain and harmless as stage thunder. No greater mistake could possibly take possession of the mind : these decrees are working their way, and accomplishing their purpose silently but surely. The moral and religious element they have banished ; and the Roman Hierarchy are now struggling to insulate the Roman Catholic children from the wholesome influences of communication with Protestant patrons and teachers. They are tramping out every trace of mixed education ; and the National Board seems to be conspiring to the same end, by excluding its warmest and best friends. The result is rapidly developing itself in the schools. The vested schools—the appropriate seats of mixed education, and the proper sphere for religious neutrality—are rapidly giving place to the non-vested school, which is essentially denomi-

national and exclusive. Out of 5192 National Schools, in the year 1855, no more than 1526 were vested. Out of 154 new schools added in that year, but 17 were vested; while of the old vested schools an unusually large number had been in that year 1855 suspended or struck off the rolls.

The next extract will show that the Protestant clergy aim at an entire supremacy over parental and family authority, and that the parent must have no conscience in presence of the patron of a school.

But then the scruples of the clergy of the Established Church are so clearly inconsistent with religious liberty, and so plainly in derogation of parental authority, that they cannot be entertained or countenanced for a moment. The parent must be the judge as to what is for the spiritual interest of his child: and if he objects to the teaching of the Scriptures, whether right or wrong, his objection must be attended to. This is true,—neither Christianity, nor Protestantism, nor Scriptural knowledge, can or ought to be diffused by physical or moral force; and there ought to be no interference with the religious scruples of Roman Catholics or Protestants. But there may be another side to the shield; and we shall fall into error if we look exclusively at the brazen side, and overlook that there is a golden side as well. The relation, duties, and responsibilities of patron to his school, may be taken to be the golden side; while the rights and privileges of the pupil and the parent are—not in point of actual inferiority or comparative unimportance—the brazen side. A school requires something more than books, and maps, and a salary for a teacher; these are not its most essential or valuable elements. It requires pupils, an intelligent and proper instructor, organization discipline, management and a manager. Nobody for a moment supposes it to be possible to concede to the parent of each child in a village school the right to direct the nature or amount of the secular instruction his child is to receive, or to select the books to be used or omitted. Sir Thomas Redington (a Roman Catholic Commissioner of National Education) says:—"The parents cannot exclude from the hour of combined instruction any book except the 'Scripture Extracts' and the 'Book of Sacred Poetry.'"—"Evidence," p. 689, Q. 5213. True it is, when we come to religious instruction, the motive and the excuse for parental interference become higher and stronger; but the sense of duty and responsibility, on the part of the patron, becomes, in the same degree, more intense and imperative? and if every parent were to exercise the right to enter into every school that he meets, and arbitrarily to cut the course of instruction short when it ceases to be secular; and to "demand" and "insist upon"—for such are the phrases used to express the parental right—the patron giving so much as the parent pleases and no more: this, instead of being religious liberty, may become the rankest tyranny and license, and would, in fact, compel many a patron to dispense what he must unaffectedly regard in his conscience to be nothing less than moral poison, without its moral an-

tidote. So long as the school is the school of the National Board—as in the case of the Model and Vested Schools—the parent has a right to use it on such terms as the State, which is the patron, pleases; but of the Non-vested Schools we are told, on the highest authority, that they “are not so much the Schools of the Government as of local patrons and managers, who submit voluntarily to certain regulations in order to entitle them to receive aid from the Government.” The education given in these Schools, though superintended and assisted by the State, is provided through the instrumentality and on the responsibility of the individual patron. He alone appoints the master, and is the party answerable before God and man for the education which each child receives in the School: and therefore it is the moral right and duty of the patron to see that whatever education is given in the School is proper and wholesome, according to the measure of his judgment and conscience. When we speak of non-interference in religious matters there ought to be some mutuality and reciprocity in it; and the parent’s unquestionable right to direct the religious instruction of his child must be exercised in consistency with the patron’s correlative right to give such instruction as he believes to be proper, and none other. It would surely be an extravagant price for the highest contribution the Board could make to a patron’s school, to require that the direction of the patron’s conscience should be submitted to every peasant in his neighbourhood.

Our next extract takes us over the pleasant subject of the undoubted poverty of the Established Church, and plays with the merry conceit of its carelessness about proselytism. It will serve to beguile the seriousness of our general subject.

It has been, and may be again urged, that possibly Roman Catholics would be under a disadvantage in this open competition, because that the Protestant schools may be supplemented by subscriptions, and so enabled to offer unfair inducements in the shape of food and clothing to the children who frequent them. To this the answer seems to be, that if the grant from the Board to any Protestant school—whether in connexion with the Board under its existing plan, or under any proposed plan—should be abused, it can be withdrawn. The most absurd exaggerations appear still to be current in regard to the resources of the Established Church. They were formerly reckoned by millions. The gross parochial income is about £357,000, and affords to each beneficed clergyman an average income of about £190, leaving from 200 to 300 incumbents with less than £100 per annum. Two per cent. on the gross parochial income (the maximum impost contemplated by the Commissioners of 1806 for schools) would give no more than £7140 per annum, and it would certainly be no exaggeration to say that three times that amount is contributed by the clergy to the support of the Parochial Schools. After all, the schools are in a languishing condition, and there seems little available for bribes. As regards the maintenance of a school, every person must see that

the great superiority of numbers on the part of the Roman Catholics ought more than compensate any imaginable superiority of wealth on the part of the Protestants. A school supported by fifty or sixty children, each paying even a penny a week, will in ordinary cases have a more substantial and reliable endowment than one depending on the precarious benevolence of a few wealthy patrons. Under Lord Derby's plan, the more numerous attended schools would have the greater number of chances of support, in the shape of proficiency allowances. Besides all this, the Roman Catholics are increasing rapidly in wealth, intelligence, and independence; they not only erect costly cathedrals, and chapels, and hospitals, but have even aspired to found an University, to supersede that of the Queen, and I have no doubt that under a more judicious administration of the funds of the National Board, the Roman Catholic body could be brought to give more liberal contributions to the National Schools than they do at present.

The last extract we furnish is a specimen of a practice referable perhaps to Mr. Ferguson's forensic habits, according to which it becomes the duty of counsel in a losing case to abuse the opposite attorney.

I have endeavoured to show how far the Fundamental Rules of the National Board, in regard to religious instruction, were in accordance with the views of the Commissioners of 1806, and necessary in a plan of education of Roman Catholics undertaken by a Protestant Government. I have also shown that the application of these same rules to the Parochial and Scriptural Schools was against the views of these Commissioners; was open to grave objections of a substantial character, on the ground of duty and conscience; was uncalled for by any wise purpose; and, that while it has been a source of painful and gratuitous irritation, and of injurious exclusion, it has in its results gone far to defeat the legitimate aim and object of the rules themselves. I have shown that their application was, as to a considerable number of the schools, nugatory, and as to some of them—the Convent Schools—illusory and mischievous, and that there was no semblance of fair dealing in aiding schools of so exclusive and sectarian a character, and refusing aid to the Scriptural and Parochial Schools; and lastly, I trust I have made the proposition clear, that a persistence in the present course,—while it tends more and more to depress and deteriorate the standard of national education, to alienate its best friends, to divorce the Church of England and Ireland from its co-operation with the State, to expel those of its clergy and laity who had confidently trusted the Board, and to obstruct the advancement and lower the social position of the poor Protestants,—wholly fails to propitiate or to satisfy the heads of the Church of Rome. Having for the last five-and-twenty years done no little service to that Church in sheltering the Roman Catholics from the influence of Scriptural light and truth, it is now being made the slave of a more uncompromising and exacting task-master, who banishes contemptuously the mild element of moral

and religious instruction as if heretical ; who rigorously interdicts religious communion with Protestants, in respect even of the rudiments of their common Christianity ; and would fain convert the National Schools of Ireland into nurseries of a bigoted and intolerant ultra-montanism.

It is not to be supposed that Mr. Ferguson has any more distinct conception of what "ultramontanism" means than he had of the meaning of the word "Catechumen," when he applied it to Dean Meyler, or than he has of a great many other things which he has noticed in his pamphlet. Certainly there is no lad under the care of the Christian Brothers, or probably on the third form of a National School, who does not understand the term so comically applied by Mr. Ferguson. The circumstance perfectly illustrates the inconvenience of using words which connect themselves with no distinct idea in your mind. But as Mr. Ferguson was writing for a Public, who knew perhaps almost less about those matters than he did himself, he acted judiciously perhaps in the use of those mysterious terms. This vigorous pelting with Greek and Latin words of four and five syllables respectively might possibly make us waver in purpose did we not happen to understand the words, just as our assailants happen not to understand them. And we happen to understand their tactics likewise. We know that the monies coming from "the princely munificence of the Lord Primate" and of other lords and ladies, which is now held suspended in the Church Education Society ; would by the infusion of parliamentary coin be precipitated upon Catholic poverty. We know well that as soon as the funds now applied in sustainment of the things called schools, should be set at liberty by the application of parliamentary funds to the same object, they would be thrown upon the soul-market, and knowing this we are perfectly resolute and decided to prevent it.

But it is not to be inferred that we desire to see the children of our Protestant fellow subjects, belonging to the humbler classes, in their present lamentable state of ignorance. We shall have to meet them in after life as mechanics, or as law clerks, or merchants' clerks, or petty sessions' clerks, or shopmen, as soldiers, or non-commissioned officers ; and it can be no gain to us that they should be illiterate and ill-bred as they are. The truth is their ministers do not care about *them*. They not so much seek to elevate the Protestant pupils to our level, as to pull our children down to theirs. They have utterly and

totally neglected their schools, and upon that very neglect they ground a claim to drive us from what they call the strongholds of education. It is too late for them to plead poverty. The statistics of this report show that the parish schools are poorly endowed, that is to say poorly endowed by the State. The State offered them conditions which we and the Presbyterians reconciled it to our conscience to accept, although we do not like them in the least. The Protestants of the Establishment have not chosen to do so; but they might have had *good* schools of their own, had they been that way inclined. According to their own boastful assertion, whenever it answers their purpose to make the assertion, the Protestants of the Established Church have five-sixths of the property of the country; and their Church itself is known to be endowed as no other Church in the world is endowed. The curate may have less, and the rector may have more, and the bishop may have something startling; (we have nothing to say to the division of the spoil), but their church is at our expense the richest in the world. Are we to be told that if they cared for education there is anything to interfere with their making their schools respectable, if not equal in merit to those of the Christian Brothers? They send round the begging box in England for missions to the Roman Catholics, while they allow their own schools to starve for want of support. The small number of Protestant children in a parish cannot be pleaded in excuse, for when by accidental zeal in a rector, or by accidental qualifications in a teacher, good instruction is provided, we find a parish school successful with no more than twenty-eight pupils on the roll.* The disgraceful condition of these schools can be attributed to nothing else than the neglect of the Protestant clergy, not as individuals perhaps, but certainly as a body—possibly not through inclination, but undeniably through policy. We shall not be induced to believe that a church whose internal government is in the most abject subjection to the State; a church that cannot frame a collect without an order in council; that cannot hold a synod without incurring the penalties of *præmunire*; and that has not virtue to incur any penalty whatever—a church that dares not attempt the most insignificant act of self government, and cares not to do it even if it durst—a church that will accept any bishop, no mat-

* Freshford Parochial School, County of Kilkenny, see vol. iii., Tables of Schools and Endowments, p. 149.

ter what his tenets, at the order of the State—we must not believe that such a church would object to State control in the hours at which it may dispense religious instruction to parish children if the religious instruction had reference to Protestants only, and were a matter of purely internal discipline. Were that so Protestants would no more require to interfere with the discipline of a national school than with that of a regimental, a prison, or workhouse school. The truth is, that sooner than deny themselves the pleasure of tormenting the conscience, of Catholics whom the law preposterously call their parishioners, the clergy of the Established Church neglect their schools in order to run after proselytes. Nothing can be more pitiable than the description given by the Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners of the schools under the superintendence of the Established clergy. We do not care to resort to the stage trick of parallel columns; the perfection of the schools of the Christian Brothers is too well known to require the benefit of contrast, but it may be well to give some specimens of the management of their own schools by the established clergy, upon which they found a claim to occupy the strongholds which are occupied by Catholics in the education not of Protestants children but of their own. We give one or two samples from several counties, and we have taken those with a few exceptions almost at random.

Clonmelsh ; Powerstown School.—There were only two children (boys) in the school on the day of my visit, who were learning to read. I examined them, and found their reading bad; they were able to spell words of one syllable only. The school is at a low ebb, and seemed much neglected.—[19th of August, 1856.]

Clonmore Parochial School.—I examined a class (the most advanced in the school) of three girls and two boys, in English dictation, parsing, and geography. In writing from dictation two acquitted themselves tolerably well; the rest, very badly. None of them were able to parse a sentence, or even to distinguish the parts of speech. In geography the answering was tolerable.—[4th August, 1856.]

Castleknock, Parochial Boys' and Girls' Schools.—These schools enjoy from endowment a very large annual income. Do the public, then, receive a benefit commensurate with the extent of the endowment? This question must, I apprehend, be answered in the negative. The schools, whether as regards the amount or quality of instruction given, are by no means above the average of other parochial schools which do not possess a tenth part of their endowment. Nothing is taught but the ordinary branches of reading, writing, grammar, geography, and arithmetic—no mathematics, mensuration, or book-keeping.

With so large an income applicable to the support of the schools, one would have expected that the exclusive services of a teacher would at least have been secured. This does not appear to be the case, so far as the master is concerned. He is not only parish clerk and sexton, but also clerk of a savings' bank. It was explained to me that the latter employment only occupies an hour a-week of the school time, and that during that period the children are catechised by the curate of the parish. It would be better, however, that his entire time were devoted to the school, the emoluments accruing from which, to him and his wife, are ample.

I examined a mixed class (consisting of the most advanced boys and girls from each school) in reading, geography, grammar, arithmetic, and English history. The proficiency displayed in reading and geography, was only middling, and in grammar low. In history and mental arithmetic, the answering was fair.

The amount of instruction given is quite inadequate ; it should embrace some mathematics, mensuration, and book-keeping.—[20th October, 1856.]

Clontarf, Parochial School.—From Mr. Litton's register of the Lord Lieutenant's School Fund, it appears that a grant of £92 6s. 2d. was approved of on condition of private contributions to the amount of £144, and a site being granted by Mr. Vernon ; but that Mr. Vernon who was to make the grant died, leaving a son ten years old ; and as nothing further is said on the subject, we are left to the inference, that no conveyance of the site was ever, in fact, executed, and it does not appear that money was issued from the Lord Lieutenant's Fund. The supply of books and school requisites is very deficient ; there is no report-book or time-table kept in the school ; there are no examinations of the scholars, and no premiums allowed, and the amount of instruction given in the school embracing only reading, writing, and arithmetic) is quite too limited. Even in the branches taught the state of instruction was very indifferent. In the boys' school or senior room I found, on the day of my visit, but two pupils present, of whom one only was able to read. I examined him along with four other boys and two girls (selected from the female school or junior room) ; of these, only three made any attempt at reading—the rest were obliged to spell the words before pronouncing them. One alone could answer any questions in arithmetic.

The condition of the school, as I saw it, is by no means creditable to a locality so wealthy and highly favoured as Clontarf. It will hardly be credited that needlework, so important to children in their rank of life, is not taught to the girls of the school, owing to the want of a supply of the necessary materials.—[20th October, 1856.]

Rathmichael School.—The state of this school was wholly unsatisfactory. Of books and school requisites there was a very deficient supply. No report book was kept, and there was no record of the daily attendance of the scholars. I examined a class of six (comprising three boys and three girls), being the most advanced in the school, in reading, grammar, and geography. They read (from the Dublin Reading Book) very badly. None of them were able to parse, and in geography only two were able to answer any questions

and even their knowledge was of the most limited character. Neither book-keeping nor mensuration is taught in the school, and there was only one boy learning Euclid.—[17th October, 1856.]

St. Andrew's Parochial Girls' School.—The state of education in this school was unsatisfactory. The reading of the girls whom I examined was bad, their knowledge of grammar very limited, and in explaining the meaning of words very little intelligence was exhibited; in geography the answering was better.—[8th October, 1856.]

Ballynax School.—There were but two children present on the occasion of my visit, and they could only spell words of one syllable. The school appeared at a low ebb.—[27th May, 1856.]

Nass, Parochial Boys' School.—I examined three boys (being the most advanced class in the school) in English dictation, and the result was by no means favourable. Of English history they had very scanty knowledge; but in geography their answering was better. Only one boy in the school was learning Euclid, and he knew but little of it.—[2nd June, 1856.]

Nass, Parochial Girls School.—This school is in a low condition. The children whom I examined, though the most advanced in the school, read badly, and were quite ignorant of geography. In arithmetic their knowledge did not extend beyond the multiplication table.—[2nd June, 1856.]

Kilkenny, Subscription, Boys' School.—As regards the state of instruction, this school is almost as backward as any I have visited. Nothing could be more imperfect or slovenly than the reading of the advanced pupils, and it is ridiculous to speak of their knowledge of parsing, or of their having studied English grammar. I was told, for instance, that in the phrase "former time" "former" is an adverb, and "time" another adverb; nor could any one in the fourth or third class, explain the meaning of the word "recent." The general answering in geography was more satisfactory, but in arithmetic the pupils had as little knowledge of principles here as I have met with anywhere. The handwriting of nearly all the scholars is childish. I hardly know how to account for the great ignorance observable in this school. The number of pupils on the roll is certainly small, but not subject to the same fluctuation as in country districts, where it is difficult to secure the smallest degree of regularity; and inferior as are the books in the hands of the pupils, I have met with schools less advantageously circumstanced, where very much more seemed to have been learned. This I am inclined, wherever it occurs, to attribute to the accident of the schoolmaster being above the average of parish clerks, although the level is very uniform; but with inferior books, ill-informed teachers, and inspection resulting in the promotions I have everywhere had to notice, we have no reason to expect a very different state of thing.—[2nd July, 1856.]

Kilkenny, Subscription, Girls' School.—I examined the most advanced pupils of the twenty-one present. Their style of reading was bad, and their knowledge of parsing very imperfect, although much superior to that of the boys. Their manner of writing from dictation

was tedious and slovenly. In one sentence there were several false spellings, which included every variety of spelling for the word "seems," such as "seams," "seames," "semes." The mistress, however, I consider diligent and zealous, and as she has hardly been four months in her present engagement, she is not altogether accountable for the shortcomings of the school.—[2nd July, 1856.]

Clara, Parochial, Boys' School.—I found the style of reading in this school extremely bad, and so little idea have the pupils of parsing, that "fertile" was given to me as a noun and as a verb. There is, however, one feature in this school which I have not usually found in parish schools—the pupils appeared to understand what they read. The books were of course very elementary, but it was satisfactory to find that the pupils were not altogether in the dark as to the matter of their studies.—[22nd April, 1856.]

Kinnitty School.—Nothing could be worse than the style of reading in this little school. The pupils had never been taught to parse; and as far as I could ascertain, they were quite ignorant of the meaning of the generality of words in their reading books. The only meaning suggested for the word "*unobstructed*," was "*showing the way*;" and the answering of all whom I examined was equally bad in every respect —[21st April, 1856.]

Tullamore, Charleville, Erasmus Smith's English Boys' School.—The pupils of this school were extremely deficient in knowledge of the meaning of words upon the occasion of my visit. The word "impostor" was explained to mean "brute," and no one could be found to give the meaning of the word "active." All whom I examined were very ill-prepared in geography, and unacquainted with the principles of the rules of arithmetic. This last is a defect which runs through nearly all the schools of this class, National or parochial; and is one which would seem to call for particular notice from the inspectors. As far as my experience enables me to judge, I think it is completely overlooked.—[22nd April, 1856.]

Dundalk, Erasmus Smith's English Girls' School.—The state of instruction in this school was very unfavourable. I examined the most advanced class of the pupils. They read (from the Third Part of the Dublin Spelling Book) very badly. Their answering in geography was very indifferent, and they knew little or nothing of grammar. In mental arithmetic their answering was better.—[6th September, 1856.]

Termonfeckin School.—This is a poor school, and in a declining condition. The state of instruction was by no means satisfactory. I examined a mixed class, comprising four girls and three boys, in reading, geography, and grammar. The reading was indifferent, and the answering in geography (with the exception of one boy) bad; none of them were able to parse, and in explaining the meaning of words very little intelligence was exhibited by any of the pupils. The school being situate near the coast, and only a few miles from the flourishing port of Drogheda, it would be desirable that some instruction should be given in the principles of navigation.—[8th September, 1856.]

Ardea; Lauragh, Parochial School.—The state of instruction in this school is very low indeed; the pupils have a style of reading verse, if possible, than is to be met with in schools of this class generally. I feel persuaded they have not been taught the meaning of a single word in their class-books. One grown boy stated, in answer to my question, that England was an island; and upon my inquiring whether England merely was surrounded by water, properly answered it was not; but in answer to my further inquiry whether Great Britain was an island, he replied, after some consideration, that it was not. The girls were in a state of almost greater ignorance. As their only reading-book is the New Testament, I caused them to read a portion of the 13th chapter of St. Mark. Only one of those under examination could tell the meaning of the word "parable;" but although a girl of evident natural acuteness, she could assign no better meaning to the word "vineyard" than "a place where figs grow," and to the word "husbandman," no meaning at all. Nor was any one present able to explain how the Holy Land came to be called Judea, or to say in what part of the world it lies. It is hardly necessary to state that a knowledge of English grammar or geography was not to be expected in a school of this description.—[10th October, 1856.]

Clonenagh; Ballyfin School.—I found only twelve children present during my visit, and have seldom met with more absolute ignorance. One pupil out of all under examination attempted to explain the word "suffocate," and gave "to hurt" as its meaning; another told me a lake was a river, although asked to define it as the opposite of "island." I found an entry in the report book, under the signature of the Very Rev. Dean Kennedy, in which it was stated that the master was in the habit of swelling his roll by fictitious names, that he absented himself from the schoolroom during school hours, and that a previous entry by Dean Kennedy, complaining of similar irregularities, had been torn from the report book. A letter having been forwarded to me in which the serious charges of profane swearing, drunkenness, and obscenity, were preferred against the master, I examined, upon oath, the writer of the letter in question, Mr. William Graham, a parishioner and tenant-farmer in the immediate neighbourhood, touching the matter of these imputations. There seems to be sufficient truth in the statements of Mr. Graham, deriving confirmation in certain particulars, as they do, from other sources, to warrant me in saying that the schoolmaster is, in every respect, unfit to act in the care of youth. The circumstance of his farming extensively, and neglecting in consequence the duties of the school, are put forward by Mr. Graham. It appears, from the master's own evidence, that he does farm some fourteen acres, and Dean Kennedy affirms that the school is utterly neglected: a matter, too, of easy inference from the state of instruction amongst the pupils. Dean Kennedy stated to me in terms, that the man was intellectually and morally unfit for his charge; and it also appears that the parishioners, partaking this opinion, have endeavoured to obtain his removal from Sir Charles Coote on more occasions than one, but without success.

The annual reports relative to this school for the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, furnished to the Church Education Society by their inspector, have been laid before me, and I have to observe, with reference to these reports, that none of the causes of complaint against the master, alleged to exist by Dean Kennedy and others with the utmost positiveness, upon the daily report book, and accompanied, in one instance upon record at this very moment, by a running commentary in the handwriting of the schoolmaster, are noticed even in a passing way.

Nothing can more strongly illustrate the superficial, and I regret to say unreal, nature of the Society's inspections of this school than these reports. The first in the order of time, that for the year 1854, is characteristic—it commits the inspector to no expression of opinion whatever with respect to the working of the school, and the range of conjecture it opens up is quite unlimited. The statement in that report is to the effect, that “this is a most interesting school, but that the attendance has been lessened by circumstances.” The second report enters more into detail, but ascribes what would seem to be considered the comparative inefficiency of the school to the opposition it had to encounter from Dean Kennedy, whom it represents as unfriendly to Scriptural education, but without the slightest allusion to the matter of Dean Kennedy's observations in the report book. The report for 1856 states, that “there is much to be pleased with in this school;” but I, after my experience, am entirely at a loss to reconcile the statement of the inspector with any thing that I have seen or heard in the school. Absolute incapacity upon the part of the teacher, and complete darkness in the minds of the pupils, with charges of the most serious character against the master, authenticated by the signature of a dignitary of the Established Church, and remaining unnoticed and unrefuted in the report book, are not to be regarded as matter of complacent notice.—[19th October, 1856.]

Killucan; Creddanstown School.—What amount of instruction is given here, in accordance with the scale of proficiency, I am unable to say; but the amount retained is very small indeed. The grammar class was perfectly ignorant of the nature of the parts of speech, or the meaning of the words; “rich,” was stated to be a noun, a pronoun, and a verb. No pupil could give me the meaning of the word, “inconceivable,” occurring in the reading lesson. The closest approach to the explanation of the word “monstrous,” was “great.” This school is certainly worse than useless.—[9th April, 1856.]

Old Ross, Parochial School.—This is a very wretched school, and the pupils receive a very inferior education in the mere elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Although geography and grammar are professed to be taught, the pupils had scarcely any knowledge of the former, and were entirely ignorant of the latter. In arithmetic the pupils answered fairly to the extent of compound multiplication, but could not go farther. The writing was fair. In English dictation, out of seven pupils two alone acquitted themselves with any degree of accuracy. Mental arithmetic is taught to a small

ment. The school is miserably supplied with books and school requisites, and there is but one very small map (that of Europe) in the school.—[22nd September, 1856.]

Delany; Windgater Girls' School.—I examined the most advanced class in the school, comprising six girls. They read badly from the Third Book of the Christian Knowledge Society. With the exception of one girl none of them could parse; and in geography their answering was not good. The school appeared inefficiently conducted, and there was besides a deficiency of books and proper school requisites.—[1st September, 1856.]

Derryloary, Parochial School.—The state of instruction in this school was indifferent. The children whom I examined read badly and, although the most advanced class in the school, were unable to parse. In arithmetic and geography the general answering was very unsatisfactory.—[2nd September, 1856.]

Ballymodan; Currawarraghane School.—The state of secular knowledge in this school is very low; but much attention is given to religious instruction. In arithmetic and geography the pupils are more than commonly deficient. The same may be said as regards grammar, of which they are nearly altogether ignorant. The writing is fair, but, in general, the pupils are deficient in the most elementary knowledge of the branches I have stated. They are, in general, very young. Four pupils have commenced Euclid, but have not advanced beyond the Definitions.—[23rd January, 1856.]

Ballynacloagh, Parochial School.—There were only two pupils present when I visited the school; they were both very young girls, and their knowledge was very elementary. They could read pretty well, and could do a sum in short division, but knew scarcely any thing of geography or English grammar. The amount of secular education given in the school is very small. Dean Head, the rector of the parish, seems to pay great attention to the religious instruction.—[28th April, 1856.]

Bowney, Parochial School.—The children in the school when I visited it were very young; but for their ages, I think their proficiency was below the average in parochial schools. They had very little knowledge of geography; were nearly altogether ignorant of grammar; not being able (with one exception) to distinguish the parts of speech. They read pretty well in an elementary book, and, for their age, had a fair knowledge of arithmetic. The writing was not good. The schoolroom is kept in a very dirty state.—[16th April, 1856.]

Tramore, Parochial School.—The secular instruction given in this school is exceedingly limited, both in amount and quality. The pupils exhibited a fair proficiency in the principal rules of arithmetic. In English dictation they were lamentably deficient, almost every other word being wrongly spelled. In geography they were no better; and of grammar they were utterly ignorant. Two of the pupils alone had commenced Euclid, but had not gone beyond two or three propositions. The principal attention seems to be paid to religious instruction, and to needle and fancy work, which is executed with con-

siderable neatness. The teachers do not appear competent to give an improved education.—[30th November, 1855.]

Antrim; Bow Lane, Erasmus Smith's English Girls' School.—I examined in the girls' school the head class in geography and arithmetic; the answering in the former was very poor, and the answering in the latter was indifferent. The mistress attributed this in a great measure to the children being unaccustomed to be examined by a stranger. The ages of the girls examined were from nine to eleven.—[E. P., 13th March, 1856.]

Ballintoy, School.—The condition of this school is a disgrace to a civilized society. It enjoys a house and plot of ground, and an income which, though small, might be considered a very fair endowment for a village school. The schoolhouse was an extremely substantial and commodious building; but it is almost roofless. The master is suffering under the complaint of asthma, and is unfit for his situation physically, and has not had an education for the office, being educated for the sea, and placed as a schoolmaster because unable to follow a more active pursuit. Three of the children present were labouring under heavy colds, most probably taken in this large and uncovered building. There are no privies. The school is wholly without superintendence of any kind. Neither the proprietor of the estate (who is an absentee) nor his agent, so far as I can collect, look after the school. None of the clergymen of the district visited it. There is no supply of books, nor regular course of instruction. The attendance is very small, and it is so much lost time to those who do attend.

Keady; Tullyglush School.—This school is in a lamentable way; the infirmity of the master, the want of books and school requisites, the dilapidated state of the house, and the absence of any salary for the master, all contribute to render this a very inefficient school.

The schoolhouse would require a good deal of repair to put it into moderate order. The school can be called nothing but a hedge-school.—[23rd November, 1855.]

Anna; Drumaloor School.—The pupils present, although quite of an age for greater proficiency, were hardly able to read the Second Book of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, or to get through a verse of Scripture; grammar or geography was therefore quite out of the question. The master has only been recently appointed; but this is not sufficient to account for the low stage of proficiency, which it is all, it seems, that can be reached in a school of more than thirty years' standing, having fifty-nine pupils upon its roll, and an average daily attendance of twenty-two. It is more satisfactory, of course, to see the pupils in a class suited to their knowledge and abilities, than to find them forced upwards by injudicious promotion, as I have most frequently noticed them; but, at the same time, there must be a want of energy and zeal, on the part of the managers and inspectors of the school, as it is unreasonable to suppose that they should not be able to qualify some at least of fifty-nine pupils for the reading lessons of the Third Book of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and to fit them for the light studies which usually accompany it, and which are so much less trying than those followed by the third class in National Schools.—[12th March, 1856.]

Belturbet, Erasmus Smith's English School.—The pupils were deficient in their answering generally, and understood little of what they read. They were evidently kept under scarce any restraint, as during my examination of the master, they whistled, talked aloud, and came to him with complaints of each other. I have, however, visited schools where the amount of instruction was smaller than here.—[25th January, 1856.]

Kildallen, Parochial School.—The schoolmaster is very ignorant. It can hardly be expected he should teach grammar, when he said to me, "We 'bes' very few on Saturdays." I examined the children in a verse of the Acts of the Apostles, and no one could explain the meaning of the word "consenting," in the passage, "And Saul was consenting to his death."—[26th January, 1856.]

Killeshandra, Parochial School.—The state of instruction is very low indeed in this school. The pupils could not give the meaning of any word in a simple verse of Scripture. In geography they answered quite wildly. One said Europe was in England; and another, that Paris was seated on the St. Lawrence. Altogether, I have met with few less promising schools.—[18th January, 1856.]

Stranorlar, Erasmus Smith's English School.—The situation of this school is pretty good, but there is a cess-pool on the premises which is filled with every kind of filth. The house, which was originally a very fine one, is at present in a very wretched condition. The master informed us that arrangements have been made for its repair.

In this school, as in all other schools under the Erasmus Smith Board which I have visited, I have been unable to form any safe opinion as to the efficiency of the visitation. The visitor very rarely makes any entry or memorandum in the school register of his visit, what he observed, and what he wished to have remedied. Where the visitation merely is for the information of a board or commission in Dublin, this may be enough; but when the primary object is, or should be, the admonition and inciting of the master and pupils, some record should be made, which would always be before the master's eyes, and to which the visitor on his next visitation might refer, to see how far his admonitions have been attended to; without this, the great purpose of visitation is lost sight of.—[8th October, 1856.]

Downpatrick, Blue, Girls' School.—In the girls' school there are no regular classes. I examined in geography, in which the answering, except by one, was very bad. Two only of those present could write from dictation. It was well done by one of the girls and badly by the other. I can hardly say there was any answering in arithmetic.

The state of attainment does not at all correspond with what one would expect from the return made by the mistress of the number of pupils using the different books.

Both these schools are in an unsatisfactory state. The master and mistress are quite unsuited for their places; they are much too far advanced in life. Their removal is now under Mr. Ker's consideration.* The girls' school does not commence at the hour directed by the rules given to the mistress; and the girls are not classed.

* The master and mistress were removed in July, 1856, and trained teachers appointed in their place.

The taking in lodgers by the mistress during the assizes ought not on any account to be permitted, and, I understand, will not in future be allowed.—[30th January, 1856.]

Enniskillen; Derryheehan Boys' and Girls' School.—The mistress is daughter of the master, and has no salary as distinct from him.

I examined a class consisting of six children—three boys and three girls, eldest aged fourteen, and youngest eleven years—in writing from dictation, arithmetic, grammer, and geography. The answering in grammer and geography was very indifferent, in arithmetic very fair. The writing of three of the children was scarcely respectable, two others very bad, and the sixth did not write.

I consider that the quality of the instruction given is very wretched, and that neither the master nor his daughter is qualified to conduct a school with success, or to afford even the low degree of instruction which the neighbourhood desires to have.—[10th June, 1856.]

Clondermot; Culkerragh School.—There is neither discipline nor instruction in this school. It is, in fact, a school but in name. I do not think it answers any of the purposes of a school, and I consider that the annual endowment bestowed by the Irish Society towards its support is thrown away. It virtually has no books. The Holy Scriptures are converted into mere reading-books, for want of books proper for that purpose. There are no maps, and, when I visited, but one slate pencil. The other ordinary requisites of a school were equally deficient. The roll (if there be any) was not in the schoolroom. There is no register or report-book. There is no visitation, except by the members of the family of the proprietor of the estate, who, I doubt not, discharge their duty to the school in the most exemplary manner; but they can never supply the want of extern visitation.

The school is, in fact, a private school for the tenantry of the proprietor of the estate, supported entirely by a grant from the Irish Society. It appears from the master's evidence, that no part of his miserably small salary comes from the proprietor, whose tenants' children are educated in the school; and neither a suitable house nor the commonest school requisites are provided, nor is the school placed in connexion with the Church Education Society or the National Board, whence proper supervision and direction might be had. I therefore am obliged to say, that the grant of the Irish Society is not judiciously bestowed in this instance; and further, that no grant should be given in such a case as this, but in aid of some equal or adequate contribution given by the proprietor.

When a teacher's salary is limited to £10 and the trifle which school fees can produce, it is a mere pension or superannuation, and it cannot be available for the advancement of education.

I asked for five pupils who could write. Only one was produced, aged about twelve years, who wrote from dictation very indifferently. He answered in English grammer very badly: I examined him and three others in geography, but could get no answer, and scarcely any answer in arithmetic. I asked them to read—they did so rapidly, indistinctly, and badly. The school was like a bear-garden during my visit.—[3rd October, 1856.]

Kilmore, Parochial School.—Nothing could be much worse or more

unintelligible than the reading of the pupils. Their ignorance of parsing was such, that a grown pupil in the fourth class stated the numeral "six" to be a verb, and no other pupil ventured a different opinion. I am at a loss to understand, and cannot ascertain, upon what principle the inspectors of this school promote the pupils; because, even in cases of recent promotion, where although the pupil could not be supposed to be familiar as yet with the business of his actual class, he ought to know something of what had qualified him for promotion, the ignorance displayed was so extreme, that in no instance could the pupil have been sufficiently advanced for the class he had left. This I have ascertained by examining him in the text book of the class in question.—[16th July, 1856.]

Tydavnet; Ballinode Parochial School.—The pupils read in the worst possible style. Out of a class of fourteen not one could give the meaning of the word "disengaged"—one only offered a guess that "common" was an adjective, but could assign no reason; and not one could name any peninsula of Europe.—[16th July, 1856.]

Ballsakeery; Mullafarry, Erasmus Smith's English School.—With reference to this school I have only to observe that it seemed to be in a state of complete decay. The pupils were ignorant of everything upon which I examined them. One girl only seemed to have some slight knowledge of reading and spelling.

As far as I can judge, there is no life or vigour in the inspection or administration of the school, and the season of the year is insufficient to account for the wretched attendance on this, not a market-day.—[20th November, 1855.]

Castlebar School.—This school is the one mentioned in the Second Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, 1826, p. 1256, as the school of Aglish, endowed under the Lord Lieutenant's Fund. The master is not a well informed man, but he can hardly be made responsible for the pitiable state in which I found the school, as he has been only a few weeks appointed.

The pupils are in a state of utter ignorance, unless that they can spell their way a little through the trifling books in their hands.—[17th March, 1856.]

Boyle, Parochial School.—The answering in everything, except geography, was very poor. The pupils were nearly quite ignorant of parsing, and absolutely ignorant of derivations. In attempting to write from dictation, only one pupil spelled "operation," correctly, and all made numerous mistakes in a single sentence.—[17th December, 1855.]

Ardvally School.—There was only one pupil, a mere infant, present at the time of my visit, so that I am not in a position to speak from actual observation of the state of instruction in the school. Seeing, however, that the teacher is an illiterate man, without any knowledge of grammar, and just able to read and write; that the school is wanting in books, furniture, and requisites; that there is no roll, no report-book, no inspection, and that it is visited not oftener than once a quarter by a clergyman; I believe I am warranted in concluding that the school must be essentially a bad one; and that it would be difficult to fix upon a less profitable application of so considerable a

sum as £20 per annum than to the support of such a school. I confess to having heard, with much surprise, from the Rev. Mr. Stock, that *the master is an efficient teacher, and most successful in bringing on his pupils*. I, of course, had no opportunity of ascertaining how far he had brought them on; but he must be a more remarkable man than I supposed, if, without knowledge of his own, rules for his guidance, books for his pupils, advice, direction, or control, he can have had any measure of success whatever.—[23rd October, 1856.]

Drumcliffe; Muninean, Erasmus Smith's English School.—It is right to state that the school has hitherto been under the conduct of inefficient teachers. Appended to a somewhat unfavourable notice of the working of the school, from the Church Education Society's inspector, appearing in the report-book, is a comment of the late master, to the effect that the report was malicious and untrue. My experience of these cases leads me to consider this circumstance proof sufficient of the unfitness of the late master for his place; and additional proof is furnished by the ignorance of the pupils in the most elementary branches of instruction. The Scriptures may be said to be the only reading and general lesson book in use. The style of reading is as bad in this as in any other parish school, and the meaning of words as little known. All were alike ignorant of grammar; and I could not obtain the name of a single European island. The master, in reply to the question, what punishments were resorted to, in the course of examination upon oath, enumerated, amongst punishments to which he resorted, the practice of making offenders read verses of Scripture. I expressed my surprise that he should resort to the Scriptures as a means of punishment, when he at once retracted his statement, and said he had made it through inadvertence. I was not satisfied with this explanation, and, accordingly, examined one of his pupils, upon oath, as to the nature of the punishments to which he was habitually subjected, and he swore distinctly that he had been obliged to read the Scriptures by way of punishment. The master, however, having interrupted my examination to ask the witness whether such punishment had proceeded from himself, the witness answered that it had not; but the answer was manifestly suggested by the master's question.—[22nd October, 1856.]

We have treated the subject of education in Ireland, not by any means with reference to the subject of endowed schools merely, nor exactly according to the view in which the latter subject was considered by ourselves before the appointment of the late Commission. One feature, at all events, of the inquiry just furnished, is its completeness, and the abundance of the materials which it supplies for the treatment of the question of education generally. There is no class of schools in our country not found to include a sufficient number of endowments, to enable us to

form an opinion, a strong conjectural opinion, at least, as to the state of education in that portion of the class which lay outside the field of the Commission, as well as in that which lay within it. There was, moreover, one large subdivision of schools admittedly endowed, the vested schools of the National Board, upon which the Commissioners did not consider it necessary to report, but which we have no reason to doubt, altogether resembled the remainder of their class. And further, large as was the number of schools taken in by the definition of the Commissioners, it excluded from the list of endowed schools a class which for many important purposes may be considered as endowed; the schools supported by parliamentary grant from the early estimates; so that dealing with the subject of national education generally, we might still be said to keep within the subject of education in endowed schools. The inquiries of the Commissioners into such of these schools as were included within their own definition furnished us with a large though not complete indication instances upon which to grant our perferment as to the entire class, and therefore as to the entire National system. The same may be said to a still greater extent, as we have always observed of the rival, or Church Education system. Again, the Commissioners differed in opinion upon questions of high principle equally applicable to unendowed, or temporarily endowed Schools, as to Schools endowed in perpetuity. The principle involved was that of mixed education; and in arriving at a judgment upon the subject, no better materials could be found than those prepared for us by the Commissioners. We learned, not only from their general report, but from their tabulated statistics, and from the special reports of the assistant Commissioners; that the National Schools are substantially separate establishments, under the direction of the Catholic clergy, although governed by rules not altogether in harmony with the feelings of that body. We learned further that those schools being of the character and under the direction we have described are good schools and instrumental in the diffusion of solid and useful education. We were further taught, that the essentially Catholic schools of the Christian Brothers were also the most perfect of their class, or rather that they form a class quite apart from, and superior to any schools that might be supposed to rank with them; and we found

lastly, that the schools under the immediate care of the clergy of the Established Church were such as have been described in the foregoing extracts. Upon a review of the entire case; while anxious to preserve for ourselves the intellectual superiority communicated to our youth by systems like those of the Christian Brothers, and while anxious to extend the application of those systems to intermediate and upper education; we are far from anxious to perpetuate the degradation to which the parish schools have been reduced by the neglect of the Protestant clergy, and their contempt of secular instruction. If the clergy of the Established church would loyally agree to concern themselves with their own congregations merely, and to embrace frankly the denominational system, we should gladly meet their views. In three of the provinces there is no such thing as united education, and in the fourth it is adopted with great jealousy and with no little heart-burning. If there must be a Protestant and Catholic National school in each parish; be it so; but let them be as emphatically and conspicuously distinct as the Protestant and Catholic churches. If Catholic parents think proper to send their children to the Ministers' school, let it be upon the distinct understanding that the teaching is as Protestant as Calvin could desire. The system of mixed education does not in reality exist; we have only separate education hampered by inconvenient rules. The attempt to extend even the theory of mixed education to intermediate schools would be quite hopeless, and involve the country again in the disastrous controversy that attended the establishment of the Queen's Colleges, and which might have been so easily avoided by allowing open competition to separate and independent universities, with equal advantages and rights. The State has an opportunity of adjusting the long disputed question now, and of reconsidering the entire subject of education. We for our part are not anxious to encroach upon any educational endowments whether of state or private foundation that have been regarded as belonging peculiarly to Protestants. We make no reference at present to the revenues of the Church Establishment. That is an altogether different question. But speaking for ourselves merely, we are quite willing to leave to the Protestants every one of the educational endow-

ments they claim as theirs, or that Mr. Stephens claims for them, not by any means, in the case of the schools of State foundation as a matter of right, but as a peace offering merely and upon conditions. We hold what will hardly be disputed, that in the distribution of favours as well as of burthens Catholic and Protestant should stand upon opposite sides of an equation. No one can pretend that they stand in any such relation at present. In respect of primary education the state endowment is nearly all upon the Catholic side for the reasons so abundantly discussed already. In respect of intermediate education it is all the other way, and we for our private part are content to leave it so. In respect of superior education we have upon the Protestant side the University of Dublin, a great Protestant institution, to the secular teaching, and to some of the prizes of which Catholics are admissible, but upon the Catholic side we have absolutely no equivalent; while the Queen's Colleges, being open to Protestant and Catholic alike, are common quantities, and cannot restore the balance. Complete the equation by giving to the Catholic interest a quantity to balance the University of Dublin. The material is ready to our hands in the Catholic University.

It is not many years ago since the *Times*, when such an institution was first in contemplation, suggested that if Catholics should be so fortunate as to obtain for their projected University the services of some of the disciplined minds of Oxford and Cambridge that have passed over to their communion, it would entitle them to some sort of countenance. They have obtained for their University all that was suggested, but they do not receive more countenance or support on that account, than if the Rector and Professors were so many hedge-school-masters. The *Herald* bade welcome to the coming University on the somewhat peculiar ground that Luther was the alumnus of a Catholic University. But now that the University has come, neither the *Times* out of respect for the literary training it supplies to Catholics "Ilium in Italianam portans," nor the *Herald* in anticipation of its promised crop of Luthers, has given to it the support they seemed to hold out. Never was a moment more propitious for the adjustment of the question. The existence of free and recognised universities side by side with the State university, and enjoy-

ing every privilege of a University, is a fact in Belgium, why not in Ireland? Mixed education, like the Turkish empire, has no friends, and yet no one is quite prepared to do without it. This is certainly a favourable time, and the rivalry between the great educational establishments of the country for the prizes thrown open to them by competitive examinations, could not fail to promote the general interests of education. And greater than all would be the gain of the country in harmony and good feeling, by the abandonment of theories and frank adoption of realities. Catholic and Protestant must have mixed education in the great school of the world, even if they learn their alphabet and construe their classics apart. They must meet and rub together, and educate each other in the counting house or stock exchange, at the railway board, in the hall of the Four Courts, in municipal councils, in the same or in a different political connexion in the legislature; but the attempt to confuse the boundaries of Protestant and Catholic education, primary, secondary, or superior, we regard as wrong in principle, and if right not practicable. The bare agitation of the question will estrange the fathers, who will bequeath the estrangement to their sons; suspicion and watchfulness far more than wholesome for the peace of the State will be generated between the parties it was intended to unite; and the substance of that union which mixed education has been instituted to forward, will be lost in the worship of the shadow.

THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART I.—THE LAST OF THE REGENERATORS.

1. *Galerie des Contemporains Illustres* ; George Sand, Honore de Balzac, &c. par un Homme de Rien, (M. Lou  nie.) Paris, 1842.
2. *Les contemporains : George Sand, Honore de Balzac, Eug  ne Sue, Francis Wey, Louis Veron, Gustave Planche* ; par Eug  ne de Mirecourt, Paris, 1856.

A man of business who finds it a difficult matter to keep the passive side of his balance account at a low figure, observes his daughter so absorbed in the perusal of '*the Initials*,' that her domestic duties for the day are discharged in a manner far from satisfactory. In the usual evening *causerie* to which her liveliness and intelligence contribute so pleasant a zest, he finds her an uninterested listener ; and judges from her distraught manner that her mind is between the marbled covers of the book on the side table. He sees her cast a longing look on the unsympathising volume as she retires to carry out the plot in her dreams, and he is moved to try the quality of the stuff, that like the Egyptian Hachis, affects the faculties for the time with a species of refined inebriation, and makes the every-day accompaniments of common life appear like a hard sepia-hued photograph beside a drawing over which a skilful disposition of light and shade, and the contrast and harmony of rich colouring, have spread their charms. He takes up the volume out of sheer curiosity, and is soon enjoying the romantic scenery of the Bavarian Highlands, conversing with the chamois hunters, and enjoying the echoing of their *jodels* among the cliffs. He is presently domesticated in the *Rosenberg* family, and wondering whether the well intentioned but supercilious *Hamilton* and the sincere, hasty-tempered *Hildegard* will be united at the close of the third volume. He has occasionally a prospect of a tender and interesting conversation

between them, but some misconception or some interference of those around, drives away the welcome chance, and everything is immediately in the wrangling category, and he exclaims against the silly impressionable *Crescenz* or the coquettish Mrs. State-Physician *Berger* that will not let them unfold their thoughts to each other in peace and quietness.

A pleasant opening occurs. The old people have gone on a visit, and the younger folk have the house to themselves under the mock tutelage of an indulgent duenna; and they improve the occasion by resorting to the kitchen and preparing a little feast, *Hamilton* reading in recitativo from the cookery book, while the ladies superintend the various processes described. Delightful day!—delightful evening, preparing for the masquerade for visiting which by the way they had got no sanction. Alas! there is a rival in the case, a cousin of *Hildegarde*. A mask is observed to watch their movements; she is separated from her sister, lover, and friends. *Hamilton* is searching for her, wild with terror and self accusation, when Pater Familias's candle expires, and concludes a three hours study, during which he had got more than one uncomplimentary hint from an adjoining room, concerning the very unusual liberty he is taking.

Passing over his uncomfortable first half hour, after taking possession of his pillow, we find him when breakfast is over making a hypocritical apology to *Miss Adelaide* for taking the second and third volumes to his office, as he has correspondents in *Innsbruck* and *Saltzburg*, and wishes to see what is said in the work concerning those places and the surrounding districts. He has to answer a letter just arrived from *Hamburg*,—but *Hildegarde's* father is seized with the cholera, and common humanity will not suffer him to quit his bed-side to answer a mere business despatch. The hero is watched through a fever by *Hildegarde*, his long tresses being cut off of course. She is observed afterwards to wear a bracelet of dark auburn hair, and while the attention of the family is engaged in guessing whose chevelure matches it in hue,—our merchant is requested by a clerk to look over an account into which some error has crept. So he will, but let us first be sure if *Hildegarde* has silyly stolen some of the sick man's brown hair, and therefrom fashioned her precious talisman.

It is now after two o'clock, and bank accounts and bills have to be looked after, and various directions given as to in-

voices and bonded goods, while he would give a great deal for a little leisure to accompany the lovers in their journey from Frankfort to Mayence, and afterwards down the Rhine, sitting beside them under the deck-awning, listening to their discourse, and taking notice of the "castled crags" as they are passed on the delightful voyage. How uninteresting appear the invoice books and the ledgers beside the fever-exciting little volume hidden on the approach of visitors on business! At last, after an anxious interval, truth and constancy are rewarded, and our man of figures wakes out of a restless dream, finds a disagreeable vacuum in thoughts and feelings, and wonders what spell was on him forcible enough to cut off three hours of his natural sleep, and cause him to neglect his affairs to a very inconvenient extent.

The heroine is undoubtedly worthy of a niche near *Belinda Portman*, *Flora M'Ivor*, and Miss Austen's *Emma*; and perhaps when a cheap edition is published, he will purchase it, and read it over quietly, and a little at a time, for the beautiful descriptions of scenery, and the liveliness of the domestic pictures; but catch him opening a new novel again for the next seven years; unless when he wants to see if it is fit for his daughter's perusal, or during a journey, or when taking a day's rest in the country, or when tired out with dull accounts, or &c. &c.

We have exhibited the *Novelo-mania* in its least unhealthy form, taking for subject one of the liveliest, and purest, and most original of modern tales; but let us make a not very unlikely or uncharitable supposition, that some ladies who are heads of families, and others who aspire to be such, generally receive from the library, three volumes of the literature called light, once in the twenty-four hours, and replace them by three others on the ensuing day, without in many cases enquiring whether the writers advocate infidel, socialist, or anti-matrimonial views, in the book to be perused. Were we personally to propound to the fair mental-dram-drinkers whether they find it consistent with their duty to their Creator and their families to spend from eight to ten hours of the twenty-four in such an unhealthy and exciting occupation, we fear that we should receive an ungracious answer, or be shewn to the door by John Thomas. But as we are convinced that the query should be made, we ask it in this general and inoffensive mode through the medium of our *Quarterly*.

And while G. M. W. Reynolds and Co. prepare their poi-

sonous weekly potions for the wearied and ignorant tradesman and labourer, may success wait on the issuers of *Chambers' Journal*, of *Household Words*, and of the *Lamp*, who do all they can to substitute for the villanous and intoxicating beverage, a healthy and refreshing draught for the mental palates of those who would otherwise pass their period of relaxation in the foul atmosphere of the tap-room or the casino. Happy that community where a lively spirit of christian faith and piety is found at the hearths of the working class, and where the ever open doors of the churches, and the devotional exercises within, arrest wandering feet, and afford occupation and development to the pious affections of the mass of the people, during their time of relaxation from severe labour. Useful or harmless reading is good; so are pleasure grounds for walking or other exercises; so are instructive exhibitions and lectures; but let a disposition to embrace the good and reject the evil be infused through a blessing on zealous christian teaching, and the face of society will be renewed.

We have more than once protested against the feuilleton with its thrilling or horrible incidents of daily occurrence, and its nine combinations. Mirecourt, though a determined Anti-Sueite and Anti-Janinite, does not disturb himself or his readers by dwelling on the ill effects of the system as much as one might expect from his principles. He ascribes the daily recurrence of the startling vision or, the "death struggle on the rocky ledge," to Francis Wey. Those who have seen this gentleman's sketches of English society, described from personal observations, and with only a moderate use of French spectacles, will be surprised at this circumstance; but he has long given up the "Raw-head-and-bloody-bones" line, and employed his talents on useful and agreeable subjects.

Francis Wey was born at Besançon, 12th August, 1812; he received his education (such as it was) at the college of Poligny, a picturesque little city of the Jura. His tutor was,

"A young priest who was so annoyed at not being a colonel of cavalry, that he often shut his eyes on his real profession. He performed his priestly functions in Wellington boots, and rode like a centaur. He occasionally led his pupils up among the hills to enjoy the life of a camp. They were preceded by a band, and the professor rode by his troop like a brigadier, each soldier pupil having a moustache marked out on his warlike lip. With warm heart, and kind but eccentric disposition, the Abbé Reffay de Sulignan professed a profound contempt for classic studies, and in the matter of poetry

he gave full permission to Racine senior and Racine junior to go about their business.

One fine night he conducted his pupils up a sombre defile, till they came in presence of the Alps and Mont Blanc. All was calculated for their arrival at the moment when the rays of the early morning were glancing over the vapours arising from the lakes. They threw themselves at once on their knees, the morning prayers were repeated aloud, and the good professor entertained them with an appropriate discourse.

As soon as the near arrival of the inspectors was announced, the Abbé went through his classes, reminded his pupils of all his efforts to make them happy, and insisted in return on two or three weeks of earnest study to save the honor of the school. The gratitude of the young folk wrought wonders.

After seven or eight years of this species of education, our student considered his labors at an end, for he could rob the eagle's nest, box like an Englishman, empty a bottle at one breath, and build a wall like a regularly taught mason."

He will not take to the paternal waste-books or ledgers, and departs for the capital, where he acquires a taste for close attendance on the Italian opera; but even at twenty years of age, he has no notion of literature as a profession.

"Classing a taste for composition among the lost traditions of the Ancient Regime, and the noble employments of a vanished race, he was acquainted only with past literature. He had never heard of Victor Hugo, and considered Charles Nodier as a State-Councillor. But in despite of his ignorance, he took to writing at last, as trees throw out leaves, and flowers when the sun flings his rays on them, and the sap begins to ascend."

He takes his first literary attempt to *Achille Ricourt*, the editor of the *Artiste*, whom he finds with his hair dressed a-la-Jack-Sheppard, *Buridan's* casquet settled jauntily thereon, a cotton velvet jerkin girding his body, and a host of young writers forming his court.

"Come boy, speak out; what is your business with me?" demanded he of Wey, who stood abashed to find himself all at once in what appeared a group of literati of the middle ages. It came out that a wish for insertion was the motive of the visit. Mécenas settled the young aspirant on a lofty stool, took the manuscript, began to read with burlesque gravity, and the mystification commenced. Poor Francis was on thorns, and every one cast his shaft at the victim in the form of an extravagant eulogium. One of the great men in particular, adorned with a face redolent of fat and fun, tormented him without mercy or respite.

"Janin," said Ricourt, "does not this savour marvellously of Balzac?" "Balzac! my friend: Ah! much worse than Balzac." "You have Nodier's accent," said he to Wey; "you should be

from Besançon. Do you know Charles Fourier? " "His Grand-mother and one of my aunts were cousins," answered our hero with the most unspeakable candor, and Janin began to recite,

" *Monsieur, Je suis bâtard de votre apothicaire !* "

Francis was about taking the road in his hand, when he was stopped by these words of Ricourt. "Your machine is execrable, and we must lose a night's rest to put it straight on its limbs. No matter, it shall appear ;" and two days after, the *machine* appeared, without the alteration of a single word."

For two years he led a life of privation, studying and writing in bed, to save firewood, and seldom venturing abroad for fear of "meeting his appetite in the street." At last, he procured a post in the department of the archives, for which he was eminently qualified. He paid his respects in due course to Nodier, at the library of the Arsenal. We refer to our paper on *Les Memoires de Alex. Dumas*, IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. 10, for a picture of an evening re-union with the author of *La Fée aux Miettes*.

Victor Hugo was a constant frequenter of these evening parties. He was at this time young, and blessed with a good appetite. The first time he dined there, he so distinguished himself at his knife and fork, that *Madame Nodier* could not help complimenting him on his prowess. "Oh! Madam," said he, "I was a little shy to-day, but when I come to feel more at ease, I will be found much worthier of your encomiums."

"At the Arsenal they chatted—they read original poems—they danced and sung to the piano. But whether they were under the influence of music, or in the quadrille, or at play, or unreservedly talking scandal, as soon as Nodier approached a group and took the word, all was interrupted. Every one gathered round the story-teller and profound silence fell on the group. Every one held his breath, in order to lose nothing of the exquisite harmony of the discourse; and hours glided by without notice, 'till a warming pan, attached at one end to a servant maid, traversed the salon, and Madame Nodier, armed with a chamber candlestick, was heard pronouncing with domestic authority, 'Come, Titi; your bed is warmed; the conclusion on next Sunday.'

Sarcastic but docile, Titi arose, cast his eyes round on the circle of listeners, spoke some cordial words, gave his limp and lean hand to every one within reach, and disappeared."

* This great pontiff of the Phalansterians, was a native of Franche Comte, as well as Nodier and Wey.

The school of *Fourrier*, to which we directed our readers in the article on *Texier*, having founded the *Phalange* under the direction of *Victor Considerant*, Wey and Raymond Brucker contributed articles; but our hero, being a Christian at heart, brought ridicule on the *Phalansterians* by some of his grave pleasantries.

Fourrier prophesied that when the system would be well established, five hundred persons should assemble in a large meadow, and try who could dress the finest omelette; the successful candidate being thenceforward to enjoy the style and privileges of *Grand Omelettier*.

"So, Francis being of a very compassionate disposition, affected great pity for the gastric labours of the poor examiner, who would be obliged, *ex-professo*, to swallow five hundred mouthfuls of omelette, to enable him to form an impartial judgment. He calculated how many hundred eggs he would be forced to eat, and made enquiries as to the distribution of the residue, and the number of hens put in requisition."

After composing *feuilletons* numberless, some critic insinuated that he did not understand French grammatical composition. The consequence was that he ceased to write, studied some years, rejected the authority of the established grammars, and finally brought out his *Remarques sur la langue française, sur le style et la composition littéraire*.

This is considered a wonderful work for research into the structure and genius of the language from the time of the earliest known works to the present, and for the soundness and justice of the writer's views.

Our author is presented as the reverse of Dumas and Janin, where quietness and modesty are in question; Gerard de Nerval once said that at his death his skin would furnish materials for three academicians.

Beside his *Les Anglais chez Eux* he wrote a descriptive story of English society and manners in the days of Hogarth.

Allusion was made, in our former article on this subject, to the bad grace with which George Sand welcomed her biography at the hands of Mirecourt. Before taking up his brochure we will call on M. de Loménie (*Un Homme de Rien*) for a few illustrations relative to this too celebrated writer. They are taken from the *Galerie des Contemporains Illustres*, 1842. With less sparkle and movement, he exceeds our biographer in coolness and solidity of judgment, and freedom from preju-

dice. We do not warrant the literal truth of his introduction. He says he was under the influence of nightmare, induced by solicitude concerning his coming article, when he was suddenly aroused from his uneasy condition by having a note to the following effect thrust into his hand :—

“ ‘ Madame Dudevant requests Mr. . . . to call on her concerning a small command which she wishes to entrust to him.’ (*Then followed address and date*).

I rubbed my eyes : it was certain that I was not sleeping. Still the contents of the note completely puzzled me. I knew, indeed, several eccentric celebrities who would very willingly give me a command for a biography ; but besides my not consenting to undertake such a commission, the present did not seem to imply any order of this kind.

I was lost in conjecture when it came into my head to cast my eye on the envelope ; I must have been stupid or half asleep not to have thought of it before. The address was M. . . . , Chimney Doctor, and the mystery was at once explained. Deceived by a resemblance in the names, George Sand's Mercury, a sharp boy from La Creuse, and my porter, a lively Auvergnat, to match, had adopted the same notion on the subject. They had probably read somewhere those charming verses of Voltaire on glory and smoke, and had come to the just conclusion that between a smoke doctor and an historian of illustrious cotemporaries the difference is rather less than the diameter of the earth. So, thanks to the similarity of the professions, I was now possessed of an autograph destined for my quasi colleague.

“ Oh ! happy sweep,” I exclaimed, while I still retained so much honesty of purpose as to intend to restore the precious document to the rightful owner, “ you are about seeing genius in dishabille. No one thinks of making a pose before a professor of your rank, while there is always arrangement of drapery more or less before a biographer. Ah ! why can I not be smoke curer and historian at the same time ! But what is to prevent me from becoming a professor of the Black Art ? I have known advocates develope into ministers of state between evening and morning. I have some knowledge of physics : I will commence this moment to study the Article ‘ Smoke ’ in the Cyclopedia, and I will soon know the truth or falsehood of all the reports current on the subject of *Lelia*. I am told of her fierce and fascinating looks, and of her deep and terrible accents. They say that like St. Simon Stylites she inhabits a perch accessible only by ladders, and I read in the *Petersburgh Gazette*, that she is five feet six in height ; that she wears a frock made out of her own hair ; that she sticks moustaches on her lip, and has spurs on her boots. These reports require confirmation ; and all that can be depended on is, that she is a great poet, and her chimnies encumbered with soot. What better occasion can I find to verify the rest ? ”

The contents of the note seeming to imply no personal knowledge of the professor, I arose, dressed myself in haste, and was glad on

looking into a mirror, to perceive in my appearance, just the requisite measure of distinction and elegance befitting a sweep. I perused the article on smoke, clapped a superb two-foot ruler in my pocket, and departed, determined to encounter any function whatever, rather than miss any of those little personal and private details, for which the good public has such a voracious appetite. * * *

I found myself in a small ante-chamber very like all other ante-chambers. They demanded my name: I hesitated, but summoning up all the soul of a biographer, I boldly told the lie, and assumed the style and title of the honest tradesman, who I am sure, little dreamed of the fraud at that moment. I was told to wait a little, and I was not sorry for the suspense, which was barely necessary for conning over my part previous to representation.

Meanwhile the delay was long, and I had time to study the matter on its disagreeable side. A charming little girl with fine curling hair, passed and repassed, and her espiègle and inquisitive glances did not contribute to put me at my ease. It was, no doubt, the little Solange the beautiful child of the illustrious writer. * * *

I began to think that if the theft came to be discovered I would cut a sorry figure: in fine the prospect of a chimney to be swept caused me so little uneasiness, taking my want of skill into account. However there was no room for retreat. * * *

And now, trembling, I awaited the approach of the great, the terrible *Lelia*, recommending my scattering senses to some heathen goddess, and reciting by way of invocation, the flaming dithyrambus of an eloquent professor. "Lo! here comes the true priestess, the veritable victim of the god; the ground shakes under the impetuous tread of *Lelia*, &c &c." I had some just cause for my awe, for a great clattering of chairs, and an energetic exclamation of the priestess on the awkwardness of the servants reached my ear, the door suddenly opened, and I shut my eyes in an access of fright.

When I opened them I found before me a lady of moderate height, of an embonpoint conformable, and not at all *Dantesque*. She wore a morning gown somewhat similar to those, we simple mortals of the male sex wear. Hair fine and perfectly black, whatever evil tongues may say, and separated over a forehead large and smooth as a mirror, fell on her cheeks as in the portraits of Raphael. A handkerchief was thrown negligently round her neck. Her look, which some painters persist in investing with force, had on the contrary a remarkable expression of mild melancholy. The sound of her voice was sweet and low; her mouth particularly expressed benevolence and kindness; and there was in her whole appearance and attitude, a striking character of simplicity, of nobleness, of calmness. Gall would have seen genius in the breadth of the temples, in the rich development of the forehead; and in the frank look, the oval visage, and the fine but fatigued looking features, Lavater would have read a sorrowful past, a comfortless present, an extreme bias to enthusiasm, and consequently to discouragement. Lavater would have read many other things; but he certainly would not have discovered deceit, nor bitter-

* *Lerminier, beyond the Rhine*, vol. 2, page 271.

ness, nor hatred, for they have no place on this sorrowful and composed countenance. The *Lelia* of my imagination disappeared before the reality ; and what I had before me was simply a kind, sweet, sad, intelligent, and beautiful face.

In continuing my examination, I remarked with pleasure that the great *Unhappy* had not altogether renounced female vanities ; for under the flowing sleeves of her robe, and at the junction of the wrist with the fine white hand, I beheld the sparkle of a bracelet set in gold, and of exquisite finish.

This womanly ornament, which by the way had a very fine effect, relieved my mind from the anxiety caused by the sombre hue and the politico-philosophical exaltation of some of the recent productions of George Sand.

One of the hands which I admiringly examined, concealed a cigarito ; badly concealed indeed, for the smoke ascended behind the prophetess in thin, tell-tale volumes.

You may suppose that during this mental inventory my tongue had no holiday. Being set at ease by *Lelia's* gracious reception, and moreover, desirous to finish off in the most elaborate manner my perfidious biography, I purposely involved the economy of smoke in paraphrases and parentheses, while she listened to me with a good-natured and courteous indulgence.

At last when I judged that the portrait was accurately traced on the retina of my mind, I cut short my confused exposition, and retired, being delighted to have to inform you that the *St. Petersburg Gazette* knows not what it says, that the three fourths of those who gossip about George Sand are only amusing themselves at your expense ; that it is true that the prophetess occasionally smokes a cigarito ; that she condescends to envelope herself at times in our absurd frock ; and that among her intimate acquaintance she answers to the name of George.

This, however, is not forbidden by the code, and falls very far short of the monstrous puerilities posted to her account ; and persons well informed can cite many salons of Paris where the illustrious author is seen uniting to the prestige of the genius, the simplicity, the modest demeanor, and the becoming charms of the woman.

And now that you are as well informed on the subject of the lady's personality as myself, it remains to explain by what chain of circumstances the poet has been led to purchase glory at the price of repose.

In the early years of the Restoration the aristocratic convent of the *English Ladies* in the Rue des Fosses Saint Victor, which then enjoyed the monopoly of patrician education, opened its little gate one fine morning to a young and interesting *pensionnaire*. The new comer, who might be about fourteen years old, had just arrived from Berri. Her religious education seemed to have been sadly neglected, for the good sisters observed with pious terror, that she betrayed a very philosophic awkwardness in making the sign of the Cross, as if the exercise was not at all habitual. She was a handsome, black haired girl, her well defined features disclosing a wild untamed pride. She bore with unconcern the unfriendly looks

which, at convent as well as college, are cast on the fresh arrived provincials; and there was in her deportment such an imprint of rustic brusquery, that her refined and aristocratic class-mates soon nicknamed her the *garçon*. But, as to birth and fortune, the new pupil might challenge equality with the proudest blood of France; for though by her mother's side she could only reckon an opulent family in commerce, through her father she laid claim to royal descent.

All the world knows (?) that Marshal Saxe was the son of Augustus II., king of Poland, by the fair Countess Koenigsmark. Under a Saxon envelope, the hero of Fontenoy bore a genuine French heart. His daughter, Maria Aurora, born in 1750, was first married to Count Horn, and after his death she retired as a sort of lay sister to L'Abbaye aux Bois, where she presided with great éclat over a *Bureau d'Esprit*, the most distinguished of the last century. The Old Maréchal de Richelieu was one of her faithful slaves. M. Dupin de Francueil, son of the Farmer General Claude Dupin, became her second husband, and being named Farmer General of the appanage of Berri, he brought thither his wife; they resided at Chateauroux, and afterwards at Nohant, a league distant from La Châtre. She became a widow in 1766; and her son Maurice, who afterwards enjoyed a high military grade under the empire, being killed at La Châtre by a fall from his horse, his daughter, Marie Aurora, was entrusted to the care of her grandmother.

This lady who held the *Emile* of Jean Jacques higher in estimation than the Bible, allowed her wild pupil to scamper in short petticoats all the day long on the banks of the Indre, and chase butterflies along the hollows of the *Black Valley*. * * *

At the period of the religious reaction following the Restoration, the grandmother, though despising the taste of the day for its preference of the writings of St. Thomas Aquino to those of Rousseau, felt it due to the rank and birth of her grand-daughter to give her an education conformable to the spirit of the age.

Then it was that the little country beauty of Berri was obliged to quit her *Black Valley*, and enter among the *Dames Anglaises* with her awkwardness in making the sign of the Cross, and her boyish propensities.

But very few months had gone by in the convent, when the young pupil was scarcely to be recognised: that fervent and many-sided imagination, which, at a later period, flashed out in the abrupt sallies of the great writer, began to reveal itself in all its power. The majesty and splendor of the Catholic service, the uniform life, and the pious and peaceable atmosphere of the cloister, wrought a complete revolution in her soul; and Mdlle. Aurora found herself possessed by such a spirit of devotion, that the rule of the house did not appear to her sufficiently severe, nor the daily life sufficiently rough; and the Lady Superior was obliged to moderate her religious exaltation in consideration of her health, and to impress on her mind, that destined as she was, to live in the world, she would at a later period be obliged to reduce very sensibly the proportions of her asceticism.

All the literary *demi monde* is supposed to know that immediately after her education was completed at the convent, she lost her grandmother, that injudicious guardian to whom Nature and Rousseau stood in the same relation that Allah and Mahommed would stand had she been born in Turkey. She married a full brother of Parson Trulliber, a regular nymph-and-satyr union. It is a pity that neither Heathen poet nor painter has left us a picture of the domestic life of these their favorites after assuming the cares of a household, and submitting their necks to the yoke of the landlord and the tax collector. Ariel must shut her eyes to a desolate future if the thought of wedding Caliban gains an ascendancy in her mind. Mme. Duedevant after enduring her bitter bondage as long as she could afford, fled from her prison, and took the road to her former asylum.

In 1828, the Father Confessor of the *Dames Anglaises*, who had erewhile directed the conscience of Mdle. Dupin, came one day to ask a favor of the Superior. He related how one of his penitents, a former pupil of the establishment, finding herself in a difficult and painful position, wished to make a pious retreat in her former happy asylum. She at first refused, alleging the usage and rule; but the priest persevered, and obtained the favor demanded; and the fugitive of Nohant once more crossed the threshold of the peaceful refuge where the years of her pure and fervent youth had been passed. But her destiny called her elsewhere; genius claimed its prey; and after some days she abruptly entered that world, to resign herself to all the ups and downs, the passions, the joys, and the woes of an artist's career."

"We are near the dog-days of July, 1830; we are tired of dusty streets, of wearisome desk labours. We must get away to green meadows, to river sides, and the cool shades of forests. We will submit to no King, no priest shall guide us; laws were made for slaves, religious rites for weak-minded devotees. All nature is pervaded by a spirit of some kind, not very determined in its operations, nor intelligible in its purposes. Ourselves form a portion of that spirit. Why then should we pay painful worship to that of which ourselves are an integrant portion? Mankind is out of its infancy; we'll build no useless Churches, nor lose our time saying useless prayers, and marriage shall become a tradition of painful memory.

The good old days of Solomon will return; Fourier, Proudhon, Joe Smith, and Brigham Young, will teach us to exert our energies, to prolong our lives indefinitely, to create new planets, and to render the passage into the unseen world of no more consequence than making a change in our diet. All these glorious views are yet in perspective, but a beginning is made; Charles X. is in exile; the Parisian grocers have one of their guild on the throne; Christianity is out of favor at court,

altars are set up in the literature of the day, to Jupiter, Bacchus, and Venus ; and the priests and priestesses, are Latouche, Babac, and George Sand."

We would have included Paul de Kock, as fellow-minister in their disreputable functions, only that coarseness and laxity of morals lay naturally on his path, and he had no need of going aside to look for them ; and in no instance has he joined the unholy onslaught on religion, or its sacred ordinances, or drawn hateful or contemptible pictures of its ministers.

It is said that the devil once gave it as his candid opinion, that the life of a finished man of fashion was only a few degrees less uncomfortable than his own. What must be the state of discomfort and wretchedness at times, to a daughter of genius, ready to yield to the impulse of the moment, to snatch at every enjoyment, and to drain the intoxicating and poisonous cup of pleasure to the dregs, striving often in vain to shut her eyes to the consequences of her acts, and to her future responsibilities, and being deprived by her own free option of all spiritual help to endure the necessary results of evil thoughts or evil practices. The fervent devotional spirit by which her happy convent life was distinguished, could not entirely die within such a soul as hers. Hence at times remorse got the upper hand, and she uttered her yearnings for a return to the paths of Christian duty. Like Byron, she prefers dwelling on her individual experiences, on the working of her own feelings and passions, or the progress of her currents of thought ; and hence the want of uniformity in the moral or political systems she advocates in her books, which are the faithful exponents of some recent personal experiences, or the rise and progress or rending away of some cherished attachment. We have some dreary efforts of English perfectibility-mongers, to construct a social code out of the overflowing of George Sand's thoughts and impulses, as given to the world in her works. As well might he form a consistent tissue from the exclamations of pain, pleasure, or enjoyment coming from the lips of a spoiled child during a day made up of pleasant and disagreeable incidents, of indulgence and restraint. Her chaunts of enjoyment, despair, and resentment for ill treatment, have been pressed from her by some happy return of affection, by the treatment of ill willers, or of those to whom she naturally looked for sympathy or love. With her, reverse for wrong is right ; she sees the existence of tyranny in our

present religious, social, and domestic relations; and will, at any sacrifice and risk, totally change this state of things, to save all future victims. "Marriage shall be dispensed with, to save poor women from being beaten with a cane of the same diameter as their tyrant's little finger: To lead a correct life for fear of future sufferings, shews selfish cowardice, ergo there shall be no hell. Proudhon is an honest and charitable man by nature, Proudhon is an atheist, consequently, religion is an unnecessary sham. Louis Veuillot is coarse, abusive, and uncharitable in his newspaper, *L'Univers*, Louis Veuillot is a bigot, therefore no feeling or thoughtful person should remain in the Catholic Church.

"Communities of Monks, who have given up family ties and are bound down by vows of celibacy and poverty, live very comfortably in their monasteries, while people of the world, some industrious, others the reverse, frequently suffer with their wives and children, from want of common necessities. Let a Parallelogram be measured out, and Robert Owen be appointed to preside, and the golden age will return."

It was said of a certain philosopher, that he possessed as good a heart as could be made out of brains; George Sand's brain seems composed of the same material as her too sensitive heart, or else the organs have been changed at nurse.

After throwing on the world so many works hateful in the eyes of gods and good men, which, not caring to wade through mire by the light of an ignis-fatuus, we have not read, nor do we counsel our friends to read, the natural goodness of her disposition, and early impressions from her convent training, overpowered the evil spirit, and she produced such agreeable books as *La Mare au Diable*, *François le Champi* *Le Pêche de Monsieur Antoine*, *Mont Revêche* *Les Maîtres Sonneurs*, &c.

The vapours that passion and self-opinion spread before her mind for such a length of time, have at length dispersed. Her daughter, despite of her education, led the way to the Sanctuary, and if our information is correct, the all-defying *Lelia*, has returned to the fold, an humble and self-renouncing penitent.

Mirecourt, as was before mentioned, incurred this lady's resentment by the publication of his sketch of her life and genius, and the tendency of her works. Yet she seems to have had little or no cause for bad feeling. Some extracts taken from his brochure are subjoined.

"The life at the Chateau of Nohant is agreeable and of a patri-

archal style. Madame Sand derives from ten to twelve thousand francs from her estate, and employs the entire revenue in good works. She gives a kind reception to the villagers, entertains them at table, listens to their troubles, encourages them, consoles them in their griefs, and acts the physician towards themselves and their children. They address themselves to her as to a providence, being ever sure of her kind succour.

An old woman afflicted with a kind of leprosy, presented herself one day to claim her good offices. 'Come my good woman,' said she, removing her rags with her own hands, 'I have no false delicacy, let me see the state you are in.' She took her into a private room, dressed her sores with her own hands, and took care of her till a complete cure was effected. A trait of this kind needs no comment, it is a page taken from the Gospel."

Alas ! what comparison can all the good works in her power and performed within her own proper sphere, bear in number and extent, to the mischiefs wrought in society by the perusal of so many of her baneful productions !

"She sleeps but little, five or six hours at most, all the rest of the day is devoted to her literary compositions. At eleven o'clock, breakfast is served. Her table is abundant and delicate ; herself eats but little though with a good appetite ; she takes coffee morning and evening. She is mostly grave and silent, but she likes to hear chat going on ; stories and bon-mots, always find her a willing listener. After breakfast, all take a turn in the park ; a little wood opening on a meadow is her favorite walk. In this wood, filled in Spring with flowers, mushrooms, butterflies, and birds' nests, she indulges in the most charming digressions on botany, which her guests listen to with the greatest interest.

At the end of half-an hour, she returns to her literary occupation, leaving every one at liberty to find amusement or occupation as best he may. They have in the chateau, a library, fishing-rods, and nets to catch butterflies.

At six o'clock, they dine, the blouses seen at breakfast, are now invisible, and the dress of the ladies has been revised. Strict etiquette would not comport with the well known opinions of the Chatelaine ; but where the hostess is the descendant of a king and the cousin of a Marie Antoinette, you cannot be surprised by the vestiges of aristocratic manners. After dinner, they return to the park or repair to the yard to play with the dogs, or sing under the trees, or play at swing.

If it rains, they take refuge in the salon ; Mme. Sand sits down to the piano (she improvises as well as Listz, her friend and tutor), and some pieces of Mozart are played.

Sometimes a new romance or play not yet published, is read out, and this is a festival day for the company.

At eleven o'clock, boxes and books are shut, and they crowd tumultuously round the domino table. The game gives rise to a thousand diverting quarrels. They throw doubts on the skill of their partners, they raise their voices, they appeal to force ; then they burst out laughing, and the dice are pitched about. Finally,

with night-taper in hand, and many a jest, they conduct each other to their chamber doors, along the corridor, and as they bid each other 'good night,' the clock of the Chateau strikes one.

On Sunday evening a piece is performed in the little theatre of the Chateau, and the hall is filled with the honest peasantry of the neighbourhood, whose undisguised pleasure and candid reflections form one of the most agreeable features of the evening entertainment. When the performance is over they pass to the dining room, and the notables of the neighbourhood are invited to sup with the actors. The Chatelaine occasionally performs in one of her own pieces.

Hospitable, kind, and benevolent, she receives many visits, and some of them very unwelcome ones. In those cases she never seeks to rid herself of the importunate visitor: she merely takes revenge of the inconvenience by a bon-mot or some harmless pleasantry.

An individual named Cador arrived one day at Nohant, and at once made himself at home in the most free and easy style conceivable. He descended to the kitchen, ferreted out the ordinary culinary routine, and ordered the head cook to prepare for himself a peculiarly dressed plate of cabbage: Mr. Cador passionately loved this *indigestible* legume. Madame Sand finding cabbage daily served up hot and hot, enquired into the cause, and laughed till her sides ached on hearing of Mr. Cador's descent to the lower regions.

When this eccentric visitor was about to take his leave, which did not occur till an entire interminable week was passed, and an outrageous number of cabbage heads was consumed, he addressed the hostess with the most unconscious self-conceit: "I hope, Madame, that as I am now going away, you will condescend to bestow some article, no matter how trifling, to recal to my memory yourself and the charming reception with which you have honoured me." The Chatelaine was walking in her garden at the time. "Certainly, Monsieur," was her answer, and turning to the gardener who was at hand watering some pot herbs, she cried out to him, "John, a cabbage for Monsieur Cador."

It may be objected that the simple and uniform life of the Chateau of Nohant badly corresponds to the idea which such or such of her brilliant works gives of the character of the celebrated writer. However, there is one word to be said on the subject—if the imagination prevails in her works, judgment rules her conduct.

She seems at last fully persuaded that her entire life belongs to literature. We hope she will never again get herself embroiled in the wasp's nest of politics into which imprudent advisers formerly inveigled her.

Be persuaded, Madame, that *progress* is a fruit which arrives slowly at maturity. You were wrong to associate yourself with those who persist in forcing it in a hot bed, for there the fruit falls off rotten. Then a new sap must ascend, new buds spring out, and a new fruit ripen in the sun. All this delays the advent of liberty; and so for sixty years, you and yours have retarded its approach.

But let us lay aside politics, inexhaustible source of disputes.

Perhaps we are of accord as to the substance, unhappily we differ as to the form. On the subject of art it is not so, Madame. There you are entitled to our undivided homages; and we have written your history with the respect due to a queen.

Eugène Sue was enjoying his "*Otium cum dignitate*" under the name of exile when his biography was written. Determined dislike is evident towards Sue, Girardin, and Louis Veuillot: however, it would be hard for the most determined eulogist to give an edifying account of the life or works of the father of the *Wandering Jew*. Mirecourt thus commences his history of the great Proletarian—

"One of the most deplorable features of our era is the alliance of the romance with socialism. Thanks to the publishing trade, always ready to serve up to the public an entertainment on which it doats, but by which it is poisoned at the same time, there is not a village, not a cottage through the country, where the socialist banquet is not furnished with guests. The land is infested with dangerous books issued by a writer, who coins money from falsehood, and who unchains all the ravenous passions of our nature, merely for sake of gain, and without the slightest thought or remorse for the evils he causes.

"Alas!" may some kind souls exclaim, "do not abuse the poor man; he is in exile." A grave objection, but it has been foreseen, and after sounding the depths of our conscience, this is our answer.

In the eyes of wisdom, of justice, of posterity, when there is question of our social interest or of defence of principle, every sentiment of personal consideration, every feeling of pity for the individual, must be laid aside. But let the reader set his mind at ease; he must know that Eugène Sue leads a very agreeable life beyond the frontier.

From the great square of Annecy, any of the inhabitants will shew him, if he is disposed to travel so far, a very neat little residence about half a league off, on the slope of the hill:—that is the present abode of the Apostle of socialism. He is not now awakened by young nymphs in Greek caps and gauze tunics. His friends, the genuine democrats, have counselled him to conduct his domestic concerns in a style less pagan; so his present household consists of a comely housekeeper and one male attendant.

He descends, receives a bamboo cane from the hands of his servant, takes a constitutional walk under the fir trees of the hill, or on the velvety margin of the lake, and re-enters with a good appetite to partake of breakfast. The fresh breeze from the Alps has agreeably excited the coats of his stomach, and he makes an excellent meal. His presiding Hebe replenishes his cup, and when "thirst and hunger cease," he enters his study where this fortunate socialist is greeted by numerous orders from the publishers. On a sculptured salver of gold, the domestic of the bamboo presents his straw coloured kid gloves, without which, as is well known, he never writes; and at

every chapter a new and perfumed pair is assumed. O people of black and rough hands! is it you who recommend to your favorite writers these delicate precautions, these coquettish preliminaries to the works you so eagerly devour?

By way of recompense, and for the sake of economy, no doubt, he never goes to the expense of gloves for his style. He writes five or six hours without scratch or revise, dispatches his manuscripts to the publisher, and from the bottom of his dreary exile, gains sixty or eighty thousand francs one year with another.

After labour comes the toilette—the toilette of a prince, and then the sumptuous dinner attends the noble author, who has just finished such eloquent pages on the misery of the poor. He partakes of every dish with the relish that justly rewards a duty well discharged, rises from table, and finds ready bridled and saddled at the door, a magnificent Arab. Oh, goodness! what fiery nostrils! what graceful sinewy limbs! He bears his master at full gallop along the avenues of the park, and brings him back to the door in two or three hours with the work of digestion perfectly done. Again installed in his salon, Hebe presents him opium in a Turkish pipe as rich as amber and gold can make it; he smokes and goes to sleep on his silken cushions—wake him not.

And now that the reader is aware that our author's days are not spent in tears and despair, we may proceed with some comfort to sketch his past career."

Jean Joseph Sue, father of Eugène, was surgeon of the Imperial guard under Napoleon. He afterwards enjoyed the patronage of Louis XVIII. The romancer was baptized by the name of Marie Joseph, but when grown up, he discarded these names dear to every devout Christian. Why should not the self styled *Eugène* think proudly of himself, when a certain section of a philanthropic committee in Manchester thought themselves called on to request the light of his presence at one of their meetings, held to promote the good of their fellow men. And if he rejected those sacred names, did not high ruling elders in these three kingdoms of ours, calling themselves the loving servants of Christ, but revering neither his blessed Mother nor the Guardian of his infancy, receive with acclamations and open arms, a wretch, who instead of being the protector of youthful purity and innocence, as his office of priest obliged him, abused the very sanctuary with such a deed as none but a demon in human shape would think of.

The Empress Josephine and her son, Prince Eugène de Beauharnais, held the future author of *Plik et Plok* at the christening, hence the assumption of the name of Eugène in after days. His nurse was a goat, and his biographer attributes some of his flagrant defects to this circumstance.

"Sue with a fellow pupil, Adolphe Adam, studied most assiduously to escape improvement; but to make amends, they bestowed much care on the rearing of Guinea-pigs, and the Botanic Garden of the good doctor was frightfully ravaged by these pets. So the parents of the young rogues agreed on the selection of a very skilful but very poor tutor, who being once installed, entertained a very wholesome terror of losing his good situation.

Every time this unhappy youth hinted at the necessity of application, the hopeful pupils cried out with one accord, 'We've had plenty of themes, to Old Booty with all versions; if you complain we'll have you dismissed.'

The poor tutor was too feeble-minded to brave the threat; and when the doctor asked if he was content with his son's progress, he made answer, stifling a cry of remorse, 'Yes, Monsieur, he pays great attention to his Latin.' 'Ah, ah!' said the doctor, 'very good, let him recite some of his *concessions* (conciiones).' 'With great pleasure,' said Eugène with the most culpable assurance; and winking at Adolphe, they poured out every Latin atrocity that came to their tongues' ends, and the doctor was enchanted."

Sue's tutor failed in his duty through cowardice, Paul de Kock's, through wilful negligence and sloth. Pupil and teacher provided with sandwiches, quitted the city at an early hour every morning for the woods and grassy slopes of Romainville; and there stretched at ease on the turf, each pulled out a novel of Lebrun, or the younger Crebillon, or some other equally edifying author, and read or dozed till it was time to return to the evening meal, Paul's mother, good easy woman, supposing Master Hopeful engrossed by *Nepos* or *Homer*. With such early culture and training, we might naturally look for evil fruit from the two trees, and we would not be disappointed. Eugène left college after making a very moderate progress. His convives and himself drank half the contents of some bottles of rare wine laid up in an inviolable sanctuary by his father, supplying the loss by a very nauseous substitute. At a very particular entertainment, the theft was discovered, the guests disgusted, and the consequence was, the sending of our hero away to the seat of war in Spain, to help Ferdinand in the capacity of assistant surgeon to the force. His present historian says, that he generally kept out of the range of the bullets, and never sought the wounded under the enemy's fire. Returning to Paris he borrowed at usury in order to procure the indispensable luxuries of a tilbury, groom, &c., and accidentally splashed his father who was paying his visits as usual on foot. He received a smart shower of blows from the cane of the lively old practitioner as recompense.

He is next sent by way of penance to Toulon, where he

becomes the terror of the heads of families. At his return to Paris he conquers all before him, being gifted with a handsome face, and health unfailing. Here, Mirecourt requests his readers to look on the portrait accompanying the sketch, and to realize the sad change that years viciously spent have wrought in the dark haired Adonis. The readers of the *Old Curiosity Shop* will please to recal to mind the face of the inn-keeper, where the single gentleman and Kit's mother arrive at his hall, and Quilp is seen popping his head through the half opened parlour door. He will then have the common-place, smug, self-satisfied face before him, that our author swears is as correct as a photograph. The black-bearded jove of the ordinary prints would run a hundred miles from this double-ganger, if brought face to face with it.

Eugène the flogger, fearing that his audience may think his treatment of Eugène the floggée too personally spiteful, requests the loan of their ears while he explains his motives.

"We have already said, and we are obliged to repeat it, that when a man gets into the pulpit to address the masses, and infuse his doctrines into them, we have an absolute right to strip off his assumed garb, and cry out to the public, "Behold your apostle, examine him, judge him; estimate his works by his acts, his private life, and his general conduct. See if his maxims ought to be followed, if his morality is unimpeachable, his philosophy sound."

Ah, poisoners! you suppose that we are going to treat you as celebrated writers, and lay on your brow a crown without thorns. Your efforts joined to those of the envious and the unthinking are directed to put us to silence; but while we have a breath to draw and a pen at command, nothing shall prevent us from unveiling the source of your disloyal opinions, of your lying theories, of your destroying doctrines: all shall know your degrading ambition, your abject materialism: yes, my masters! all shall know them."

Tilbury, groom, daily extravagance, nightly debauch went on, till Dr. Sue once more stopped supplies, and obliged the prodigal son to go to sea. He went round the world, and returned to Brest, where an odd adventure befel him. Being somewhat of a draughtsman, he made a caricature of the ugliest sailor on board; and the feelings of the unhappy subject as he gazed on it fastened to the mast in the presence of his jeering comrades, may perhaps meet with sympathy. He turned over in his head many projects of vengeance, but all might bring down the cat on his own back, and he bided his time.

One evening when the rain was descending in sheets, and our brave *Matelot* was taking shelter under a gateway, he spied our hero in great misery, looking out for some conveyance

to a ball where a charming lady had promised to dance with him. He was arrayed in a gold-embroidered frock, white breeches, straw colored gloves, and thin pumps, and his embarrassment was extreme.

Our victim at once conceived a determined piece of vengeance.*

• • • "Hearken," said Eugene, "I must have a voiture : here are twenty francs if you can procure me one. I would not for the world miss this ball, where I am to meet a person." "Ah ! some handsome lady, I'll be bound. Oh ! what a fine young gentleman you are, Monsiour Soue, and how I love you." "That is not the point, you ass, I want a voiture." "Twenty francs, M. Soue ! Ah, I'd get it for you gratis if I could. Sandis, you don't know how much I love you." "A voiture, I say." "Ach ! you won't get the tail of a voiture in all Brest. But a thought is got into my head : you have a parpluie, Monsieur Soue." "I have, but the mud would be up to my knees. I would reach the ball in a fine condition for the *contre danse*." "Well then, get on my shoulders, sandis !" "Will you be so obliging, my brave fellow ?" "Thousand sabres ! I'd drown myself thirty time in the day for you. But how handsome you are, M. Soue ! come, mount, and open the *riflard*."

Our Sub accepts the conveyance such as it is, and is steering through the streets on the sailor's shoulders, the rain descending in torrents.

'Sandis, Monsieur Soue, you're much heavier than I thought,' said the *Provençal*, after trudging on for about fifty paces. 'Courage, friend ; courage ! I have promised twenty francs, and they shall be yours.' 'Ach ! what do I care for your twenty francs ? It's yourself that I do it for. Ouf ! suppose I let you down for a minute !' 'In the middle of the running puddle ?' cried the Sub in a dreadful fright : 'What would become of my pumps and white pantaloons ?' 'Worse luck ; but, oh, my eyes ! you're more than two hundred weight.' 'Bah ! never mind. I'll give you two Louis.' 'A fig for the money ; I'd rather have your regard. I want a little friendship : put your fingers through my hair (*cepcux* is the patois).' 'Eh ! you brute ! Me, to put my fingers through your hair ! Are you an idiot ?' 'Ah, sir ! if you refuse me this little favor, I'll unhorse you, thousand bombs !' and he stooped, feigning to execute his threat, the flood being two feet deep.

Our luckless assistant-surgeon thought better to submit ; and so he daintily ran the fingers of one straw colored glove through the thick greasy hair of the sailor. 'Thank, thanks, M. Soue ; you can't know all the pleasure I feel. It's all the same : you're a real bit of lead.' 'Go faster, you terrible tinker ; you move like a tortoise.' 'Talk is cheap, M. Soue. I'm sure my back bone won't hold. Come, put a little life into me ; *embrassez moi*.'† Me, *embrasse* you, canaille ! Me,

* The sailor uses a sort of Franco-Somerset dialect and pronunciation, (substituting z for s) through the ensuing conference.

† Some stray reader may have forgotten that *embrasser* means to take the head of your friend daintily in your hands, and salute the forehead or the checks. It is considered among French speaking people a harmless and inoffensive operation. Indulgence is requested for the coining in the translation.

embrasse you,' cried the *Sous-aide* twisting himself in fury. 'If you do me the *injury* to refuse me, I'll shake you off from my shoulders.' 'Accursed scoundrel,' cried the officer, 'will you have done!' for he felt one of his legs loose, and the water invading his pump. '*Embrassez moi.*' 'Never!' The Provençal let go the other leg; and the victim being forced to hold on with the two hands, was obliged to perform the ceremony. 'Very nice, I'm sure, Monsieur Soue, very nice: do it again.' They were approaching the hotel of the prefecture and Eugène was obliged to re-*embrasse* his tyrant. Six accolades had been given and received when they reached the porch; and the sailor said to his officer as he deposited him on a dry spot, 'Ah! Monsieur Soue, Monsieur Soue, you find me handsomer than my portrait. I am going to tell my shipmates about your civility: they'll stop making game of me after this.'

All Brest knew the adventure next day. When he attempted to kiss the hand of any of the beauties of the town, she would cry out, 'Oh! what a strong smell of tar!' Two months went slowly by before his persecution ceased, and then he was ordered to the Mediterranean. Twenty-one days afterwards Eugène was listening to the thundering of the cannon at Navarino.

While the combined French, English, and Russian fleet was at grips with the Turco-Egyptian force, our romancer who had such an opportunity of witnessing a naval combat, and marking its episodes, let this good chance completely slip through his fingers. As M. Dupin sought his cellar during the 'Three Days,' so Eugène retired to the hold, and listened with what in an ordinary mortal, might be properly called fright, to the explosions of three thousand great guns. At the conclusion of the fight, they sought out Eugène, and with some difficulty withdrew him from his retreat, to act in place of the Surgeon-Major and his assistant, who had been struck with bullets while doing duty under the enemy's fire. Till this time Sue's experience had not got beyond blood-letting; and he even sometimes missed the vein. Those who got their limbs now amputated by him, were afterwards of small expence to the state. At his return to Paris he exhibited to his admiring friends the result of his prowess at Navarino, the complete spoils of a Turk, scymetar and Koran included."

His grandmother and father conveniently dying, he is left heir to an immense amount of francs. He quits the service, and leads the life of an Eastern Prince. Still not content without celebrity of some other kind, he paints marine daubs, the battle of Navarino among the rest. Mirecourt suggests as cause of his failure, his want of invention, combined with the fact of his viewing the strife from the depth of the hold.

"During the palmy days of *Mathilde* and the *Mysteries* numberless were the notes delivered to him every morning. They were all engrossed on the plan of the following one, communicated to us by an indiscreet friend.

Paris, 23rd June, 1844.

Monsieur,

The perusal of your works is delightful to me beyond expression. You are decidedly the first writer of the age. I owe to you the happiest hours of my life ; and my bliss would be made complete by the acquaintance of him who has written such charming pages. Might I hope (alas I fear not) that you would snatch a few moments from inspiration to devote them to the most sympathetic of your readers ! I am at home every evening. Octavia de B. * *

He contrives to come to the end of his patrimony, and takes to the writing of naval stories to fill the void in his chest. He is at this time, 1830 and 1832, a most determined royalist and favorite among the flower of the Fauborg St. Germain.

"They made boast of his excellent principles, they were grateful for his onslaught on the Revolution ; but they could not digest his free-and-easy ways, and they whispered, ' look at this little ' bourgeois-gentilhomme.' I suppose he thinks he is the heir in right line of a Montgomery."

Perceiving one evening in a salon, the Duke Fitz-James, towards whom Eugène had been found wanting in respect, by abstaining from an exchange of politeness exacted by custom, he accosted him in a very cavalier tone—

'Only imagine, Monsieur le Duc, that what with my literary labors, my steeple chases, my canters in the Bois de Boulogne, my dinners, and the thousand calls made on me by the ladies, I have so little time at my command, that I am unable to pay a single visit.' 'It is very well for you, sir,' said the Duke very drily, 'that Monsieur your father found time enough to make them.'

This sharp reply spread all along the left side of the river, with accompaniments of ceaseless bursts of laughter.

He is gifted with a wonderful power of invention ; and we owe him the justice of saying that he works without a collaborateur. He builds up his daily *Feuilleton* in the twinkling of an eye, and then devotes his time to the toilette, to the cavalcades in the Bois de Boulogne, to extravagant dinners, and the other established means of getting rid of money."

He rewarded many too confiding ladies, by sketching their characters and portraits in *Mathilde* and the *Mysteries*. So his high acquaintance began to consider these acts as evidence of want of heart and good taste, and he found his society shunned by all the women of the Fauborg who had a character to lose. Feeling lonesome, and wishing to give himself a fast hold on the aristocracy, he proposed for a high-born young lady, but met with a decided refusal. He immediately became a shareholder in the *Phalange* and the *Démocratique Pacifique*

to fling dismay among the elite of the aristocracy and bring the proud family to his feet. No surrender was announced ; and a little adventure that just then crossed his path, made him the determined foe of high birth and the apostle of the reddest republicanism.

"Being in the salon of a duchess, and mistaking her friendly demeanor for a tacit avowal of tenderness for him, he threw himself on his knees, burst out into the most passionate declarations, and would have added manual to vocal proofs of the depth of his attachment, when the lady rose and rang the bell. Two stout domestics with lace on every seam of their livery entered at the moment. 'You will take,' said she with an imperious gesture, 'Monsieur by the collar—by the collar, you understand, conduct him to the door, and never allow him inside the house again.'

The *Mysteries* and the *Wandering Jew* were his first exploits after his change of colours : *The Journal des Debats* produced *Les Mysteres* ; Louis Veron's paper, *le Constitutionnel*, *le Juif errant*.

Curious to take his characters from nature, and judging the character of *Rigolette* to require careful study, he scraped acquaintance with a grisette to whom he passed himself off for an ornamental painter. Dressed in blouse and cap, he took walks with his type every Sunday and holiday to the barrier Mont Parnasse. They partook of stewed rabbit in the first eating-house they met ; and *Rigolette*, once put in motion by the fiddle, danced poor Sue till he had not a foot to stand on.

His professor in slang was an Auvergnat, who, drawing the pronunciation of the word *surineur* (*surin*, argot for knife) from the purest sources of the Cantal, called it *chourineur* ; and his pupil ignorantly adopted that and many other mistakes of the same kind which swarm in the hapless *Mysteries*."

Louis Veron who has left us the *edifying* 'Memoirs of a Citizen of Paris,' and the more *edifying* novel that followed it, secured Eugène in the possession of four thousand pounds per annum for fourteen years to come, for the bagatelle of ten volumes a-year.

"He judged that France entire was most eager to get a peep into the sanctuary of the temple, where the god of the feuilleton performed his miracles ; and at once served up to his subscribers this delicious apple pie, the residence of his Magnus Apollo.

"He occupies in the upper part of the Fauborg St. Honore a little mansion overrun with trailing vines and flowers, which also cover the porch. The garden is carefully arranged, fresh and sweet smelling. A jet d'eau murmurs among rocks and reeds. A long covered gallery full of sculptures and plants, leads from the house to an outer entrance concealed by artificial rock work. The dwelling consists of three apartments, kept in an agreeable half light by the creepers and plants that mask the windows. A deep red relieved

with gold, prevails among the articles of furniture, the bed-chamber excepted, where a soft subdued blue is the dominant color. The furniture being too abundant, is crowded, and not without confusion, among the curtains and tapestry. You perceive a mixture of styles, Gothic, renaissance, and fantastic French. Rock and shell-work rules in the salon. The walls are completely concealed by objects of art, old fashioned trunks, curiosities, family portraits, and the productions of modern artists, his friends. Precious vases, the offering of *Feminine amities* (a pet phrase of Dr. Veron's) encumber the consoles. Renowned names sparkle on every side; Delacroix, Gudin, Isabey, Vernet, &c. In a frame is seen a design of M. de Lamartine's, and some verses of that illustrious poet. A picture occupies a distinguished place on an easel in the middle of the salon; it is an *anchofet*, the work of Isabey, and has a terrible effect being such a contrast to the other objects in this temple of pleasure. From every side arises an agreeable smell, in which the healthy odour of Russia leather is distinguished. Horses and dogs, his former favorites, painted by himself or by Alfred de Dreux, are still kept before the eyes of the indulgent master. In the vestibule, among the weapons and trophies of chase, a wolf and eagle, formerly tamed and treated as favorites, still seem in life, carefully preserved. At the bottom of the garden, are lodged two greyhounds, the gifts of Lord Chesterfield. Golden pheasants and pigeons walk about on the smooth turf of the garden, and perch every evening on the window-stools, or under the porch, winged guardians of the threshold.

In going through this delightful abode, opened to us in the absence of the master, we could readily recognize traits of his character; the passion for luxury and stormy pleasures, with a taste for retreat and meditation, an enlightened taste for the fine arts, an attraction towards dimly seen delights, and a love for plants and animals."

Mirecourt in commenting on this description excuses *Mimi Veron*, as he is nick-named, for not mentioning the femmes de chambre dressed up, as 'Maids of Athens,' nor the servants arrayed in liveries more than royal, nor a groom from Douarnenez whom it was his delight to make read out an act from *Phèdre* or *Athalie*, himself enjoying the humiliation inflicted on Racine by the unsufferable Bas-Breton tone of the executioner. The *Constitutionnel* also forgot, as he says, the straw-colored gloves he uses in writing, the bill of which amounts to a hundred crowns per month, which amount is religiously deducted from the sum devoted to charity. He also omits the gold salver before mentioned, and the *escritoire* of eleven thousand francs, from which the pen of the *Juif Errant's* father draws ink to describe the sufferings of the poor, this also being purchased from the clippings of the alms account.

"Alas! *Mimi Veron*, who supplied the funds for all these luxuries, was very oddly repaid for his liberality.

After the Wandering Jew, came the *Seven Deadly Sins*. Our

poor Doctor turning over one day the leaves of the manuscript of *Gluttony*, began to shiver and shake ; he rubbed his eyes, read on, and had like to faint. His pet romancer had there painted him from head to foot ; and only for the accidental sight of the traitorous pages, poor Veron would have been served up to his own subscribers in the shape of a huge 'Mortal Sin.'

Judge how he raved and protested, but Eugène would not relent a single line. He stood on his rights ; the clauses were in his favor ; but nevertheless, the doctor would not consent to be served up alive in his own paper. Law proceedings were threatened, and it would have been a good jest to hear *Mimi* declaring that the gluttonous portrait resembled him too much to be allowed insertion.

The witty little paper, the *Silhouette*, pretended that the terms of the treaty would allow a division in the sins, and that, consequently, a part might be offered to *La Presse*. Thus M. de Girardin would be entitled to *Pride*, *Anger*, *Covetousness*, and *Envy*, while Veron might appropriate *Luxury*, *Gluttony*, and *Sloth* ; however, this proposal did not meet the views of either party.

But it is time to leave facts, and come to a short literary appreciation.

Our age has given birth to a crowd of scribblers, mechanics, and frame-makers, and Eugène Sue is at the head of this phalanx. He possesses invention and facility of movement, his dramas are full of action and excitement ; he manages the horrible with much vigour, but he is destitute of style. He is a Paul Feval, raised to the thirtieth power, but he has less imagination and genuine sensibility than Paul.

The punishment of writers of this kind, who neglect plan or form, in order to hurry their readers through a multiplicity of adventures, will be to see themselves forgotten in a quarter of a century. They stimulate jaded appetites with their pepper ; their highly spiced condiments are swallowed with a certain pleasure, but indigestion supervenes, and all is over.

We have heard Balzac explain in his own fashion, the success of Eugène Sue. "All his characters are false ; *Fleur de Marie*, *Jacques Ferrand*, *Rodin*, *Mathilde*, *Arthur*, and a hundred others, have never existed. But once suppose their truth, Eugène Sue will pursue them through fifteen or twenty volumes, with the most unerring logical art. Just as in his dramas, pass over the impossibility of his situation, and success is certain. All this belongs to the category of surprises, and art has no claim to make. Everything that has not its foundation in the great science of the human heart, everything that depends on galvanism, everything that favors the selfish interests and the passions of the day, will have but a brief existence."

Mirecourt goes on to relate several instances of his want of charity to the distressed in the vicinity of his country residence in 1848, and the long delay in paying the bills of his tradesmen, but we are tired of hearing so much ill spoken of a dead man, and will conclude with a passage from his own *Vigie de Koatven*, which was carefully posted on the walls of Paris, while his election was pending.

"Woe to the foolish or wicked, who, with such empty and resounding words, as *progress*, *lights of the age*, and *regeneration*, have sown in France and all Europe the seeds of a frightful anarchy. Surely those men merit the enduring execration of France, who, in order to come to the possession of power, have said to the people, 'You are the true Sovereign.' Shame and anathema on those seekers for popularity, who wrapped in idle voluptuousness, speculate on the miseries of the poor, and excite them to hatred and revenge."

What reader of English books is ignorant of the character of the Marquis of *Steyne* as drawn by the inimitable Michael Angelo Titmarsh? Let the Metempsychoses be admitted, and the defunct libertine revive in a stationer's son in the Rue de Bae; Let him retain his former tastes and propensities;—try the career of letters without success;—study anatomy without success;—invent in concert with an apothecary the *Regnauld* Lozenge with triumphant success;—become director of the Opera and find profit and pleasure in its management;—afterwards resign it with great advantage to himself;—give room to the *Wandering Jew* and as many of the *Seven Deadly Sins* as he could afford in his newspaper the *Constitutionnel*; and crown his unedifying career with the memoirs and novel already mentioned;—let these data be assumed and Louis Veron is before you.

"Three months after birth, his father, a staunch Buonapartist, gave an entertainment on occasion of a victory. The first glass that was filled, the young *Gargantua* stretched out his arm towards it, thus exhibiting his Rabelaisian propensity to moisten his clay at that tender age.

When six years old, he drank like Bacchus, ate like a young Ogre, preferred the leg of a fowl to the whole alphabet, and pilfered from the cupboards, pie-crusts, sweet-breads, and confectionary. His family commenced to look on his precocious dispositions to good cheer with some dismay, and seeing the young Gastronomer take all his pocket-money to the neighbouring confectioner's, they began to preach economy, sobriety, and orderly habits. It was, after all, the old story of the tide and pitchfork. Being obliged to observe a kind of moderation during his adolescence, he registered a vow to make up for the forced abstinence in his youth and manhood."

He becomes a good Christian in order to discharge the duty of medical assistant to a charitable institution; but some of his proceedings being found to jar very disagreeably with his pious professions, his services are dispensed with, and he takes Julian the Apostate for his patron.

"Tired of his ill success, and the ill-timed economy of his family,

and determined to gather up some of the straying waters of Pactolus, he paid a visit to the apothecary Regnauld, rue Oaumartin, and impressed on his mind the multitude of sore throats, runnings in the head, colics, asthmas, and catarrhs, which a foggy climate and constant atmospheric changes are continually inflicting on us ; and proposed to him a plan for making money out of these catarrhs, colics, asthmas, runnings in the head, and sore throats.

" We'll take France by the throat, my boy, and force it to disgorge a few of its crowns." " Done." said the apothecary, and the birth of the Regnauld lozenge followed in due course. They put into a mortar, the ordinary ingredients that are known to exercise a beneficial influence on the pectoral muscles, and produced an amalgam of a dark red color, which at once dethroned all sirops, juleps, and decoctions whatever."

Veron enlisted the good offices of his friends the journalists ; and the profit at the end of the first year amounted to 100,000 francs.

He establishes a paper, and profits by it ; and his political views fitting the citizen government so well at the time of their putting the pavement in order after the July days of 1830, he is appointed director to the opera, and looks on himself as *Fatima's* father in *Blue-Beard*.

" Major-Domo am I
Of this *chaste* family ;
My voice in the green-room prevails."

At every lucky turn of fortune, the biographer takes occasion to remark, 'and still the Regnauld Lozeuge sold.' He also insinuates that Veron never risked his property in any perilous enterprise.

Our Bourgeois, knowing from past experience the value of money, is not disposed to throw it away for nothing ; but being the old Marquis of Steyne revived, he cannot help loving good cheer, and the society of the opera goddesses, even more. His attachment to Mlle. Rachel is hinted at, and as if our biographer dreaded a legal process at the hands of the Doctor, for speaking too plainly of his little foibles, he relates the following legend, probably from traditional mythology, as it is not found in the *litera scripta* of any Greek or Latin author. This accounts for the introduction of a younger daughter of the king of Argos, not mentioned by Ovid.

He insinuates that when Jupiter thought he had been sufficiently liberal with his gold shower, he was minded to shut up the cloud ; but this being a proceeding not approved by Danae nor her family, they had resource to indirect means to keep it still open.

"One morning, the younger daughter of Acrisius entered the apartment of the Olympian lover, and finding there her elder sister, she cried out, weeping and tearing her hair the while, 'Oh, mercy! what a catastrophe! Danae, my dear, we're ruined, horse and foot,' 'La, la,—what's the matter? explain yourself,' muttered Jupiter, putting his sleepy head through the curtain of the alcove. 'Yes, explain,' timidly added Danae also, addressing her sister. 'Alas! they are about selling your furniture. The broker and his man are at this moment in the house.'

'But it is impossible, dear Beauty,' said Jupiter turning to Danae. 'It is not two days since I handed you thirty thousand francs.'* 'It is true, but I owed much more,' piteously answered the charming person on whom this financial shower had fallen. 'Well, well—how much is needed?' asked the Olympian King. 'Ten thousand francs,' answered Danae's sister. 'Oh! plague on it, what a gap to be filled! Can't be helped now: go to the *Secrétaire*, and take what you want;' and while speaking, *Jupin* presented the key.

The second daughter of Acrisius searched the desk, found the notes, carefully counted and folded them, and gratefully returned the key to the generous god. 'Thanks, sir,' said she; 'Good bye,' said he.

The cunning sly-boots left the room, but immediately after, putting in her head, she cried out again to the thunderer, 'I can't justly say what is the amount claimed by the officers. I found twenty thousand francs in the desk, and took them at hazard. We will regulate the account when the bailiffs are gone.'

'Certainly, the god was not a man to annoy himself about such a small piece of roguery as this. Save the unpleasantness of being so early wakened, it troubled him little whether the golden shower fell slowly or quickly: he turned his head to the wall and slept. *For still the Regnauld lozenge sold.*

Thiers, willing to have our hero's *Constitutionnel* at his beck, advanced him 100,000 francs, but when *Tom Thumb* (so Mirecourt irreverently calls the great historian) came into the ministry, he did not keep the promises made when he was working himself into power.

It was the old fable of the cat and the monkey. The chesnuts were roasted, but poor *Raton*, who had burned his paws, did not get a single one. The office of Director of the Fine Arts, chesnut No. 1, slipped from him as he was going to seize it, and the Sub-prefecture of Sceaux, a still sweeter nut, passed away under his very nose. Finally, a Receivership in the department of L'Orne, chesnut No. 3, and bigger than the two others, escaped the tooth of the poor Doctor. The governing powers thus playing hide-and-seek, he resolved on

* It appears from this history, that the '*Man in possession*,' has been in office since an early period. Most people suppose that the *franc* is a modern coin, but this is an error. We shall see by-and-bye, that not only were bank-notes current among the old pagans, but that the very article of furniture in which they are ordinarily kept, were household words of that remote time.

reprisals, and purchased the *Juif Errant*, of Eugène Sue. To gratify his revenge, he did not scruple to infest the country with socialism. He has since repeated his *meâ culpâ*, to some purpose, but in the interim, the dangerous book is being read from one end of France to the other. 'The drug is sold, you have it in your body, expel the poison if you can, it is no concern of ours ;'—this is apothecaries' logic.

The Doctor gained by this little social offence, seven or eight hundred thousand francs, from the multitude of new subscribers to the *Constitutionnel* ; and the *Regnauld Lozenge* still sold."

To expiate his sins, he composed and inserted (in substance,) the following moral tale of a *good young man* in his feuilleton.

"There once lived in the *Quartier Latin*, a medical student, lost to all good, through the theories of the socialists. This unhappy young man pushed his immorality to the point of subscribing to *Perè Duchesne*. One morning, the concierge of the house, mistaking the newspapers, handed the student a number of the *Constitutionnel*, which belonged to another lodger. There was in that number, an article written by M. Veron, which effected in the 'good young man,' a new 'conversion of St. Paul,' and the *carabin* ran off at once, without thinking of the state of his dress, to secure a year's subscription, 'Rue de Valois, 60 francs per annum, all letters to be post paid.' After this, who would be so cruel as to throw the *Wandering Jew* in the Doctor's face."

Annoyed by the non-attainment of high political influence, Veron determines to conquer a name.

" 'You stop me in my ascent,' cries he ; 'you carry off the substance, leaving me the mere shadow. We'll see. I have been close to the highest personages of the land ; I have their letters, I have given a lift to half of the great world. Rosmin, that dear Rosmin, and Gérin the treasurer of the secret service money, will furnish me with valuable memorandums ; I will publish their memoirs, not my own :—what matter ! Boniface of the *Constitutionnel*, my devoted friend, will lend his pen : others will be brought to bed of six volumes full of pages, and I will stand godfather. They will receive me into the *Literary Society*, an intellectual, a terrible weapon for those who know how to use it ; my dinners will secure the votes of those writers always hungry ; I will be named Secretary, member of committee, president.' "

Thus originated the *Mémoires d'un Bourgeois* and *Cinq Cent Mille francs de rente*.

Winding up his biography, Mirecourt describes his victim with the head of a baby crowning the body of a giant ; hair thin, nose short and cocked ; and cheeks such as you might expect from his antecedents. If you wish for a favourable audience you must get into the good graces of his buxom housekeeper, who governs the state, while he merely reigns.

"Besides his domicile, Rue de Rivoli, M. Veron possesses a delicious country house, where the hungry sons of Clio partake his dinner: much good may it do them.

The Doctor is a very amiable Amphytrion: he has preserved his Rabelaisian appetite, his cellars are full, and his kitchen sauces exquisite. • • • *And the Regnauld Lozenge still sells."*

We now approach the consideration of a critic of the most refined and cultivated taste and judgment, Gustave Planche of *Le Revue des Deux Mondes*. We have been so pleased with Mirecourt's appreciation of the man and the writer, that we shall leave the field free to his handling of the subject, though the style is rather inflated.

"If there be a legitimate aristocracy among men, it is doubtless the aristocracy of talent. Those who bear on their foreheads the sparkling star spoken of by the author of *Paradise Lost*,—poets, artists, or philosophers, are princes, kings or emperors, by the divine right of genius.

If you have gained your inscription on the book of gold, forget not that you are now a patrician; above all things, have respect for yourself. A choice spirit is no more free to let himself down to the level of brutish degradation, than Cæsar to become a histrion.

As you belong to the human kind, you may probably be subject to defects, vices, and passions; but, *corbleu!* don't take pride in exhibiting them. Conceal them as you would the leprosy, and never, while you live, descend to cynicism.* When talent draws you out from the crowd, is it becoming that you should inculcate morality in the fashion of the drunken Helot, when exhibited by the Spartans to their children? A thousand times, no!

It is not sufficient to be a skilful writer, and exhibit a pure, correct, and elegant style, to be a judicious interpreter of art, and to possess the great virtue of independence. No; we must have more.

Of the man who speaks to, or instructs the crowd, we require a great heart, a lively faith, a generous spirit. If we only discover harshness, egoism, apathy, brutal sensuality, we recoil with horror, even as the Spartan Youth, in presence of the brutalized slaves.

These reflections naturally arise from consideration of the personal qualities, and the manners of the man, whose career we propose to sketch. And now we hear our amiable and judicious adversaries utter shouts of triumph, being assured of catching us in full contradiction to ourselves; for we could find nothing but eulogiums for Gérard de Nerval; and surely Gustave Planche is not more culpable than that favorite of ours.

* The man of the world abstains from misconduct and meanness through self-pride; the Christian, through obedience and love; Mirecourt is Catholic enough to be aware of this truism—Cynicism among our Gallic writers, implies depravity of character, and a total want of the love of God or our neighbour.

Well then, gentlemen, learn, if you knew it not before, that Gerard was not a materialist. He descended into the *Vie Bohème* through contempt of the world, and the pressure of social wrongs, without making either a doctrine or a system of his physical degradation.

Gerard had not the pretension either to instruct his confreres or to smart them with his magisterial ferule. His soul, candid, pure, inoffensive, and evermore poetic, hovered *above* the slough, as the water-lily on the surface of a pool. Those who saw him on that singular way along which folly and the muse conducted him, never experienced that feeling of repulsion or disgust with which others affect us in their abasement.

Gustave Planche was born in Paris, 16th February, 1808. His father being a wealthy apothecary of the Chaussée d'Antin. His son, who was destined to succeed him, was placed in a preparatory school for the College Bourbon, where he soon distinguished himself as a most intelligent pupil, and a decided *Mauvais sujet*. A grave magistrate of our acquaintance and a school-fellow of Gustave's, cannot yet refrain from roars of laughter when relating some of his early exploits. Some of his practical jokes consisted in throwing ink on the white pantaloons of his victims, sticking pins, head downward, in their straw bottomed chairs, cutting brushes and sprinkling their sheets with the bristles. On one occasion he kept fifty-three fleas in a bottle for five days under the condition of a rigorous fast, and set all at liberty one night among the sheets of the man whom he delighted to torment. He was the soul of every conspiracy, the inventor of every frolic, a lighted-match to explode disorder on every side.

Preluding these gastronomic and bacchic feats by which his future life was to be distinguished, the young disciple of *Comus* organised in the very lecture-room, and under a seat of the gallery, a culinary apparatus for his own proper use and comfort. By means of a spirit-lamp filched from the paternal laboratory, a tin saucepan, and a coffee-pot, he cooked an infinity of delicacies, and consumed them in silence, while the halting tongue of the lecturer was expounding Horace or Claudian. His comrades to the right and left acted as accomplices, and masked his battery—*de cuisine*. It was needful of course to offer them a portion of the feast—this was done by the sighing Gustave on the most niggardly scale.

But one thing grieved our pupil cook, viz., the inability of varying his ordinary to his taste. To be condemned every day that God made, to chocolate, or eggs in their shell; to be obliged to drink black coffee or mulled wine, became at least insupportable. He returned to the school one holiday evening, and, blindfolding the porter, introduced a flask of Old Cognac into the premises. 'At last,' said he to himself, 'I will have the pleasure of tasting punch.' He had reckoned without the treacherous flame of the burning spirit. The professor, though half blind, caught a glimpse of the blue blaze; and in the twinkling of an eye, flask, lamp, coffee-pot, and all were confiscated. Our illicit distiller was put under arrest for eight days on bread and water: His stomach retains to this day, a disagreeable recollection of his mischance.

Many other misdeeds of the young and dissipated Gustave remained unpunished.

Among his school-mates there was one, whose sharp and discordant voice tortured the ears of his class. By virtue of his wonderful powers of imitation, our hero succeeded in counterfeiting his detestable accents and tones, and naturally resolved to turn his acquisition to profit. A treaty was concluded. Planche stipulated a large subvention of cakes, sugar-almonds, and delicacies of every kind (the contracting party being son of a confectioner), and promised his friend, that in return he would exonerate him for the space of one entire secular year from learning a lesson of any kind whatever. The treaty was scrupulously fulfilled on one side and the other.

When the teacher called out the son of the seller of sweet stuff, and requested him to recite from memory, a tirade from Corneille, or some verses of Lucan, the barking young lad arose, opened his mouth, and continued moving his lips without uttering a sound. Behind him, *his voice*, stuttering or muttering in the usual mode of pupils, recited, or rather read the passage required.

The imitation was so perfect, that the whole class, except those in the immediate vicinity, were deceived as well as the teacher. The accomplices attained the vacation without a single check; one not having committed a solitary sentence to memory, the other receiving and enjoying in kind, the revenue acquired by his industry. Meantime, our hero, notwithstanding these rogueries suggested by his gastronomic propensities, made good progress in his studies. He loved the Latin poets nearly as much as strawberry tarts, and enjoyed Euripides while taking his sugar almonds to his chocolate, or uncovering jam pots; so that at the end of a year so improving to his mind, and so comfortable to his stomach, he carried off numerous prizes. Through joy at his success he made such a hearty supper, that he kept his bed for the next forty-eight hours."

His father intending him as his successor gets his name inserted among the students at the school of pharmacy, but he employs the chief part of his time visiting the Louvre, passionately studying the antiques, admiring the old masters, spelling through the great book of art; seeing, judging, reasoning, forming his own decision without looking for one ready made, in Winckleman or the learned Jesuit Lanzi. He also studied cotemporary art in the ateliers, smoking cigars with the adepts great and small amid the haw-haws of broad jokes and grotesque *scies*. So while he spent his hours with Gérard, Gros, Pradier, Delacroix, &c., his father fancied him in the depths of the school-laboratory, "questioning a retort, or holding a consultation with an alembic." On paying a tardy visit to the school, he found his son's name totally "unknown" in that locality. A frightful scene ensued; the

apothecary drove out the prodigal son, and gave him his malediction.

Gustave took all his best clothes, sold them to a *fripier* in the neighbourhood, put on his used garments, soiled and tore them in strips; and thus bedecked, passed and repassed his father's shop, enjoying the supposed charitable observations of the neighbours, and his wrathful parent's mortification. About the twentieth turn, he knocked up against an individual who burst into a fit of laughter on recognising him.

"Oh, mercy!" cried out the passenger, "are you posing for Belisarius? *Virtue of my life!* what superb rags! or are you going to set up an opposition shop to the poor of the Bicêtre (Ricourt was the speaker)?" And as Ricourt had confessed many prodigal sons in his time, he now heard the confession of Gustave, whose acquaintance he had made among the painters.

He made no concealment of his mischance.

'Good,' said Ricourt: 'is that all? cheer up: I will take you under my patronage; come write for the *Artiste*, and be a 'man of letters:' you are already provided with the costume.' 'Famous idea! I accept the offer,' said Planche. 'Accept! to be sure you do. You will roll in gold: five francs per page, and the page has only two columns. Eh! that's respectable I think. Take heart of grace and knock me off an article.'

Twenty four hours after, Planche brought him twelve or fifteen pages containing his first literary attempt. 'Bravo! bravissimo!' cried the chief editor of *L'Artiste* after reading the lucubration. 'Oh, ho! here are ideas—new and superior ideas. Where have you stolen so much wit, saying nothing of the originality, the *chic*,* and the style? My stars! I have made a valuable acquisition: I'll not part with you in haste.'

But Gustave parted from Ricourt. He entered into the service of Buloz of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* by the friendly intervention of Count Alfred de Vigny, and wrote an account of the *Exposition* of 1831.

His articles at once attracted great attention. At the first effort, Gustave Planche had the courage to take his place on the bench of criticism as sovereign judge. Never did criticism exhibit more logic, more taste, more intelligence. Under the new pen, she clearly de-

* An untranslatable word, implying among other things, "the Glass of Fashion and the Mould of Form," the wit of Rev. Sydney Smith, and Beau Brummell's taste in neck-cloths. When you hear a person whose studies have not extended to "*Alison on Taste*," say "that's the ticket," you may be sure that he has an intuitive grasp of the idea. We have heard a man of talent equal to Ricourt's at all events, give utterance to the expression, "that's the *cheese*." Pronounce the last c in the French word, soft, and the sounds are nearly alike. It is an odd coincidence.

monstrated the soundness of each judgment, and expressed herself in pure and correct language.

He next tried the province of literary criticism, a hundred times more slippery and steep than the other. This time again he was saluted master; and the ignoble complaints of the envious were soon stifled in the universal applause that followed. Thus Gustave Planche took possession of the entire domain of criticism; and continued to pass under review, according to the chance of production or his own caprice, the works of artists, of poets, and of musicians. As he proceeded on his way, he acquired a greater solidity of judgment, a wonderful degree of sagacity, and an extreme acuteness of analysis.

The great merit of Planche consists in having comprehended and judged better than any other, geniuses the most opposite in character: to have scanned so justly, he must have looked from a point of view far above his subject. It is not the quality of an ordinary spirit to place itself so naturally at this exact point of view, and not be set wrong by the deceptive mirage of the prejudices and passions of the moment. The diapason of the instrument must be unerring and correct, when so few false notes have escaped, among the infernal charivari of the quarrels of the schools.

When Planche speaks of the beauties of music—beauties so vague, so fleeting, so difficult to be expressed in ordinary language, the neat, correct, and limpid turn of his sentences is wonderful in its way. In criticism, as well of art as of literature, Gustave Planche is master; and all the Janins of the world do not reach his instep.

Still we protest formally against some of his decisions. When he exalts André Chénier, the Abbé Prévost, Merimée, Villemain, Jules Sandeau, we join in his enthusiasm; but when he declares George Sand, the first moralist of the age, our conscience revolts against the blasphemy.

Gustave Planche, we repeat, is a true master in criticism, but he is the genuine child of the age, imbued with the grovelling instincts of materialism, the blind lover and idolator of plastic form and beauty. No spiritual idea ever issues from his judgment, otherwise so accurate and precise. Of what importance are God, the soul, eternity, to him? fables and bagatelles. Such things are not to M. Planche's taste."

Planche is accused of injustice towards Victor Hugo, the Magnus Apollo of Eugène de Mirecourt: he gives this specimen of his bad feeling and warped judgment. In a critique of Planche's on Victor Hugo, were these words.

"The life of this man is only a long series of obstinate errors. The worst informed on literary matters are aware, that the author of *Notre Dame de Paris*, considers himself exempt from study by the strength of his genius; but they are not at all disposed to accept this pretension. Science is unattainable, without study; and if Victor Hugo is determined to draw all from himself, he must make up his mind to meet the disdain of the public."

Mirecourt makes this reply :—

“ Never was venom more undeserved inflicted by a critic's sting : never did a blow fall so wide of its object. On the contrary, the least instructed know, that the erudition of the author of *Nôtre Dame* is most extensive and profound, far surpassing that of the most encyclopedic head of the age.

Some officious friends shewed Victor these articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. ‘ What can we do,’ said the poet. ‘ Planche came to me one evening in a frightful pair of worn-out shoes : I gave him a pair of old boots. You always make an enemy of the man to whom you give your old boots.’ ”

Hints are thrown out that St. Beuve and Planche had not advanced in the catechism as far as the decalogue, and that they were consequently not aware of the law respecting their neighbour's wife, to wit, Madame Victor Hugo, or wilfully broke through it in intention. The lady was so cruel as to despise their tender avowals, but she is accused of having asked Mr. Planche, how was he off for shirts ? a biting affront when his uncleanly habits were taken into account. Mirecourt defends her like a true knight. He asserts that she was incapable of using the words without great provocation, but considers the question as a fair reprisal for Planche's purposed breach of hospitality and the ninth commandment.

“ Gustave's family and relatives completely threw him off, from the period of his entering the literary life. They could not even pronounce his name unless in a tone of reproach and hatred.

Either through a desire to annoy them, or to imitate in everything the philosopher of Sinope, Gustave wears abominable clothes, and never washes his hands. Those who knew him before this metamorphose, affirm him to have been a young man of distinguished appearance, enhancing by an aristocratic manner and perfect good taste in dress, the advantages of a fine shape and expressive countenance.”

Our critic having praised *Indiana* to the skies, Mme. Sand would penetrate into his dirty den (even in his prosperous days he did not affect respectable lodgings), Hotel de Jean Jacques Rousseau, Rue des Cordiers. Being attired as a student, Mons. George was allowed to pass unmolested.

Hear how she speaks of her partial critic.

“ I am under particular obligations as artist, to M. Gustave Planche, a spirit essentially critical, but of the highest elevation of thought. He rendered me the greatest service, not only by obliging me by his friendly railleries, to study my own language, which I at

first wrote with extreme negligence, but also because I learned much from his conversation, which possessed indeed little variety, but was of a substantial character and of a remarkable lucidity. His acquaintance, however, surrounded me with enmities and bitter rancours.

All those whom Planche had wounded with tongue or pen, imputed to me as a crime, to receive him at my house when they were of the party ; and I was threatened with a complete desertion of my friends of an older date, who insisted that they ought not to be sacrificed to a new acquaintance."

George Sand in her *Mémoires de ma vie*, and Balzac in one of his novels, have involved the intimacy of the two literati in such a cloud of woven air, and enveloped it in such a net work of words, words, words, that to get a correct idea of the rise, and progress, and dissolution of the intimacy would be a task on a par with that in the household story, where the hero seeks his lost needle in a cock of hay."

"Through dint of reading volume after volume, correcting proofs, and essaying to cool with alcoholic beverages, his blood overheated with study, his sight was affected so far as to oblige the faculty to prescribe the most absolute repose. 'Repose, indeed!' cried he ; 'what pleasant gentlemen are your physicians! Rest to a man who must labour, if he intends to live!'

He was absolutely in the same situation as the poor creatures, who avail themselves of the gratuitous consultations held at hospitals, and to whom the facetious doctors prescribe a generous diet washed down by wine of Bourdeaux.

Very opportunely for Gustave, he just then came by a legacy of from seventy-five to eighty thousand francs. Without delaying to entrust his money to a notary, or buy stock and live on the interest, he filled his pocket book with bank notes, and departed post-haste for Italy, and there abode for seven delightful years.

He paid his respects to all the monuments, visited all the museums, never read a line, but noted down every evening the impressions of the day.

Under the lovely skies of Florence and Naples, he improved himself in the science of *doing nothing*, ate and drank his crowns in the guise of the finest viands and liquors, never gave himself the trouble of purchasing even the ghost of a body coat, and finally the last pieces in his purse were only waiting to be put in the melting pot. Some early religious impressions latterly awakened by the splendour and the poetry of worship in the Italian Churches, now resumed their ancient power, and he faithfully discharged his christian duties—for six weeks."

"I will become a religious," said he ; "I will court voluntary solitude ; I will be free from the harassing task of toiling for mere subsistence, and I will have leisure for literary composition."

“What hindered the execution of this laudable design? Bacchus and a certain heathen goddess, both of whom were in his confidence, could alone reveal the secret. Our man returned to Paris, and Buloz received him with open arms.

The first apparition of Gustave at the *Café Momus** in his indescribable costume, raised the enthusiasm of its frequenters even to a pitch of delirium. All its idlers and literary vagabonds, the very cream of *Bohemia* received him in triumph in the midst of a charivari, which waked up the echoes in the neighbouring old Basilic of Saint Germain-l'Auxerrois. A *Bohemian* poet seizing on Planche's venerable and greasy hat, then and there improvised a lofty ode on the subject of that famous head-covering. Planche looked on these outpourings of feeling with the greatest benignity, and drank like a hero of the *Iliad*. Next day he resumed the usual routine of former years.

When the celebrated Critic has money in his purse, hear how he spends his day. He engages a coach in the evening, and it is at his door punctually at six o'clock in the morning. At nine, he rises and pays a visit to his friends the painters or sculptors. At eleven, he is set down at a restaurant's in vogue, where he first orders seven or eight glasses of *Absinth* or *Vermuth*† to give the satisfactory tone to his stomach. He then breakfasts in a style more than comfortable, and pays his bill amounting to twenty-five or thirty francs. He then gets into his voiture, and takes a turn among other artists of his acquaintance. At six o'clock he alights at the *Café de Paris*. Having made a preparation for the digestive organs, similar to that of the morning, he orders succulent viands, and wines of the best quality. The expense of the dinner varies from fifty to sixty francs. His coach then conveys him to the *balcon* of the opera or the orchestra of the Theatre Français. At midnight he hands forty francs to his driver, climbs to his garret, and goes to sleep with the contented feelings which Titus would experience on such an occasion, saying after his example, ‘Behold a day well spent.’ At the Exhibition he has been frequently seen, oily in face and figure, striving to walk in shoes down at heel, wearing an abominable shirt, a coat with greasy collar, an impracticable hat, and a pantaloons torn and fringed at the bottom.

Being once invited to dine with a celebrated actress, Anais or Mme. Dorval, he arrived before the company. ‘My goodness! Planche,’ cried the hostess, ‘what a figure you cut! Go take a bath I beg; here is a ticket.’ He returned in an hour's time as clean as when he set out. ‘You unhappy man, you have not taken the bath.’ ‘By my faith, I have.’ ‘Look at your hands.’ ‘Ah

* See our article on Murger's *Vie de Bohème* IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. xx. for scenes at the *Café Momus*. The author himself is typified by *Rodolphe* in that work.

† The translator humbly acknowledges his ignorance of the ingredients of these spirituous liquors, and of their English names, if they happen to have any other than *Wormwood wine*.

that is because I had a book while in the water.' This he looked on as a most valid excuse. Exteriorly and interiorly he holds water in the most profound detestation.

In times of scarcity he never approaches a café; he lives on bread and cheese, or resorts to a labourers' eating house. At this period he works with extreme ardor, and is to be found only at museums or at libraries. As soon as his diligence has put some money in his pocket, he selects a new café, and resumes his Gargantuan existence.

He keeps his address a secret from all his acquaintances, less through shame than a desire to enjoy solitude. If he is obliged to accept the arm of a friend when returning home at night, he always dismisses him before they arrive at the street where he lives. If he observes himself watched, he turns off in a contrary direction.

A facetious painter once amused himself making him pace the flags till 3 o'clock in the morning. But Planche held out like a hero, walked his tormentor off his legs, and finally succeeded in gaining his dormitory unseen. It was a long time supposed that he slept in the open air at the crossings of the public promenades; and himself rather encouraged the general impression. 'Where do you lie at night?' said some one. 'I do not lie down at all; I perch.' 'And where, may I ask?' 'Champs-Elysées, third tree on the right.'

When our hero changes his address, all his moveables are conveyed away in his hat: this circumstance exempts him from employing commissionnaires, a race addicted to blabbing.

One of his new landlords of whom he had just rented a furnished room, lost all courage when he found his stock of linen represented by three collars. 'Sir,' said he very naively, 'will you do me the pleasure of mentioning where are your shirts?' 'Will you do me the pleasure,' answered Planche, 'of explaining for what object people wear shirts? Is it not for the sole purpose of exhibiting their collars? Behold three very neat ones, and be satisfied.'

The more he advances in years, the less he is disposed to endure the arbitrary will of Buloz. Sometimes he gets vexed and dismisses his employer: then such is his apathy that he makes no application elsewhere, and is dying of hunger by inches. The last time they fell out was in the midst of a rigorous winter; and Planche was often met in the streets with a torn grey hat, a strip of pocket handkerchief for a cravat, a paletot of very light stuff with vent holes innumerable, and his feet in shoes unprovided with soles. But Buloz always comes to the rescue.

He has need of Planche to keep in check, some high and mighty personages who patronise *the shop*, and whose pretensions wound his consequences at times. For these, Gustave is a genuine head of Medusa. So now and then he gives him leave to go and break windows.

Planche is afflicted with feeble sight. His health is failing day by day, and his wretchedness becomes more intense: he wears the same style of clothes as in days of yore.

A person was telling Charles Nodier how an enraged romanticist (Planche was a zealous classicist) fell on the critic of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* one evening at the corner of a street, and trashed him

unmercifully. 'Thank goodness,' said the author of *La Fée aux Miettes*, 'that Gustave's coat has at last got what it sadly wanted, a good brushing.'

At different epochs he has reviewed almost all the cotemporary literature in pieces of incontestible worth. Their titles in collection, are *La Poesie, le Theatre, et le Roman Contemporaines—Les Royantes Littéraires—De l'Etat du Theatre en France—Les Amitiés Littéraires—Moralite de la Poesie—De la Critique Française—De la Langue Française, &c.*

Gustave Planche is never niggardly of praise (when deserved), and never condemns without cause, that is to say, without a cause which to us often appears insufficient, but perfectly conclusive to himself. He is the reverse of a venal critic. His lodgings are never seen encumbered with rich spoils, won at the pen's point from theatrical kings and queens, or other vain imbeciles who are in such terror of the gruff voice of the press. He has never learned to *chaunt*, therefore much will be forgiven to him. His chief defect is his forced sympathy with Buloz in his literary likings and dislikings: still he sometimes kicks against the traces.

One day he presented a scathing article on Alexander Dumas. Every sentence was a whip stroke: the insolent Scapin of literature was literally cut away to a thread.

'My dear fellow,' said Buloz; 'Dumas writes with us. I never fire on my own people; modify the article.' 'This is the way I modify it,' said Planche, throwing the manuscript into the fire. The act was the more heroic, as he was at the moment in absolute destitution. It was in November, and his pantaloons were of the lightest description of Summer wear.

It would be natural to suppose, from the majestic movement of Dr. Johnson's sentences, and the accurate adjustment of their parts to each other, that composition cost him much labor, while in reality it required not much more than a mere exertion of his thinking powers. Mirecourt makes the same remark concerning the ample form and the harmony of Gustave Planche's periods, adding that no living writer composes with greater ease to himself.

"Louis Napoleon has a high esteem for the critical talent of Gustave Planche. His cabinet is never without a copy of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* open at one of his articles.

Immediately after his accession to the throne, he wrote to our hero, inviting him to select any office he pleased in the 'Administration of the Fine Arts,' even the chief management, if it suited him. Planche considered that if he took office he should change his life, renounce his liberty, wash his hands, and wear stiff new clothes. He thanked the Emperor and declined the Imperial favor.

A personage high in the department bitterly complained one day to Buloz of the remarks of Planche on the public works then in course of execution. 'Have a care sir,' said Buloz; 'His Majesty sets great value on his opinions.' He paid a visit at once to the critic, and

mentioned the circumstance. Gustave arose from his sick bed, took the Emperor's letter from a drawer, and read it out for him. 'When you see this gentleman again,' said he, 'tell him that I could occupy his office to-morrow if I chose.'

This man who despises official salary, and ease, continues to labor for the public, and for art. On the occasion of the **UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION**, he wrote a series of truly superior articles. Still the same certainty of judgment, the same profound knowledge, the same masterly, simple, and pure style. Recently he has resumed the consideration of the works of the great sculptor whom France has just lost, David Angers."

Sue and Planche were living men when their biographies were sketched. The reader being aware that both have gone to their accounts, would probably find Mirecourt's handling ill-timed and too severe, if he did not keep the other fact before him, while reading the article. Undisguised dislike towards Sue, is all along apparent, while great respect for the critical powers, and contempt for the sensual habits of Planche, are equally evident. It will do no harm to such of our younger readers as have got through the *Mysteries* (taking for granted that they have never scraped acquaintance with the *Jew*), and who are disposed from the apparent goodness of the author's heart, to go the whole way with him in his *moral* and *social* projects—it will do no harm, we repeat, to be made acquainted with his manner of life as shown above, and to be reminded how unwise it would be to expect pure and refreshing waters from such a muddy and unhealthy source.

It is difficult to conceive how such sound judgment, and loftiness of thought, and pure taste, could be united to such grovelling propensities as held the mastery in the case of Planche. Our own Goldsmith may be quoted to us as another striking instance; but there are many differences. If the purest good nature and feeling prevail in his writings, they were also evinced in his prodigal generosity. If his morals were not correct, his debts unpaid, and if his life generally was not a model for imitation, and if the spirit and character of his writings inculcate a conduct the reverse of his own, he was still no hypocrite. He loved and revered everything that is good and excellent in its nature, but strength of resolve was wanted; and he was not proof, during these hours when the soul's sentinels are not at their post, to the seductions of

* In the *Illusions of Literature*, **IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW**, No. xxi. there are a few satirical allusions to this Artist's manner.

sociality, the pleasures of the table, and the irregularities to which they are preludes. In his thinking moments he felt the evil effects of his weakness of purpose; and would warn his readers of the snares from which he had the wish but not the force to free himself. And if his writings are pure, and tend to make us in love with all virtues, prudence in particular, they were the genuine and natural emanations of his head and heart at the moment of composition.

Planche's was altogether a sensual nature, and consequently fully disposed to all the agreeable impressions received through the medium of the senses. Hence his love of mereæsthetic arts, and the pure taste acquired in the daily contemplation of their finest productions. He deserves no more credit for his knowledge and taste in this department, than the lark does for springing into the air, and singing his song of joy on a fine Summer morning.

We proceed to some incidents in Balzac's career, repeating that our critic's estimation of him must be taken at a discount, for there is throughout his sketch, a strong leaven of personal liking for his subject.

"Honoré de Balzac was born in Tours, 20th May, 1799, in the house of the *Rue Imperiale* which bears the No. 45. * * *

The young Honoré grew up along with two charming young girls his sisters, whose amusements he would not condescend to share, so absorbed was he from his early years, with a precocious inspiration which continually carried him off into the world of dreams.

Mme. Balzac, concerned to see a child so young subject to such abstractions, bought him some toys, but he only selected a fiddle. He seized on it with joy, and exercised his bow from morning till night, crying out from time to time to his elder sister Laura. "Oh! how beautiful!" But when she complained of her ears being flayed by it, he retreated to the wood, and was found two hours after, rasping the catgut, with his eyes cast upward, and streaming down tears of delight."*

At five years of age he read the Scriptures, and lost himself with ecstasy in their mysterious depths. He read every book he could lay hands on before his departure for college; he read every book in the college, dictionaries included; he contrived to be frequently confined for negligence, and read in his prison; "Seated at the feast of knowledge, he swallowed whole libraries, but then came the difficulty of digestion." After some days

* Several circumstances of his youth are recorded in his novel, "*Les Lambert*."

spent at home in a kind of waking somnambulism, the effervescence ceased, his ideas assumed distinction, and the voluminous furniture with which he had filled the chambers of his brain found their own pegs and corners.

Our philosopher of fourteen knew everything but what was before his eyes. He could not tell the difference between a vineyard and a field of wheat, and carefully preserved a Gourd for several days in a vase, being persuaded by his sister that it was an Indian Cactus. With a glimpse into futurity, he once cried out to his sisters, 'you will one day see me renowned.' However he paid dear for his prophecy, for on every occasion the mocking young damsels would accost him with assumed awe and low curtsies, 'hail to the GREAT BALZAC.'

His family having left Tours to reside in Paris where his father had procured a lucrative situation, he passed through his collegiate course with success, and amused himself at home teaching his sisters Latin, and classifying his increasing library. At twenty-one, his father examined him as to his choice of a profession; he answered '*Literature.*' 'But do you not know that if you wish to escape being a beggar in that line, you must be a king?' 'Well, I will be a king.' 'We may see,' said his mother, 'that Monsieur has a decided taste for poverty.' 'Yes,' said the father, 'some people are persuaded that they should die in an hospital as a matter of course.' So the family left the city, Honoré only remaining. He patronised a garret, wrote the most amusing letters to his sisters on the discomforts of his residence, and contracted tooth-aches in his windy apartments, which never afterwards ceased troubling him at intervals. The first literary attempt was an unacted tragedy on the subject of Cromwell, and Charles I. Then in the midst of bodily suffering and dire poverty, he produced forty volumes of novels under the name of *Lord R'hoone* (anagram of *Honoré*) and *Horace St. Aubin*. Finding he was only breaking his head against a wall, he published with a friend's aid, the works of Molière in one volume with a preface by himself, and the works of Fontaine in a similar form; but the booksellers would not give their hands to the work, and he only suffered loss by his speculation.

His father, in order to turn his mind from literature in his own person, set him up as head of a printing establishment; the restraints inflicted on the press at the time soon obliged him to dispose of his plant, and he took once more to literature with an additional amount of debt on his back.

Le Dernier Chouan, published in 1827, brings him to notice at last, and he travels on in the high way of popularity but not independence.

Mirecourt here takes occasion to cudgel Jules Janin for his unjust and impudent criticisms, on his man, and classes his *Comédie Humaine* in eight divisions, *Scènes de la Vie Privée*, *Scènes de la Vie de Province*, *Scènes de la Vie Parisienne*, *Scènes de la Vie Politique*, *Scènes de la Vie Militaire*, *Scènes de la Vie de Campagne*, *Etudes Philosophiques* and *Etudes Analytiques*.

"Balzac is the Benvenuto of modern literature; he carves out his books with admirable care; all his sentences are chiselled. He excels (so to speak) in melting the materials of the passions, and casting his characters in bronze. Since Moliere, no author has had such success in the exploring of the human heart.

Woman, that eternal despair of the painter of manners, that fugitive and mysterious being, that flower of a thousand changing tints, that graceful cameleon with such varied and deceptive hues—woman has in him, found at once, her naturalist, her historian, her poet. She has revealed to him the secret of her joys and her woes; she permits him to explain her airs and graces, her gossipings, her disdain, her preferences, her caprices, and her enjoyments. Every sentence of the great book, in which our mother Eve has written the first line, is faithfully translated by Balzac. He deciphers the most obscure hieroglyphics of sentiment; his lancet lays bare the most delicate fibres of thought. He dissects woman's heart, analyses all its palpitations, all its tender emotions. He exhibits in their exquisite and purest essence, the adorable qualities that distinguish them; then he searches out their defects, and seizes on them one by one with wonderful insight. Shade succeeds to light, and sometimes we discover the demon under the form of an angel. Designs in smiles, perfidies in gesture, diplomacy in the glance,—nothing escapes this skilful anatomist: he seems to possess the key to all the mysteries of human nature.

When we compare the women of Balzac to those of George Sand, we find them as different as sound logic from paradox, as truth from falsehood."

Now, with submission to our critic, and in our poor judgment, a man must be a moral monster to possess such qualities of penetration or intuitive knowledge as described above. A true man or true woman as God has formed them, will ever find it impossible to enter into the other's distinctive nature, and draw a faithful psychological picture thereof. Is it possible that a man sensible to feminine beauty, and whom no influence could possibly make fall in love with an ugly woman, could bring sensibly before his mind the processes going on in the heart of

youder delicate lady, with her life and soul devoted to that swarthy, rough-featured being, whose presence our sensitive critic can hardly tolerate within the compass of a small room.

A slight instance this, of what we wish to illustrate, but want of space prevents our enlarging on the subject. A graver case of offence is given by Balzac, in the general cynical and sensual character of his writings. Human Passions are the prime movers in his *Comédie Humaine*; there is no high presiding influence directing their operations for any purpose of good; and out of his scores of stories, and his five thousand personages (a curious admirer has settled them at that figure) there are very few ordinarily good men or women.

We mentioned in a former paper the least objectionable of his tales. We remember being particularly provoked by the conduct of one of them, not objectionable in other respects. He takes his personages, some of them worthy folk, others the reverse; with defects and wants among some of the good characters, which only wait to be filled up and satisfied by the superfluities of the others. An amiable rich old maid, not so very old either, requires love for the good qualities of her person, not for her purse: a poor relative, who really loves her without her finding it out, will not tell her so for fear of being suspected of selfish views. So cross purposes increase; the worthless characters fare off best; and those who deserve some happiness or comfort are punished, and disinherited, and drowned; there is not even the pleasure of a fine tragic effect, but all ends as flat, and wearisome, and dismal as a pauper's funeral.

Balzac and George Sand seem to have cordially disliked each other. He once observed, that nature, through some slight inattention, created her of the neuter gender; and that what she chiefly needed was more trowsers and less style. Mirecourt warns his readers when perusing that lady's memoirs of her life (a work which he considers uncalled for, as far as the education of youth is concerned), not to trust blindly to her appreciation of his hero.

Balzac, according to our critic, was really one of the most unaffected, simple-minded, honest men that could be found, getting deeper into debt through desperate efforts to rid himself of it, and this despite his great popularity. The following extract will partially account for this phenomenon.

“ He laboured with too good a conscience, and at too slow a pace; he was never satisfied with his success. When he had revised one of

his romances, *Pierrette*, fourteen times, the printer observed, 'you will be at the expense of eighteen hundred or two thousand francs for corrections.' 'What matter?' said he, 'go on;' and the work saw its twenty-seventh revise before it was published.

Pierrette was dedicated to the accomplished lady (Mme. Eve de Hanska), who afterwards bore his name. He wished to convey to her the combined gift of talent and heart at the same time. The expense of the corrections exceeded the sale of the edition by three or four hundred francs. Certes, it was hard for him to pay his debts by such a procedure."

Contrary to the system of Elie Berthet, all of whose writings we can cordially recommend for perusal, but who gives the most accurate descriptions of vales of Andorre, La Vendee Marshes, Swiss vallies, Paris catacombs, Auvergne craters, &c., sitting on a low stool, and performing journeys from the folio in front to the quarto on his right hand, Balzac would not mention a street nor an old building in a provincial town, without paying them a conscientious visit. Hence the wonderfully true pictures of the house Grandet in Saumur, the house Bouget at Issodun, &c.

"Chagrined beyond endurance by the clamours of his creditors, he resorted to his sister's family nearly every evening, for some little respite and consolation.

"Come my gazelles (so he called his nieces), said he one evening, 'give me paper and a pencil: quick! quick!' They gave him what he demanded, and he spent an hour putting down sums and adding them. 'Fifty nine thousand francs,' said he at last; 'fifty nine thousand francs I owe; and what remains for me to do but blow out my brains, or throw myself into the Seine?' 'And the romance* you have commenced for me,' said his niece weeping, 'will never be finished!' 'Ah! dear angel!' said he, 'I was wrong to be so cast down; I will work for you, and that very thing will bring good luck. Away with sadness! It will be a chef d'œuvre; I will get three thousand crowns for it. The publishers will give me fabulous prices; I will pay my debts in two years; I will put by a dower for you; I will become a peer of France. All that is settled; now let us to dinner.'

'And our boxes at the theatre, uncle?' 'Here they are, just in my pocket; we'll go to the *Gymnase*.' 'But you have no dress coat.'

'Surville (his brother in law) will lend me his: to the table with you my gazelles;' and he kept them all laughing while striving to eat their dinner. Balzac forgot his debts, and the Bordeaux and the chesnuts were laid on the tables.

'Dress yourself uncle, we'll be late.' 'Very well thought of,' said he, rising and passing into the next room, to make his toilet.

* Balzac would never permit his nieces to read a romance of his except those he wrote expressly for them, such as *Ursule Mirouet*.

Putting in his head soon after at the door left ajar, he cried out, 'Sarville, leave me some of the Bordeaux.' 'Oh dear!' said Sarville, 'the bottle is empty; we drank it all, but I'll go to the cellar for another.' 'No, no, don't trouble yourself: if the wine is gone, I'll be satisfied with the chesnuts,' and all roared out laughing at the *mivete* of the expression.

He was blessed with the power of being able to turn aside from the considerations of his debts and his harassing disputes, and finding enjoyment in pure domestic relations.

He often spent hours gambolling with his little nieces; and when his sister scolded him for losing so much time, he would answer, 'Silence! Petrarch (her name was Laura): if I don't give my brain a holiday it will burst.'

Though the toothache, contracted in his garret, continued to annoy him, he still persisted in not allowing one to be pulled out, alleging that wolves never employed dentists, and why should men?

'You're a coward,' said his sister. 'Coward, indeed! I have just now got a loose tooth; give me a string and see if I don't make it fly.' The string was got; and he proceeded mildly and leisurely with the operation, but the impatient lady seizing hand and string, gave him such a chuck, that it was out in a moment. 'Very odd,' said he; 'it appears that I was only using a sort of moral force.' "

Having given our opinion on the waste of time caused by the most harmless of works of fiction, for the best are merely harmless, our readers may naturally expect strong denunciations against those that are produced with an evil intention, or at all events written by people destitute of a moral or religious sense, such as the greater number of Balzac's,* of George Sand's, the one novel of Veron's, and nearly all of Sue's; and to all such indeed we bequeath our hearty malediction.

We were about bestowing a very sufficient amount of pity on the unmarried young ladies of France, for the easy access they enjoy to such a mass of evil reading; but recollected in time, that owing to the peculiarity of female education on the

* To Balzac, Dumas, Veron, Planche and Sue might be applied the remark of Mirecourt on Théophile Gautier, 'that if you state any thing in his presence whose truth, or accuracy, or proof, rests on Christian ethics, he stares at you as if you were uttering words in an unknown tongue.' We observed the same peculiarity about Murger when reading his *Vie de Bohème*, in which he exhibits the ordinary phases of an existence, perfectly abnormal as far as the recognition of christian principles is concerned. He recognises good nature, endurance and good humour, as laudable qualities, but he sees no necessity for marriage under any circumstances. If his Grisette is very inconstant, it is a fact to be regretted, and she will receive punishment in the end as a natural consequence: but if she abides with her student through his poverty, as well as his season of fair weather, she ranks as high in Murger's scale—as *Harriet Byron* in Richardson's. His *Adeline Protat* is a very interesting and thoroughly unobjectionable story. The variation in the moral standard of works by the same writer, is much more striking in French than in English works of fiction.

Continent, nearly all their youth being spent in conventual *pensions*, the minds of the fair pensionnaires cannot be tainted by the reading of unattainable works. Again, while here at home, merchants' or shopkeepers' daughters are paying visits, or attending morning concerts, or adorning their persons, or shopping, their sisters in the French cities are sitting in glass hives in their fathers' counting houses, and making entries in curious folios bound in rough calf. Again, looking on the myriads of *Lelias*, *Arthurs*, *Martins*, *Delphines*, and *Jeannes*, lying on our booksellers' tables in their bright tinted paper wrappers, and sold at the low price of 1s. or thereabouts, to any young lady or gentleman desirous of a dose of intoxicating poison, we cannot conscientiously say that the youth of our upper and middle ranks are so much better off than the corresponding classes beyond the strait of Calais. And how fare our folk of grimy faces and hardened palms, when the week's hire and the day of rest arrive? Have they not translations of the worst French romances? Have they not the edifying memoirs of that darling George IV., and have they not penny sheets poisoned to the core with the rabies of unprincipled scribblers, who, striving after the power and wickedness of their French brothers in evil, have only succeeded in securing the bad quality.

And when tavern keepers who furnish ardent spirits to customers already intoxicated, when those who keep dens for the destruction of the health, the innocence, and the spiritual life of our youth, or those who sell poison, knowing that it is to be applied for the extinction of human life,—when any or all of these worthies go calmly about their daily occupations, and enjoy life without feeling the sting of conscience, then, but not till *then* may the writers, the publishers, and the vendors of evil books, think they are leading the lives of Christians, and of honest useful members of the great social family.*

* We subjoin the names of some works lately come under our notice, and as harmless as the ordinary run of English novels. *Un Mariage en Province*, par Mme. Léonie Aunet, *La Fin du Procès*, par A. de Pontmartin, *Belle Rose*, par Amedée Achard (this last on a friend's report), *Adeline Protat*, par Henri Murger, as before mentioned, *La Duchesse d'Hanspar*, and *Amour et Finance*, par Edmond Texier, *Tolla*, *Les Mariages de Paris*, *Germaine*, and *Le Roi des Montagnes*, par Edmond About. We hope some day for the pleasure of presenting to our readers, a few specimens from the fictions of this most genial, humorous, and healthy-minded writer.

ART. II.—THE BOOKS OF THE FOUR KINGS.

The Hand-Book of Games, &c., &c. Written or Compiled by Professors and Amateurs. Edited by Henry G. Bohn. London : Bohn, 1850.

Man is at heart a gambler; such has been the opinion of many deep thinkers, who have made human nature their study, and it matters not whether cards, dice, or the thousand-and-one other modes of gambling which exist, from the royal game of chess, played in the princely court, to the thimble-rig and trick-of-the-loop at the rural fair, all, and each in their turn, are gamblers. Nay, is not our every day traffic, at best, a species of gambling, or, if you prefer the term, a speculation.

The most wily diplomatist, whilst intriguing with foreign or domestic courts; the ablest general, marshalling his troops and leading his men to victory; the judge, on his judicial bench; the pleader, advocating his client's cause; the doctor, whilst holding in his hands the life or death of his patient; all are, more or less, the creatures of circumstance, and guided by chance, are merely gambling for the liberties, properties, or lives of their respective adherents.

Thus, whilst man's nobler nature is inherently speculative, can we feel surprised at the almost natural tendency to gambling in our social relations, when recreation combines with emolument, and the nobleman on the turf, or the whist-player at his club, feels a pleasurable excitement in the chances and changes of a game, though it may be his all depends on the issue. Nor is gambling confined to the higher circles, or to the middle classes; the rustic at the hedge side has his well-thumbed pack of cards, and stakes his all with as true a spirit of gambling as the highest noble in the land, aye, or the king on his throne. And now, that we have shown how strong in our nature is the love of play, it may not be uninteresting to give a few details of these talismanic bits of pasteboard—Cards.

Many and various have been the notions conceived, and the opinions given as to the origin of cards, some claiming them as a European, others as an Eastern invention; Germany, Spain, France, and England have each their adherents

in asserting that to them we are indebted for this mystic source of amusement, and much as we would be inclined to claim the honor of originality for our own quarter of the globe, we must, in justice to truth, admit that our eastern brethren are the originators. The game of chess, nearly the same in its principles as it is now played, was first devised in India, about the beginning of the fifth century. The similarity between the chessmen of the old oriental game and the court or coat cards, suggests the idea that to chess we are indebted for the invention of cards. In the eastern game there were six orders amongst the chessmen, namely, *Schach*, the king; *Pherz*, the general; *Phil*, the elephant; *Aspensuar*, the horseman; *Ruch*, the camel; and *Beydel*, or *Beydak*, the footmen or infantry. There was no queen, as it would be contrary to the notions of oriental propriety to introduce a woman into a game in which the stratagems of war were represented, and even after the introduction of chess into Europe, the piece now called the queen retained its eastern name *Fierge*, though it assumed a feminine character. *Fierge* became assimilated to the French *Vierge*, a maid, and finally to *Dame* the lady. The other pieces have also undergone a change in the European game. Namely, *Phil*, the elephant, is now the Bishop of the English, and the *Fol* or *Fou* of the French; *Aspensuar*, the horseman, is the French *Chevalier*, and the English knight; *Ruch*, the camel, is the English *Rook* or *Castle*, and the French *Tour*; and the *Beydel*, or *Beydak*, the footmen, are now the French *Pions*, and the English *Pawns*.

The same change has taken place as regards the queen in cards as in chess. Amongst the oldest *numeral* cards that have been discovered no queen is to be found; nor in the Spanish or German at an early period. In the Spanish the court cards of each suit were (*Rey*) the king, (*Cavallo*) the knight, and (*Sota*) the knave or attendant. In the German, (*König*) the king, (*Ober*) the chief officer, and (*Unter*) the subaltern. The Italians merely added the queen, thus having four instead of three, namely, *Re*, *Reina*, *Cavallo*, and *Fante*. There was another very ancient Indian game, called *Chaturaji* or the *Four Kings*; this game, which represented a mimic battle, was played by four persons, thus shadowing forth our scientific game

of whist. Edward I. played this game. There is mention of certain monies being appropriated for the king's use whilst playing at the Four Kings—at least it has been so stated in Mr. Anstis's History of the Garter. The assumption however is, that Edward acquired a knowledge of this game in Syria, having spent several years in that country when Prince of Wales, which is another link to the chain of their oriental origin. Though this game is generally supposed to have been chess, still it but marks the close affinity between cards and chess, as the number *four* is a distinctive symbol in cards, for instance, the honors are four, as are also the suits, and it is a well-known fact, as authenticated by Mrs. Piozzi, in her Retrospection, published in 1801, and also by a well-known writer in Frazer's Magazine for August, 1844, that cards were generally known by the name of the Books of the Four Kings. The name cards is supposed to have been derived from the word *Chatur*, which signifies four in the Hindostanee language; some have supposed that it had its origin in the Latin word *Chartæ*, or paper, but the accredited opinions seem to be in favor of the former, and associate the name with the number.

The name, Naibe, or Naipes, by which cards were first designated, both by the Italians and Spanish, is by some authors supposed to be derived from the Arabic; others aver that to Hindostan we must look for its origin, as the word Na-eeb signified in that country a viceroy or governor who ruled over a certain district as sovereign, and therefore as the Four Kings was the acknowledged name for chess, it is not at least improbable that the term Naipes was so derived. Be that as it may, it is certain that cards are at the present day well known both to the Hindoos and Moslems. The Hindoo cards bear no resemblance to ours in shape, as they are usually circular, and are evidently peculiar to the country, identified with their habits, customs, &c. The number of suits in some packs is eight, in others ten; they, however, bear a similitude to the earliest known European cards in having no queen, the two court cards being a king and his principal minister.

Whilst claiming for Hindostan the invention of cards, we must, however, premise that in the museum of the East India Company we have no specimen of Hindostanee

cards. In the museum of the Royal Asiatic Society there are, however, three packs, one consisting of ten suits, and the other two of eight suits each. The material of which they are formed appears to be canvase, but so highly varnished as to feel like wood. The figures and marks on these cards appear to be done by the hand, not stencilled or printed. Judging by this, one would suppose card painting an acknowledged profession in Hindostan. For one of those packs an almost fabulous origin is claimed; it consists of eight suits, and from a memorandum by which it is accompanied, the following information may be obtained. They formerly belonged to a Captain D. Cromline Smith, to whom they were presented, about the year 1815, by a Bramin of Southern India, who informed Captain Smith that they were an heir-loom in his family, and were more than a thousand years old; he was not sure if they were perfect. He also stated that no one at the present day understood them, nor were there any books in existence by which any information regarding them could be gained. They seem, however, to be in such high preservation that the Bramin's story appears almost incredible, and would lead one to imagine it a mere legend as regards the very remote antiquity, and from the costume of the figures and harness of the animals the writer of the memorandum assumes them to be of Hindostanee origin.

There is a tradition regarding the origin of the Hindostanee cards, namely, that they were invented by a favorite sultana, to wean her husband from a habit he had acquired of pulling or eradicating his beard.

There is a marked similarity between the oldest European cards, preserved either in public libraries or private collections, and those of Hindostan. As the marks of the European suits, cups, or chalices, swords, money, and clubs have been supposed to represent the four principal classes in the European state, that is, churchmen, swordsmen, monied men or merchants, and club men or labourers; in like manner are the four great historical castes of the Hindoos represented, thus, Bramins, priests; Chetryas, soldiers; Vaisyas, tradesmen and artificers; and Sudras, slaves and the lowest class of labourers.

In the oldest stencilled or printed European cards, which are about the fifteenth century, we find a similarity between

the marks of the suits and the Hindostanee cards; the former were bells, hearts, leaves, and acorns, each of those have marks in common with the eastern cards but the hearts, and no where can we perceive any corresponding symbol to identify the hearts as being derived from them. The diamond of our own time is supposed to have had its origin from the Castrala or mystic diamond, worn on the breast of Vichnou, or held in the palm of his hand.

Playing cards appear to have been known from a very early date in China, they were supposed to have been invented in the reign of Seum-ho, in 1120, for the amusement of his mistresses. They were called Che-pae, or paper tickets, though the name of a single card was *Shen*, a fan. Though very unlike the cards of other countries, yet the form of the diamond is nearly the same as that on the European card; the Chinese cards are much narrower than ours.

The introduction of cards into Europe is still involved in mystery; there is, however, a well-grounded supposition that they were known early in the fourteenth century, if not anterior to that period, as many aver. It is, however, authenticated that about the year 1393, Charles Poupart, treasurer of the household of Charles VI., of France, made an entry, in his book of accounts, of a *Jeux de Cartes*, the name still retained in France for a pack of cards. Some authors assert that cards were known in the eleventh century, though John of Salisbury, who was born in the early part of the twelfth, makes no mention in his work, "De Nugis Curialium," on the trifling of courtiers, which might lead one to suppose they were in use at that period, though the fifth chapter of the first book is devoted to the use and abuse of gaming. The canon of the Council of Worcester, held in 1240, interdicts clergymen from participating in games, such as dice, king and queen, &c.; the latter may have been the game of cards. The entry in the wardrobe accounts of Edward I., we have recorded before; he had acquired a knowledge of chess, or the game of the four kings, in the east; this was, however, merely an assumption of the Hon. Daines Barrington, in his remarks on Mr. Anstis's "History of the Garter;" but might not Edward have learnt the game from his wife, Eleanor of Castile, and thus give to Spain the honor of introducing

them into England. This would be a justification of the Abbé Rive's theory, that cards were invented in Spain, and were known there early in the fourteenth century. The authority, however, from which he has derived his information is rather apocryphal, being a French translation, by Gutery, of "Guevara's Epistles," who, it is supposed, interpolated his version, and assumed that a general prohibition of gaming must, of necessity, include cards. We may, therefore, suppose that many of the earlier accounts of the use of playing cards that have been transmitted to us, are merely the interpolations of the several translators or compilers who made them in good faith, neither for the purpose of deceiving, or claiming for them a fabulous antiquity; but merely from a desire to supply what they considered an omission. Be it what it may, it furnishes a proof that cards were not in frequent use, at all events either in France or Spain, at the period in which they wrote. In the "*Magasin Pittoresque*," for April, 1836, an illustration is given said to be an exact copy from a miniature in a MSS. of the *Cité de Dieu* translated from St. Augustine, by Raoul de Presle; the translation assumes the miniature to represent persons of distinction playing at cards in the reign of Charles V. There is no evidence, however, in proof of the date, and the costume represented appears to be more like that worn in the reign of Charles VI. No deduction can be drawn from the kind of cards they are represented as playing with, as there is no definite description of the cards used in France at that period.

That cards were introduced into Germany in the year 1300, has been averred by some authors. Heneiken, quoting from the *Güldin Spil*, assumes it to be a fact, though there is no evidence of their being in general use for at least a century later.

Now, that we have given the opinions of doubtful authorities, it is but fair to present a resumé of what may be depended on as a correct history of cards from 1393, when they became more generally used, a period to which popular belief has even attributed their origin. They were supposed to have been invented to amuse Charles VI. of France during his lucid intervals, he having become deranged from the effects of a sun-stroke, in 1392. But this, it appears, is only a popular fallacy, its authenticity being

merely founded on an entry made in the accounts of Charles Poupart, treasurer to Charles the VI., in which mention is made of the purchase of three packs of cards from a painter named Jacquemin Gringonneur, who was the supposed inventor. It is, however, an undoubted fact, that cards were not in general use previous to, or even at that period, and, though permitted in the court circles, and amongst the higher classes in society, they did not become generally known to the working people until about the year 1397, when an edict was issued prohibiting them on working days.

The passion of Gambling, however, so strongly inherent in man's nature, became so powerful at this period, that many, aware of their weakness, and fearing a predilection at all times so fatal, when unrestrainedly indulged, made voluntary pledges to refrain from this vice, and bound themselves to the payment of certain monies in cases of infraction. The temperance movement of our own day, through the instrumentality of which so wondrous a change has been wrought on the minds and characters of a people labouring under what might be termed a *national* vice, and in a great degree breaking those bonds by which they were enthralled, by pledges to refrain from a passion as direful in its consequences, and we might add, more debasing in its indulgence than gaming, bears a striking similarity to the system adopted in the fourteenth century. Menestrier records that Amadeus VIII., Duke of Savoy, afterwards Pope Felix V., forbade all kinds of gaming in his territory; cards were permitted only to women, with whom men might play, provided they only played for pins. This prohibition was issued in the year 1430.

Germany appears to have taken the lead in card making, when pursued as a regular trade, which was early in the fifteenth century. From some records extant, it would appear that women were the earliest card makers and card painters. In an old rate-book of Nuremberg the name of *Margret Kartenmalerin* is mentioned, year 1438. Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Ulm, appear to have been the chief towns in Germany where cards were manufactured in the fifteenth century. Nor did they confine their sales of these commodities to their own country; they did also a large export trade, and it is supposed that it was against the German card makers that the order was issued in Venice, prohibiting

the introduction of foreign cards into the city, under a penalty, as their own manufactures had fallen into desuetude, in consequence of their importation.

Though it has been assumed that wood engraving had its origin in the practice of engraving cards on wood, and was thence extended to sacred and other subjects, this theory is by no means authenticated, as cards bearing date 1440 were evidently stencilled; and the circumstance alone of so many women card painters employed at Nuremberg between 1433 and 1477, is an irrefragable proof that such is not the fact; they, at least, were not wood engravers. It may however be credited, that at this period the two professions were practised by the same person, something like barber-surgeons.

The precise period in which wood engraving was introduced in Europe, or in what country it was practised, is still doubtful. A wood engraving, bearing date 1418, was said to have been discovered pasted in the inside of an old chest, but as the figures were supposed to have been changed, the genuineness of the date cannot be vouched for. The subject of this cut is the Blessed Virgin, with the infant Jesus in her arms, surrounded by four female saints, namely, St. Catharine, St. Barbara, St. Dorothy and St. Margaret. A facsimile of it is given in the *Athenæum*, for the 4th of October, 1845.

The St. Christopher in Earl Spencer's collection which bears date 1423, as mentioned by Heineken, was pasted on the inside of the cover of a manuscript volume in the library of Buxheim near Memmingen in Suabia, within fifty miles of Augsburg. On the inside of the cover, Heineken also observed another cut, of the Annunciation, the same size as St. Christopher, and apparently executed about the same time. The volume in which those cuts were pasted was bequeathed to the convent by Anna, Canoness of Buchaw, who was living in 1427. Both those engravings are in Earl Spencer's collection. There is an interesting anecdote in connexion with cards related of St. Bernardin of Sienna; preaching in the year 1424, on the steps in front of the Church of St. Petronius at Bologna, he depicted so forcibly the evils of gaming, particularly card playing, to which the Bolognese were much addicted, that his auditors made a large fire in the public place, and threw their cards into it.

A poor cardmaker who was present, seeing his mode of life thus, as it were, wrested from him, addressed the saint as follows: "Father, I have not learned any other business than that of card-making, and if that is taken from me, you deprive me of life, and my destitute family of the means of support." The saint replied thus to his appeal, "if you are at a loss how to employ your talent for painting in the manner best suited to gain a fortune, paint this image and you will have no cause to regret the change." Thus saying, he drew forth a tablet, and traced on it the figure of a radiant sun, with the name of Jesus indicated in the centre by the letters I.H.S. The card painter followed the saint's advice, and eventually became a rich man. There is an old wood-cut in the king's library at Paris, bearing date 1454, which is thought to have reference to this anecdote, as the saint is represented holding in his right hand the symbol he recommended the card maker to paint. Nor was Saint Bernardin the only denouncer of cards when played not as a pastime, but as a mode of gambling; several other holy fathers preached on the same subject, and with like success. The Civil Authorities also denounced cards, which in Germany, had at that period, become very popular, and some of the writers of that day mentioned cards as a game at which gentlemen might play after dinner or supper to recreate their minds, and to improve digestion. The progress of card-playing was, however, uninterrupted through the subsequent centuries, and even in England during the reign of the fourth Edward, we have mention of card making as a regular business of the country, but whether this is truth or fallacy it is however an admitted fact that they formed a portion of the Christmas pastimes at that epoch; Henry VII., according to Barrington, had a passion for cards, as there is notice of several entries of money lost at cards, in his privy purse expenses. Cards was a common game at Henry's court too; the royal children indulged in this recreation, and Margaret, afterwards wife of James IV. of Scotland, had her first interview with her affianced husband whilst engaged at cards, after her arrival in Scotland to fulfil her engagement. James himself indulged in this pastime, and there are various instances on record of monies lost by him. In Chambers' Edinburgh Journal of 1832, "there is mention of an entry of four French crowns given to Cuddy the

Inglis luter, to louse his cheyne of grotis, quhilk he tint at the cartis ; i. e., to redeem his chain of groats which he lost at cards." Rogers, whether availing himself of a poet's license or not, we cannot aver, has represented Columbus playing cards in his first voyage of discovery ; this, however, is not unlikely, and may be a fact rather than a fiction as it is supposed to be. It has been recorded of Catherine, wife of Henry VIII., that amongst her other accomplishments she could play with "cardes or dyce;" this, however, may in part be attributed to her Spanish origin. Henry's daughter, the Princess Mary, afterwards queen, was fond of cards, as there are various entries of money given to the princess for that purpose. During Henry's reign card-playing was a very general amusement amongst all classes, both in England and Scotland.

There is no mention of the introduction of cards into Ireland anterior to the sixteenth century. Spenser, at the latter end of that century, represents cards as a common amusement in the south of Ireland, and one, the indulgence of which led to every species of dissipation and meanness. The favorite game in Kerry was called "One-and-Thirty," which was supposed to have been derived from the Spanish, as a game so designated was customary in that country.

The period at which cards were used for the purposes of divination or fortune-telling in Europe is not precisely known. It is, however, supposed that such practices were customary in or about the close of the fifteenth century. The gypsies, by whom this occult science was most generally practised, were undoubtedly of Asiatic origin, another proof, if proof was wanted, that cards are an oriental invention. This species of juggling or conjuring had many votaries during the latter portion of the sixteenth century ; and to the nervous or weak-minded, who sought through their baneful influence to divine either the present, past or future, what direful consequences have too often ensued. Reason, and sometimes life, have been the penalty paid by those whose credulity led them to seek through such unholy intervention a knowledge which the All-wise Deity, in his mercy, concealed from them. Nor is it to the sixteenth century alone that such practices have been confined ; has it not been transmitted to our own enlightened era ? have we not at the present day our itinerant mountebanks playing on the

credulity of simple people, aye, and of educated ones too when imagination is allowed to assume the place of reason, and the lady or gentleman, as the case may be, though outwardly scoffing, is yet inwardly believing in the magic mysteries of the card-drawer. We do not, here, of course, allude to the simple feats and tricks performed by the domestic conjurer. Who is it that will not at intervals retrace the happy period when first initiated into the mystic game of card-playing, or the still more attractive hour when some young companion, learned in the occult science, with assumed witchcraft adroitly divined our inmost thoughts, and knowingly pointed out the card we were thinking of. and we felt an almost instinctive fear of one who to our crude minds seemed gifted with the powers of divination. The reminiscences of boyhood would be irrelevant here were we not drawing a line of distinction between the use and abuse of a simple mode of amusement.

During the reign of Elizabeth, who was herself a card-player, dramatic and satirical representations of cards appear to have been a Christmas pastime. In this art we have preceded the French, who, artistic as they undeniably are, were still nearly a century behind hand. Rimerio was the game in vogue during Elizabeth's reign; Man was that most generally played in James I.; this game appears to have been played with fine cards, and like our own old games of five-and-twenty and five-and-forty, the five of trumps, called the five fingers, was the best card, next to which was the ace of hearts.

Though card-making was in practice in England in the fifteenth century, yet some authors would have it that it was not in general use during the reigns of Elizabeth or James. Spain, at this time, claimed the privilege of manufacturing cards not alone for its own country but in a great measure for ours also. JEHAN VOLAY, or according to Leber, Jean Volay, was one of the most celebrated French card makers of the sixteenth century; there are some of his manufacture preserved in the Bibliothèque Imperiale, at Paris.

From a satirical poem, entitled the "Knave of Hearts," by Samuel Rowlands, in 1612, it would appear that cards were at that time very generally manufactured in England, and a few years later a prohibition was issued forbidding

the importation of foreign cards; this was in the reign of Charles I. But a sadder game was now looming in the distance, which for a time superseded all thoughts of play, and when cards were used at all they were only employed as a medium by which political or satirical squibs could be promulgated. We had also at this time scientific cards, supposed to be invented for the purpose of imparting grammatical knowledge, but which united amusement to instruction, and by this means were unobjectionable to the puritans of that day. There were also the practical cards, by which means the knowledge of spelling, writing, and cyphering was imparted. Charles II., however, on his accession to the throne, completely changed the course of things, and if his predecessor was extreme in one way, so was Charles in the other; and thus, at a court where vice reigned triumphant, cards were, as a necessary consequence, in great request. During this reign the business of card making increased vastly in England; ingenious persons rendering cards a medium by which they were enabled not alone to diffuse useful and entertaining information, but also for the purposes of advertisement. In France scientific or geographical cards assumed a higher range of thought and purpose, and were devised altogether for the exclusive use of the nobility, embracing the study of heraldry, and the elements of history and geography; in England, however, a wider scope was taken, and we have records of cards being made subservient to the purposes of conveying instruction on various subjects, amongst which were politics, history, mathematics, and even carving. About the seventeenth century there was a pack of cards invented at Lyons, in which the aces and knaves were represented by the arms of certain nobles and princes; this naturally gave offence, but as the insult was not through design, but purely through inadvertence, the inventor was pardoned, and his plates restored to him on condition that he would change them into princes and chevaliers. Nearly about the same period a pack of cards was engraven in England, with almost a similar design, the court cards of each suit representing the arms of the Pope, or of one of the crowned heads of Europe. For instance, the King of Clubs bore the heraldic arms of the Pope. The King of Hearts, that of England. The King of Diamonds represented the sove-

reign of Spain, and the King of Spades that of France: the queens, knaves (or princes as they were called), and aces, represented the other European powers. Another pack of heraldic cards, which had merely reference to England, was invented about this period; in this the nobles were represented, each according to their grade, by the high or low cards. As a description of the armorial bearings was necessary in order to play with heraldic cards, the game did not become popular, and outlived neither the court of Louis XIV., nor the Revolution in England.

Cards were used at this period for all purposes of instruction as well as amusement; thus, learning made easy was the order of the day, and Cardinal Mazarin gets the credit of suggesting cards, as a mode of imparting information to Louis XIV., when a child. Thus, geography, history, grammar, and all the other adjuncts to learning, were imbibed by the royal youth as a recreation, rather than a laborious study.

In Anne's reign, and that of George the First, satirical and emblematic cards were much in vogue. Various were the subjects selected for the latter; love, however, generally bore the sway, and each card had a symbolic motto. The satirical cards were similar in design, only different in tendency, as the mottoes were as keenly pungent on one, as they were sweetly amorous on the other.

Books containing instructions for playing at cards were first published in the seventeenth century, but from their very earliest publication down to the present day, all that has been written on them, even by our own Hoyle, could not supply the same instruction to the uninitiated, as the practice of card playing itself imparts. No book learning on that subject at least, can compete with that of the experienced and practical card player.

Whist or Whisk, as it was originally called, though a very popular, was by no means as fashionable or scientific a game in its earlier days as it has since become. It was then played with what are called *Swabbers*; this term originated most probably in the custom which then prevailed, by which a player holding in his hand certain cards was entitled to take up a share of the stake, independent of the issue of the game, and thus in seamen's parlance, clearing the deck, or swabbing, as it was called, Swift represents

clergymen at that period, as fond of *Whisk* and *Swabbers*. Whisk, however, did not attain its high position until about half a century ago, when a set of gentlemen who frequented the crown coffee house, in Bedford Row, and who, under the scientific instructions of Edmund Hoyle Gent, whose treatise on Whist was at that time published by Thomas Osborne, at Gray's Inn, attained for it the proud pre-eminence it still maintains over all games, chess alone excepted.

Alexander Thompson, in his "*Humours of Whist*," has in the prologue thus commemorated both the gentlemen and their scientific instructor—

“ Who will believe that man could e'er exist,
 Who spent near half an age in studying Whist;
 Grew grey with calculation,—Labour hard!—
 As if Life's business centred in a card?
 That such there is, let me to those appeal,
 Who with such liberal hands reward his zeal,
 Lo! Whist he makes a science; and our Peers
 Deign to turn school-boys in their riper years;
 Kings too, and Viceroy's, proud to play the game,
 Devour his learned page in quest of Fame,
 While lordly Sharpers dupe away at White's,
 And scarce leave one poor cull for common bites.”

The substitution of the term Whist for its original name, Whisk, has evidently reference to the silence necessary to be observed whilst playing the game. Dr. Johnson coincides in this opinion; and the writer of an article in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* assumes that the name had its origin in the “Irish phrase, Whisht, or, be quiet.” The term however, bears its own interpretation, and is evidently intended to enjoin silence.

Whisk and Swabbers was the same as the still older game of Buff and Honours. The reason assigned for the unpopularity of these games amongst the higher or court circles from the reign of Charles II, to that of George II. is assumed to have been the covert ridicule they were supposed to cast on the dress and habits of the time.

In the reign of Queen Anne card-playing was at its zenith in all civilized Europe. In England it was both fashionable and popular. Ombre was the favorite game of the ladies, piquet of the gentlemen; whist at that period

ascended no higher than the grade of country squires. Pope immortalized ombre in his "Rape of the Lock;" this game was evidently the one most in favour at this epoch. During by far the greater portion of the "Georgian Era," cards were much in vogue: Seymour's "Court Gamester," written, according to the title-page, for the use of the princesses, was published in the early part of George the First's reign, and was intended for the instruction of the daughters of George Prince of Wales, afterwards George II. His descriptions of Ombre and Piquet were most elaborate, but at Chess he was evidently at fault, though the title-page of this work assumes it to have been altogether intended for the royal circle, yet the preface admits that it embraced a wider range, and the author acknowledges that he had been induced to compile it for the fashionable world at large, gaming being so much in vogue at the time, that an accurate knowledge on the subject was considered a test of gentility.

During that epoch gambling was, in every phase of life, the order of the day; whether in private pastime or public jobbing, a spirit of speculation pervaded all. The South Sea bubble and various other schemes arose and fell, with the same rapidity as every utopian juggle, no matter in what century concocted; and the promoters with their dupes were each appropriately caricatured by a pack of cards which was issued in 1721. About the same time a set of caricature cards was published in Holland, ridiculing the Mississippi scheme. About the year 1737, Hoyle's "Treatise on Whist" was published, and was received with universal and marked approbation, particularly amongst the elite of the clubs, who formed themselves into coteries of an exclusive character, not merely for the purposes of social intercourse, but in order to indulge their passion for whist, which at that period attained a celebrity it has maintained up to the present period.

This was in the reign of George II., in the halcyon days of Beau Nash, when Cibber was poet-laureate, when the guards, the pride of the army, were the heroes we see represented in Hogarth's "March to Finchley," and when such statesmen as Bubb Doddington had the entrée by the back stairs both at Leicester House and at St. James's.

Even the mentors of this age, both spiritual and profane,

seem to have been imbued with the frivolity of the time, and to have had a taint of the prevailing vices pervading even their efforts at correction. John Wesley, the preacher, and Richardson, the novelist, though each in his way attempting reformation, still wrote and spoke in a spirit which, in our time at least, would be considered too tolerant.

Bath, or as it has been designated the City of the Sick, became, under the reign of Beau Nash, a fashionable resort for the gay and frivolous; he was the master-spirit by which all the little world of fashion congregated at this charming watering-place seemed to be ruled. The Beau was by nature adapted to the discharge of a duty so fraught with pleasure, and in which he was so admittedly the caterer to the happiness of others; he was an adept in the science of flattery, and could administer it most adroitly to a duchess, whilst affecting to reprove her, and could so cajole the little would-be fine ladies, as to persuade them they were honoured by his condescension, whilst drawing them out for the amusement of *real* ladies. His principal tact was displayed in bringing parties together who were desirous to be acquainted, or whose tastes assimilated. His dress, as master of the ceremonies, was particularly odd; he wore a large white hat, cocked, the buckle of his stock before instead of behind; and defying even the most bracing air his waistcoat was unbuttoned to display the bosom of his shirt. He drove six greys, and when he went in state to the rooms was always attended by a numerous escort, and a band of music, generally composed of French horns.

There was a marble statue erected to his memory on his death, which took place in 1761, by the corporation of Bath, in gratitude for the benefits conferred on them through his means. The statue was placed in the pump-room, between those of Newton and Pope; this remarkable position was animadverted on in a witty epigram by his friend Lord Chesterfield:—

“ The Statue, placed these busts between,
Gives Satire all its strength;
Wisdom and Wit are little seen,
But Folly at full length.”

The Earl of Chesterfield was a constant habitue, at Bath,

where he indulged in play with a Mr. Lookup, one of the most notorious professional gamesters of the day ; billiards was also a favorite amusement, and it is recorded that Lookup was a proficient in all those games ; the money which he had at various times won from Lord Chesterfield at Piquet he expended in building some houses at Bath, and in compliment to the noble pigeon he had so well plucked, he humorously called them "Chesterfield Row." Lookup, however, got into a scrape which was near proving fatal to him ; he was accused of unfair play by a gentleman who had lost heavily to him, and in the course of the law proceeding attendant on the matter, he, through the blundering of his attorney involuntarily committed perjury for which he was convicted, and merely escaped the pillory owing to a flaw in his opponent's indictment. He is said to have died with cards in his hand, whilst playing at his favorite game of humbug, which gave rise to the witty remark of Foote, that, "Lookup was humbugged out of the world at last."

The reign of George II. was remarkable as an era of vice, of which gaming took the lead, and though Colley Cibber sipped his wine at the table of "my lord ;" and the great old Samuel Johnson behind a screen in Caves' back shop eagerly devours a plate of meat, which the thoughtful book-seller has sent him from his own table, still might be seen a batch of gambling senators hurrying down to the house from the club at White's to record their votes against gambling, whilst fresh from the act of indulging in the vice, against which their censure was thus passed.

This disgraceful inconsistency was cleverly shown up in an ironical pamphlet entitled, "A Letter to the Club at White's."

The gaming propensities of Lord Anson the circumnavigator were keenly satirised in a series of humorous and amusing prints levelled at the time against the ministry, Anson being a member of both the ministry and the club. The gamesters' coat of arms is represented in the same series. The shield is charged with cards, dice, and dice-boxes, and is surrounded by a chain, from which hangs a label inscribed "Claret," Supporters, two knaves. Crest, a hand holding a dice-box. Motto, "*Cogit Amor Nummi.*"

The passion for gambling increased rather than decreased during the earlier part of the reign of George III. Preachers

were loud in their denunciations of this vice, and Dr. Rennell, master of the Temple, is reported to have with his own hand placed under the knocker of Mr. Fox's door a very animated sermon in which, whilst denouncing GAMING and GAMBLERS, he levelled his shafts openly at the great man himself.

Various species of cards have been represented as belonging to different periods; the two, however, most written about have been the Tarocchi or Tarots, and those consisting of the four suits, which are in common use throughout Europe. Some suppose the Tarocchi cards to have been of Egyptian origin, whilst others assume them to have been the invention of Jacquemiu Gringonneur for the amusement of the lunatic, King Charles VI. An Italian of the fifteenth century also gets the credit of originating them at Bologna; a pack of Tarots is at present used in France similar to those described by the writers of the sixteenth century; it consists of seventy-eight cards, and four suits, the marks of which are swords, caps, batons and money.

The earliest known specimens of what are called the Tarocchi cards are those preserved in the Imperial library at Paris, and are supposed to be one of the three packs painted for Charles VI., 1393. They originally belonged to Mons. de Gaignières, governor to the grand-children of Louis XIV., and who bequeathed them with his entire collection of prints and drawings to the king in 1711. Dr. Martin Lister thus alludes to them in an account of a journey he took to Paris in 1698: "I waited upon the Abbot Droine to visit Mons. Guanieres (de Gaignières) at his lodgings in the Hostel de Guise. One toy I took particular notice of, a collection of playing cards for 300 years. The oldest were three times bigger than what are now used, extremely well limmed and illuminated with gilt borders, and the pasteboard thick and firm, but there was not a complete set of them."

Mons. Duchesne in his "*Observations sur les Cartes à jouer*," published in the "*Annuaire Historique*" for the year 1837, thus writes, "there are seventeen of them, and there can scarcely be a doubt of their having formed part of a set of what are called Tarocchi cards, which when complete, consisted of fifty. They are painted on paper, in the manner of illuminations in old manuscripts, on a gold ground, which is in other parts marked with ornamental lines, formed

by means of points slightly pricked into the composition upon which the gilding is laid. They are surrounded by a border of silver gilding, in which there is also seen an ornament, formed in the same manner, by means of points, representing a kind of scroll or twisted riband. Some parts of the embroidery on the vestments of the different figures are heightened with gold, while the weapons and armour are covered with silver, which, like that on the borders, has for the most part become oxydized through time."

The ancient Tarocchi cards are not supposed to have been intended for games of chance, but rather of instruction. In this game, consisting of five classes, we find the planets representing the celestial system, the virtues which constitute the basis of all morality, the sciences, the muses, and finally, the several conditions of life in which man may be placed, from the very highest to the lowest position.

The oldest specimens of undoubted playing cards are either stencilled or engraven on wood, and judging by the style of their execution one would take them to have been executed early in the fifteenth century.

The invention of cards, with the suits now in use, has been claimed by the French, as also the substitution of the queen, as a second court card, instead of a male figure. This arrangement has been considered by several French writers as typical of the gallantry of their nation. The French were also the first who gave historical names to their court cards, though the court cards were named as follows in the time of Père Daniel; we have this moment before us a pack of French cards bearing precisely the same names and devices:

<i>Suit.</i>	<i>Kings.</i>	<i>Queens.</i>	<i>Valets or Knaves.</i>
CŒUR.	CHARLEMAGNE.	JUDITH.	LAHIRE.
CARREAU.	CÆSAR.	RACHEL.	HECTOR.
TREFLE.	ALEXANDER.	ARGINE.	LANCELOT.
PIQUE.	DAVID.	PALLAS.	HOGIER.

In the reign of Henry IV. these names were changed, the kings were Solomon, Augustus, Clovis, and Constantine; and the queens, Elizabeth, Dido, Clotilde, and "Pantalisea;" whilst the knaves had no particular names, but were designated from their office, and all the characters were in the costume of the period.

Père Daniel gives a rather romantic explanation of the

suits and titles by which they are designated ; the ace, as taking precedence in the game of piquet, he assumes to represent money. The trèfle, or clover plant, which abounds in the meadows of France, denotes the rich and fertile spot where a wary general should encamp, in order to provide forage for his army. Piques signified magazines of arms which ought to be well stored. The carreaux were a species of heavy arrows shot from a cross-bow, and which were so called from their heads being squared. Cœurs—hearts—signified courage amongst commanders and soldiers.

David, Alexander, Cæsar, and Charlemagne, are at the head of the four suits of piquet, as representing prudent and experienced leaders. Père Daniel seems to have discovered in Argine the queen of clubs, the anagram of Regina, and at once jumps to the conclusion that Mary of Anjou, wife of Charles VII. is intended. Rachel represents Agnes Sorel, the mistress of Charles VII. ; and Joan of Arc is shadowed forth by the chaste and warlike Pallas. Judith is not the Jewish heroine, but the wife of Louis le Debonnaire.

David he typifies as Charles VII., from a seeming similarity in their destinies ; Charles, like the king of old, having been persecuted by his father, or rather by his father's wife, Isabel of Bavaria, is proscribed and disinherited, but afterwards regains his kingdom : whilst the restless and wicked character of his son, Louis XI., is emblematic of Absalom's revolt.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century, several packs or sets of cards were engraven on copper ; as those cards were necessarily of high price, they were, of course, meant for the wealthier classes. Mons. Leber avers that these cards were not intended for play ; however correct or incorrect that opinion may be, yet it is certain that they were available as playing cards, having the same number of suits as the ordinary playing cards of the period, and being in every respect arranged for play. Mons. Leber's notion concerning them was imbibed from the idea, that as they were colourless, they were consequently unsuitable ; they were, however, so well defined, that this objection becomes merely an erroneous supposition.

The form of these cards was circular, and each suit contained four court cards, namely, a king, queen, squire, and knave ; the four aces formed one plate ; the highest of the

numeral cards was the nine, there being no ten in the pack, the respective number of each being marked at the top, in Arabic cyphers, and at the bottom in Roman numerals. At the bottom also, were the letters T. W., supposed to have been intended as the initials of the engraver.

Breitkopf, in his "Enquiry into the Origin of Playing Cards," mentions a pack engraven on copper, consisting of fifty-two cards; each of the four suits containing a king, queen, valet or knave, as we term it, together with ten numeral cards. The marks of the suits were swords, clubs, (proper not trè-fles), cups, and pomegranates. The latter mark, substituted for that of money, was supposed to have been intended by the artist as a commemoration of the marriage of Philip the Fair, son of the Emperor Maximilian, with Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, who on their subjugation of the kingdom of Grenada, in 1497, adopted the *Granada* or pomegranate as one of their badges. The cards are, however, unmistakeably of that period, and have generally been ascribed to Israel van Mecken, who was a subject to Philip, being a native of Bocholt; Philip having inherited the Netherlands in right of his mother, Mary of Burgundy.

In the British Museum may be seen a pack of those cards nearly complete, which are supposed to have been engraven by Israel van Mecken the elder. The German cards of the fifteenth century were very highly embellished, and ornamentation of even a grotesque kind was frequently introduced at the caprice of the designer. Bells, one of the emblems in vogue, was borrowed from the Indian cards, as it is well authenticated that this symbol was of oriental origin. The use of bells in the east, whether as a mark of distinction, or as a means of diversion, is of very remote antiquity. The female dancers, or as they are called the Baladins, have their legs ornamented with small bells, which they shake when dancing; girdles formed of bells are worn by infants without any other clothing; and sometimes a single bell suffices. This bell, though it contains a viper's tongue, is ornamental rather than degrading, as might be supposed, and is occasionally bestowed by the king to some one he wishes to compliment. Bells, were transmitted from the Hebrews to the Arabs, and were in these countries as in India a mark of distinction. The Arabian princesses wore golden

rings on their fingers, to which little bells were suspended, also amid the tresses of their hair that their superior rank might be known and they receive due homage. In Europe bells have also been regarded as ornamental, and were worn by the Emperors of Germany in the 12th and 13th centuries; they were adopted as symbols on monuments also at this period, and were used in falconry by princes and nobles of the first class; this was antecedent to armorial bearings or heraldic designs, by which they have since been superseded as being better suited to gratify the pride of the nobles in consequence of their indicating both rank and personal distinction at the same time. From a combination of circumstances it may be inferred that bells were brought into Europe from the east about the end of the eleventh century, and were adopted as symbols of grandeur by the German nobility of that period, the several other devices adopted by the Germans at that time were so numerous as to defy description.

The Portuguese cards are unmistakeably borrowed from the oriental type, particularly in the suits Danari or money, and Bastoni or clubs. The former is decidedly more like the *chakra* or quoit of Vichnou, than a piece of coin, whilst on the top of the club there is a diamond proper, another attribute of the same deity. The dragon on the aces is also perfectly Oriental. The court cards of this pack are King, Queen, and Horseman; and the suits are Coppas, Danari, Bastoni, and Spades—Cups, Honey, Clubs, and Swords. Specimens of those cards are preserved in the Imperial Library of France, and appear to have been executed in 1693.

During the revolutionary period in France, cards appear to have undergone various strange changes in accordance with the political phases of that momentous era. Peignot, in his “Analyse de Recherches sur les Cartes à jouer,” has thus described a pack. “For Kings were substituted *Genii*; for Queens, *Liberties*; and for Valets, *Equalities*. The King of Hearts is represented by the Genius of War,—“*GENIE DE LA GUERRE*.” This Genius, which is winged, is seated on the breech of a cannon; he holds in the right hand a sword and a wreath of laurel, and in the left, a shield, round which is the inscription, ‘*Pour la République Française*.’ On the right, read vertically from the top, is

the word '*Force*.' At the feet of the Genius are a bomb, a lighted match, and a heap of bullets; at the bottom of the card is the inscription, '*Par brevet d'invention, Naume et Dugouac, au Génie de la Rép. Franç.*'

"For the Queen of Hearts; '*LIBERTE DES CULTES*,' religious liberty. This is a female seated, very badly draped, and with her legs bare. She holds a pike surmounted with a red cap; and on a banner attached to the pike are the words '*dieu seul*'. Towards her feet are seen three volumes, inscribed '*Thalmud*,' '*Coran*,' and '*Evangeline*,' the vertical inscription is, '*Traternité*.'

"Knave of Hearts; '*EGALITE DES DEVOIRS*,' Equality of Duties. This is a soldier seated on a drum, with his musket between his knees. In his left hand he holds a paper containing the words, '*Pour la patrie*. The vertical inscription is '*Securité*.'

"King of Spades; '*GENIE DES ARTS*,' the Genius of Arts. The figure of Apollo with a red cap on his head; in one hand he holds the Belvedere statue of himself, and in the other a lyre. The vertical inscription; '*Goût*. At the bottom, emblems of painting, sculpture, and such like.

"Queen of Spades; '*LIBERTE DE LA PRESSE*,' Liberty of the Press. A female figure with a pen in one hand, and with the other sustaining a desk, on which lies a roll of paper partly unfolded, and displaying the words '*Morale, Religion, Philosophie, Physique, Potitique, Histoire*. At the bottom, masks, rolls of manuscript.

"Knave of Spades; '*EGALITE DE RANG'S*,' Equality of Ranks. The figure of a man whose costume accords rather with that of a '*Septembriseur*' than that of a mere '*Sans-culotte*' of the period. He wears sabots, and has a red cap on his head. He has no coat on, and his shirt sleeves are tucked up to the elbows. His small clothes are loose at the knees, and his legs are bare. He is seated on a large stone, on which is inscribed; '*Démolition de la Bastille 10 Août, 1792*'. Under his feet is a scroll inscribed '*Noblesse*,' and displaying shields of arms. The vertical inscription is '*Puissance*.'

"King of Clubs; '*GENIE DE LA PAIX*,' Genius of Peace. In his right hand he holds the '*Fasces*' and an olive branch, and in the left a scroll containing the word '*Lois*'. The vertical inscription is '*Prosperité*.'

“Queen of Clubs; *LIBERTE DU MARIAGE*,’ Liberty of Marriage. The figure of a female holding a pike surmounted with the red cap; and on a scroll attached to the pike is the word ‘*Divorce*.’ The vertical inscription is ‘*Pudeur*.’ On a pedestal is a statue of the crouching Venus entirely naked, without doubt intended for the emblem of modesty.

“Knave of Clubs: *EGALITE DE DROITS*, equality of rights. A judge in tricolor costume, holding in one hand a pair of scales, and in the other a scroll containing the inscription, ‘*La loi pour tous*.’ He is trampling on a serpent or dragon, the tortuous folds of which represent legal chicanery. The vertical inscription is ‘*Justice*.’”

“King of Diamonds: ‘*GENIE DU COMMERCE*,’ the genius of commerce. He is seated on a large bale, which contains the inscription ‘*P.B. d’ino, J.D. à Paris*.’

In one hand he holds a purse, and in the other a caduceus and an olive branch; the vertical inscription is ‘*Richesse*.’ At the bottom are an anchor, the prow of a ship, a portfolio, and such like.”

“Queen of Diamonds: ‘*LIBERTE DES PROFESSIONS*,—Liberty of professions and trades. A female figure, who in the same manner as the other three liberties holds a pike, surmounted with the red cap. With the other hand she holds a cornucopiæ and a scroll containing the word ‘*Patentes*.’ The vertical inscription is ‘*Industrie*.’”

“Knave of Diamonds: ‘*EGALITE DE COULEURS*,’ Equality of colours. The figure of a Negro, seated, and leaning on a musket; below is the word ‘*Cafe*;’ near to him are a sugar-loaf, a broken yoke, fetters, iron collars for the neck, and such like. The vertical inscription is ‘*Courage*.’”

Such are the court cards of this Republican pack. The numeral cards are the same as the old ones, with the exception of the aces, which are surrounded by four fasces placed lozenge-wise, with these words: ‘*La Loi, Rép. Franç*;’ the whole coloured blue. It is scarcely necessary to say that those ridiculous cards had not even a momentary vogue.

We have given, in extenso, Peignot’s elaborate and most graphic account of those cards, which represent a period in the history of France replete with painful interest, and are accurately descriptive of the tone of mind and feeling which pervaded all classes of the people, during that sad and most

disgraceful season of turbulence and bloodshed; there were various other packs beside that which we have described, each illustrative of the passions and prejudices of the time.

Our transatlantic brethren have not been behind-hand in following this European custom of illustrating, through the medium of cards, the remarkable personages, and most stirring events of a revolutionary period; thus, we have in one pack WASHINGTON represented as the King of *Hearts*; JOHN ADAMS, the second President of the United States, King of *Diamonds*; FRANKLIN, of *Clubs*; and LA FAYETTE, of *Spades*. The queens bear mythological designs; for instance, the Queen of *Hearts* represents VENUS enveloped in a flowing robe, to accord with the fastidious notions of American delicacy; *Clubs*, CERES; *Diamonds*, FORTUNE; and *Spades*, MINERVA. Four Indian Chiefs are personified in the knaves.

Mons. Peignot also notices a set of picture cards published by Cotta, the book-seller of Tubingen, the court cards of which represent the principal characters of the time, clothed in the costume of that period. The King of *Hearts* is CHARLES VII.; the Queen, ISABELLA OF BAVARIA; the knave, LA HIRE. The King of *Clubs* represents TALBOT, the English commander, dying; the Queen, JOAN OF ARC; the knave, LIONEL, taking away the sword of JOAN OF ARC. The King of *Diamonds* is PHILIP, DUKE OF BURGUNDY; the Queen, AGNES SORREL; the knave, RAIMOND, a villager. The King of *Clubs* is RENE OF ANJOU, with the crown of Sicily at his feet; the Queen, LOUISE, sister of JOAN OF ARC; and the knave, MONTGOMERY, on his knees and weeping. This card almanac of Cotta, "Karten Almanack," first appeared in the year 1806, and was continued for several years; the designs of the four first years of this picturesque almanack are attributed to a lady.

Many quaint and even superstitious remarks have, from time to time, been made on several of the numeral cards, and have been pronounced lucky or unlucky according to the tone or temper of the period; thus, for instance, the deuce of cards is not by any means considered synonymous with that term as ordinarily applied, and is, therefore, regarded as a lucky card, and old card-players frequently use this aphorism, "There's luck in the deuce, but none in the tray."

In some parts of England the four of Hearts is looked on as an unlucky card at Whist, and rejoices in the euphonious title of "Hob Collingwood." The four of Clubs has been designated the "devil's bed-post" by sailors. The six of Hearts, in various parts of Ireland, is known by the name of "Grace's card," a cognomen which it is said to have acquired in the following manner. A gentleman named Grace being solicited, with promises of royal favour, to espouse the cause of William III., gave the following answer, written on the back of the six of Hearts, to an emissary of Marshal Schomberg's, who had been commissioned to make the proposal to him:—"Tell your master I despise his offer, and that honour and conscience are dearer to a gentleman than all the wealth and titles a prince can bestow." Such is the story connected with this card, and given as a truism, and fully believed, in the county Kilkenny.

In addition to the cards already mentioned, we may here particularize another species, much in vogue about one hundred years ago, namely, Message Cards.

In that admirable, and now almost forgotten, work of the Rev. Richard Graves, *The Spiritual Quixote; or, The Summer's Rambles of Mr. Geoffry Wildgoose*, we have the following "Digression on Message Cards." Wildgoose has been haranguing on the parade at Bath, where in spite of Beau Nash and all the fashionables, he has collected a very considerable crowd, and has inveighed with great severity against luxury in dress, cards, dancing, and all the fashionable diversions of the place; and even against frequenting the rooms with the most innocent intentions of recreation and amusement. We learn from *The Spiritual Quixote*:

As soon as Wildgoose had finished his harangue, which was almost of an hour's duration, a jolly foot-man, about the size of one of the gentlemen in the horse guards, bustling through the crowd, stretched out a gigantic fist, and presented the orator a single card. Wildgoose, who had not, of late, been much in genteel life,* could not guess at the meaning of this ceremony; but imagined it was some joke upon his invective against gaming. The footman, however, with a surly air, cried out, 'Read it friend! read it; my lady desires to see you at her lodgings here on the parade.' Wildgoose, then, perusing his billet, read as follows.

* Message cards had been lately introduced.

‘A lady, who is disgusted with the world, desires half an hour’s conversation with Mr. Wildgoose, as soon as he is at leisure.’

There are few customs generally prevailing in the world, how absurd never they may appear, which had not some real propriety or convenience for their original; but when the fashion is once established among the polite, it descends of course among the vulgar, who blindly imitate it, as such, without any regard to its primitive institution. Thus, for instance, the conveying messages by a card, was introduced into the fashionable world, as the readiest expedient against the blunders and stupidity of ignorant servants; and it must be confessed, that in some characters, and on some occasions, this practice has not only no impropriety, but carries with it a genteel air of ease and negligence; and really saves a great deal of unnecessary trouble, both to the person that sends, and him that receives the message.

The man of pleasure, who transacts his most important concerns in a coffee-house or a tavern; or a modern lady, the whole sphere of whose existence is at a drawing-room, can never be supposed without a card in readiness on every emergency; and therefore, parties at whist can no way be more aptly formed, nor messages of compliment more elegantly conveyed, than by these diminutive tablets, which are generally suited to the subject, to the genius, and laconic style of the parties concerned.

But, on the other hand, what can be more absurd than this practice in more serious characters, and on occasions of more solemnity? How remote from probability is it, that a grave divine, who is continually inveighing against the vices and follies of the age, should have a pack of soiled cards in his pocket ready for his engagements of business or pleasure? or, that a venerable counsellor, who is continually surrounded with briefs, leases, or acts of parliament, should prefer a trifling card in transacting business with his client, before a shred of parchment, or even a scrap of common paper; and I should have kicked my tailor, the other day, for minuting down the dimensions of my sleeves and pocket-holes upon a card—if I had not luckily recollected that his last bill was unpaid.

Neither are message cards proper on all occasions, any more than in persons of all characters or professions. It is a known impropriety in a French marquis, who, coming to pay his devotions at the shrine of a saint, whilst his image was gone to the silver-smith to be repaired, left a card for his godship, to acquaint him with his intended visit; and though a certain lady, near St. James’s, very innocently invited a woman of quality to her rout, by a whisper at the communion table; yet, in my humble opinion, she could not so decently have slipped a card into her ladyship’s hand at so sacred a place as the altar.

Granting, however, the general and unlimited use of this paste-board correspondence, there is yet a propriety to be observed, and many absurdities to be avoided, in the choice of the cards, according to the persons addressed, or the occasions on which we address them.

It is too obvious a hint, and I suppose too trite a piece of adulation to a fine woman, to convey our compliments to her on the queen of hearts; as, on the contrary, it would have been an affront to a late East

India governor,* though he laboured under so groundless a slander, to have inquired after his health by sending him the knave of diamonds. The deuce, or two of clubs, I think, should be appropriated to challenges and duels; and the black aces should be entirely *discarded* in our correspondence with ladies of character; as the nines and tens are at ombre or quadrille.†

Whitaker in his *Soidis and Elmete*, writes: "In the possession of the Rev. Mr. Adamson, who is related to the Arthington family, is a box of ancient cards, if so they may be called, which by tradition are said to have belonged to the Nuns of Arthington. They consist of thin circular pieces of beech, about four inches in diameter, painted with various devices, and each inscribed in old English characters with some moral sentence. Out of these, played in the manner of cards, it is supposed that the nuns of Arthington extracted at once edification and amusement. Of these there have, according to tradition, been twelve, which is the number that the box that held them will contain. They are neatly painted and gilt, and within a roundel on the centre of each are severally painted (the initials of the London rubrics) the following distichs:—

" 'Thy love that thou to one hast lent,
In labour lost thy Tyme was spent;
Thy Foes mutche grief to thee have wroughte,
And thy destruction have they soughte.
My Soune of Pride look thou beware,
To sarve the Lord sett all thy care.
Lett wisdome rule well all thy waies,
And sett thy mind the Lord to please.
Thy hautie mynd dothe cause ye smarte,
And makes thee sleepe with carefull harte.
In Godlie trade runne well thy race,
And from the poore torne nott thy face;
Thy youthe in follie thou hast spendtt,
Defere not now for to repent.
Trust nott this worlde, thou woeful wighte,
Butt lett thye ende be in thye sighte.' "

Cards with colored backs, as red, green, blue, pink, olive and buff, were invented about 1810, in England, and sold for forty-five shillings per dozen. The plain backed Fine Highlanders were thirty-nine shillings per dozen; the superfine Harrys forty-two shillings per dozen; and the extra superfine Moguls forty-four shillings per dozen.

* Warren Hastings.

† A set of blank cards has since been invented, by which the above absurdities may be avoided.

About the beginning of the present century, cards were made of cotton ; they cost less, but were unpleasant to the touch and soiled soon, and when the novelty ceased the article was thought a bad one, and in 1819, "Thomas Creswick, from making his own paper for his playing cards is the only person who can warrant these articles without cotton."

Southey has, in one of his *Common Place Books*, the following curious passage :

"Aug. 10th, 1814. Last night, in bed, before I could fall asleep my head ran upon cards, at which I had been compelled to play in the evening, and I thought of thus making a new pack.

"Leave out the eights, nines, and tens, as at quadrille.

"In their place substitute another suit, ten in number, like the rest, blue in color, and in name *Balls*. The pack then consists of fifty. Add two figured personages to make up the number, the *Emperor* and the *Pope*.

"Play as at whist. *Balls* take all other suits except trumps, which take *Balls*. The *Emperor* and *Pope* are superior to all other cards, and may either be made equal, and so capable of tying each other, and so neutralizing the trick, or to preponderate according to the color of the trump, the *Emperor* if red, the *Pope* if black ; and belonging to no suit, they may be played upon any. If either be turned up, the dealer counts one, and *Balls* remain the only trumps.

"The *Emperor* and *Pope*, being led command trumps, but not each other. Trumps also, in default of trumps, command *Balls*. If the *Emperor* and *Pope* tie each other, the tier has the lead."

To the reader who remembers that Southey was a close student, and admirer of Rabelais, the above extract will doubtless prove interesting, more especially when he remembers that *Gargantua* is amused with tricks upon the cards, founded upon calculations in which he is made to excel Cuthbert Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, who had published a book entitled *De Arte Supputandi*.

Next to chess, whist is perhaps the most scientific and most universally played of all games of chance ; and yet, as has been well observed, we know almost as little of the origin of whist as of chess. Doubtless it was played in England more than two hundred years ago, and it is more

than probable that England may claim the honor of its invention. Cotton, writing about 1679, states: "Ruff and Honours are games so commonly known in England, in all parts thereof, that every child of eight years old hath a competent knowledge of that recreation."

We have a reference to whist in *The Beaux Stratagem*; this was so early as 1707, where *Mrs. Sullen* exclaims:—"Country pleasures! racks and torments! Dost think, child, that my limbs were made for leaping of ditches, and clambering over styles? Or that my parents, wisely foreseeing my future happiness in country pleasures, had early instructed me in the rural accomplishment of drinking fat ale, playing at whist, and smoking tobacco with my husband?"

Swift states that whist was a game in vogue with the clergy; he tells us:—"The clergymen used to play at whist and swabbers." We all know that it was the custom of Sir Roger de Coverley, to send, at Christmas, a string of black puddings and a pack of cards to every poor family in his parish.

Thompson and Pope have referred to whist. Thompson names it in the *Seasons*, as the *Squire's* refuge against the tedium of autumn, thus:—

"To cheat the thirsty moments, whist awhile
Walk'd his dull round, amid a cloud of smoke,
Wreathed, fragrant, from the pipe."

Pope writes thus, in 1715, to Martha Blount:—

"Some squire, perhaps, you take delight to rack,
Whose game is whist; whose drink, a toast in sack:
Whose laughs are hearty, though his jests are coarse:
Who loves you best of all things—but his horse."*

From a recent work upon cards we learn that the first edition of Hoyle was published in 1743. At that period he gave instructions in whist at a guinea a lesson, and most probably it then began to be a scientific game, and has gone on advancing to its present perfection. There are many authorities existing for the opinion that it was not till the latter part of the eighteenth century, that whist, as

* Nothing new under the sun: compare *Locksley Hall*:—
"He will hold thee, when his passion shall have spent its novel force,
Something better than his dog, a little dearer than his horse."

it is now played, was known among us. According to Daines Barrington, who had his information from a player much advanced in years, it was not played upon recognised principles till about 1730, "when it was much studied by a party that frequented the Crown Coffee-House, in Bedford-row," of whom the first Lord Folkstone was one. Even then, it should seem that merely the skeleton of the game was in existence; there were but few rules, and its theory was undefined.

Early in the present century Mathews published at Bath his *Advice to the Young Whist Players*. It ran through many editions, and in a great measure superseded Hoyle. The fifth edition appeared in 1811, but this, and all other treatises upon whist, have been rendered useless by Mr. Bohn's admirable *Hand Book of Games*.

Reader, we have written for you a sketch of the history of cards; but, if you will know the poetry of cards, read Charles Lamb's *Captain Jackson*, or his essence of wit and humour, *Mrs. Battle's Opinions on Whist*. In the latter he writes, as only he could write:—

"To those puny objectors against cards, as nurturing the bad passions, she would retort—that man is a gaming animal. He must be always trying to get the better in something or other: that this passion can scarcely be more safely expended than upon a game at cards: that cards are a temporary illusion—in truth, a mere drama; for we do but *play* at being mightily concerned as those whose stake is crowns and kingdoms. They are a sort of dream-fighting, much ado, great battling and little bloodshed, mighty means for disproportioned ends, quite as diverting and a great deal more innoxious than many of those more serious *games* of life which men play, without esteeming them to be such.

"With great deference to the old lady's judgment on these matters, I think I have experienced some moments in my life when playing a cards *for nothing* has even been agreeable. When I am in sickness, or not in the best spirits, I sometimes call for the cards and play a game at piquet, *for love*, with my cousin Bridget—Bridget Elia.

"I grant there is something sneaking in it; but with a tooth-ache, or a sprained ankle—when you are subdued and humble—you are glad to put up with an inferior spring of action.

“There is such a thing in nature, I am convinced, as *sick Whist*.

“At such times, these *terms* which my old friend objected to, come in as something admissible—I love to get a tierce or a quatorze though they mean nothing. I am subdued to an inferior interest. Those shadows of winning amuse me.

“That last game I had with my sweet cousin (I capotted her—dare I tell thee how foolish I am?) I wished it might have lasted for ever, though we gained nothing and lost nothing, though it was a mere shade of play: I would be content to go on in that idle folly for ever. The pipkin should be ever boiling that was to prepare the gentle lenitive to my foot, which Bridget was doomed to apply after the game was over; and, as I do not much relish appliances, there it should ever bubble. Bridget and I should be ever playing.”

Here we close our paper: is the reader vexed? If so then let him remember the moral advice engraved on the old Whist Markers—KEEP YOUR TEMPER.

ART. III.—BRILLAT-SAVARIN.

Physiologie du Gout, ou Méditations de Gastronomie Transcendante ; ouvrage théorique, historique et à l'ordre du jour, dédié aux Gastronomes Parisiens Par Un Professeur, membre de plusieurs Sociétés savantes. Edition précédée d'une notice par M. Le Baron Richerand, suivie de "La Gastronomie," Poème en quatre chants, Par Berchoux. Paris : Charpentier. 1842.

"Lulled in the countless chambers of the brain,
Our thoughts are linked by many a hidden chain ;
Awake but one, and lo, what myriads rise !
Each stamps its image as the other flies."

True for you, Sam, and we feel it now ; even as we look upon the title page of the book before us, one memory is awakened, and a thousand others come welling up from the mind's "countless chambers." Brillat-Savarin ! *Physiologie du Gout*. How the bright Paris of twenty years ago rises before us, when we could test the teachings of our author with a breakfast at Véfour's or the Trois Frères ; with a dinner at Véry's or the Café de Foy ; with a supper at the Café de l'Opéra. Bright times when Grisi and Mario could sing, when Dejazet acted as none acted since Peg Woffington, when Rachel was the glory of the stage. Sunny times before we had heard of lace stockings or thought of colchicum. Sunny days when our appetite was deep as Sir Walter's, and when nothing came amiss from suprême de volaille to boullabasse and vin ordinaire. And if we did feel seedy, if carafes became to our "somnia vera" as desert fountains to the panting Arab, we had our remedy for that horrid flavor of "the lime burner's wig," and here it is :—

One ounce of camphor julep,
One tea spoonful of sal volatile,
One ounce of Murray's fluid magnesia,
One tea spoonful of tincture of capsicums.

Mixing these and drinking, we were fresh for the day. But now,—well no matter, its all past and over,

"So we'll go no more a roving
So late into the night,
Though the heart be still as loving,
And the moon be still as bright.

For the sword outwears its sheath,
 And the soul wears out the breast,
 And the heart must pause to breathe,
 . And love itself have rest,"

Therefore we return to Brillat-Savarin—

In the work before us he has drawn a most interesting and faithful picture of himself ; the principal events of his own life and times are here so pleasingly and minutely recorded, that little is wanted to complete his history.

Brillat-Savarin, (Antheleme) Counsellor of the Court of Cassation, member of the Legion of Honour, of the society for encouraging national industry, of the society of antiquaries of France, the emulation society of Bourg, &c., &c., was born the 1st of April, 1755, in Belley, a small town situated at the foot of the Alps, near the banks of the Rhone, which, in this place, separate France from Savoy. Following the examples of his ancestor, who, for centuries, were devoted to the profession of the bar and the bench, he distinguished himself as a lawyer, when in 1789, he was unanimously elected by his fellow townsmen, member of the constituent assembly, which was composed of the most distinguished and enlightened men that France at that time possessed. Being a practical philosopher, a disciple rather of Epicurus than Zeno, he was never known to connect himself with the memorable events of that time: he was not however, inactive, always associating himself with the most sensible and moderate party.

At the close of his legislative career, he was appointed president of the civil tribunal for the department of Ain, and afterwards raised to the Court of Cassation then lately instituted.

An upright magistrate, an impartial and firm administrator of the laws, and, above all, being of a mild, conciliating and amiable disposition, he was well calculated to calm the asperities of civil strife, if the rage of political parties had been guided by his example and adhered to his counsel always for prudence and moderation.

When Mayor of Belley, towards the end of 1793, he courageously opposed anarchy, and saved, for a time, his native place from the frightful reign of terror ; but borne down by the revolutionary torrent, he was compelled to fly, and take refuge in Switzerland from the fury of his persecutors.

We may well picture to ourselves the state of society during

those fatal days, when this man who never made an enemy for himself, was forced to leave his country to save a life always devoted to its service.

It is now that the fine character of Brillat-Savarin appears in its true light : exiled, a fugitive, without any pecuniary resources—for he had scarcely time to save his life—we see him always gay, consoling his companions in misfortune, holding up to them an example of courage in adversity, and lightening its weight by labour and the pursuit of honest industry.

However, the times becoming still more stormy, and his own situation more unpleasant, he sought in the new world, for that repose which Europe could not afford him ; he embarked for the United States, and settled in New York, spent two years there, giving lessons in French, occupying the first places in the orchestre of one of the theatres—for he was a skilful musician—and, like other exiles, made what formerly served as an agreeable pastime, now contribute to his support. Brillat-Savarin always referred with pleasure to this period of his life, during which he was in full enjoyment of everything that can constitute happiness, peace, liberty, and ease, acquired by toil ; and like the philosopher he could say, “ I carry all about me.” The love of country alone could induce him to give up such an agreeable existence. Happier days seemed about to dawn on France, he hastened to return, and arrived at Havre in the beginning of September, 1796. During the reign of the Directory, Brillat-Savarin was successively employed as secretary at the general head quarters of the republican army in Germany ; afterwards as government commissioner to the tribunal of the department of Seine-et-Oise, at Versailles : he occupied this post on the 18th Brumaire ; a memorable day when France thought to purchase her repose at the expense of her liberty.

Called by the unanimous decree of the Senate to preside at the court of Cassation, Brillat-Savarin held this distinguished position for the last twenty-five years of his life, enjoying the respect of his inferiors, the friendship of his equals, and the love of all who had the happiness of his acquaintance.

A man of profound wit, an amiable guest, always gay and cheerful, he was the delight of all who had the happiness of meeting him ; willingly yielding to the pleasures of society, which he never resigned, but for the still purer enjoyment of private friendship. Whatever leisure moments he had after

discharging his official duties, he devoted to the *Physiologie du Gout*, to which he did not think it necessary to affix his name, but imperfectly concealed under the transparent veil of anonymous; however, there was nothing wrong in keeping his name from the public. Happy result of agreeable study, the *Physiologie du Gout* on its appearance, met with that success it deserved. The admirable simplicity which distinguishes this composition caused it to be favourably received by all classes of readers, and disarmed the severest critics. Simplicity of style, this gift so rare in works of genius, and which in our literature is becoming still more so every day, was the principal cause of the favourable reception which this charming *badinage* obtained. We should, indeed, have formed but a very erroneous opinion of the author if we imagined for a moment that he intended us to entertain, as serious, those precepts which he penned for his own amusement, and which were but the effusions of his gayest hours. Well skilled in what Montaigne quaintly styles "*l'art de la gueule*," Brillat-Savarin was by nature temperate: the most frugal repast sufficed to appease his healthy appetite, which never required the assistance of the culinary art to provoke it. He in no way resembled those he so amusingly describes. "To gratify the appetites of individuals, with stomachs of *papier mache*; to infuse life and energy into those skeletons who have no appetite at all, or if they have, it is all but extinct, would require more genius, more judgment and labour on the part of the cook, than would be necessary to solve one of the most difficult problems of geometrical infinity."

Great was the surprise of the fashionable world, in whose eyes Brillat-Savarin was but a plain, good-humoured man, to find in his work an amount and variety of information but seldom met with in the works of even professional writers. How could this man, after having fulfilled the laborious duties of his profession, find time to indulge in the pleasures of society, and surrounded by amiable women, like the old man of Ieos sporting in the midst of the Graces, how was he able to acquire so much from meditation and study? But the author had already the advantage of having composed several other works in which his name did not appear, with the exception, however, of two small treatises, the *Historical and Critical Essay on Duelling, according to our laws and*

customs, and some *Fragments on Legislative Administration*, published in 1819. He was not destined to enjoy his success long; attacked by an inflammation of the lungs, brought on, he already suffering from a severe cold, by his assisting at the anniversary funeral service of 21st January,* in the church of St. Denis, he died on 2nd of February, 1826, notwithstanding the most constant and enlightened medical treatment. For the last few years of his life, although enjoying robust health, and being of a strong constitution, which his tall stature rendered still more remarkable, Brillat-Savarin had a presentiment of his approaching dissolution; and this thought, which in no way affected his usual cheerfulness, constantly manifests itself, and seems to pervade his last work. Resembling in this respect those productions of antiquity in which we see the recollection of death everywhere associated with the most lively descriptions, and thereby lending them additional charms. Seized by painful illness which soon assumed the most dangerous form, he departed this life as a well satisfied guest leaves the banquet hall, *tanquam conviva satur*, without regret, betraying no symptoms of weakness in his intellect, lamented by his numerous friends, and bequeathing a name to posterity which will be long held in respect by all good men.

The art of cookery is the most ancient of all sciences; for Adam was hungry at his birth, and the new-born infant has scarcely entered the world when it sends forth cries which nothing can still but the breast of the nurse.

It is thus, that of all other arts it has done more to promote our happiness, and benefit society; for it has taught us the use and application of fire, and it is by fire that man has subdued nature.

Properly speaking, there are three kinds of cookery.

The first, which is that of preparing food, has retained its primitive name.

The second, which consists in analyzing and examining the elements of food, is called *chemistry*.

And the third, which may be called cookery of reparation, is better known by the name of *pharmacy*.

* It is worthy of remark, that on this same day three Magistrates of the Supreme Court died, all three members of the duputation, charged to assist at the Funeral Service in the church of St. Denis, Counsellors Brillat-Savarin and Robert de St. Vincent, and Avocat-Général Marchangy.

Though they differ in their object, they adhere to each other by the application of fire when put into one vessel in a furnace.

Thus the piece of beef which the cook has converted into *bouillon* and soup, the chemist takes up in order to ascertain into how many different substances it may be reduced, and the druggist can by force discharge it from our stomachs should it happen to cause indigestion.

Man is an omnivorous animal ; he has incisive teeth to cut fruit, double teeth for grinding corn, and canine teeth to tear flesh ; which has caused it to be remarked that the nearer man approaches the savage state, the stronger and more easily distinguished are his canine teeth.

It is extremely probable, that for a considerable time, man was obliged to live on fruit, for man is the most unwieldy of all the animals of the old world, and his means of defence are very limited, when not provided with arms. But the instinct of superiority inherent in his nature, soon developed itself ; the consciousness even of his weakness forced him to provide himself with arms ; he was also driven to it by his carnivorous nature evident from his canine teeth ; and as soon as he was armed, he made his prey and his food of every animal that came within his reach.

This destructive instinct still manifests itself, children are known to kill whatever little insects come in their way, and they would even eat them if they were hungry.

It is not surprising that man should wish to live on flesh ; his stomach is too small, and fruit is not substantial enough to satisfy his wants ; he might better feed on vegetables, but this system of diet implies a knowledge of the arts which could not be acquired for ages.

The first arms must have been the branches of trees, then bows and arrows.

It is most remarkable, that wherever man was found, in every climate, in every latitude, he was always armed with the bow and arrow. This coincidence is very difficult to be accounted for. We cannot understand how individuals, so differently circumstanced, should have the same ideas ; it must be the result of a cause which lay concealed behind the veil of ages.

The only inconvenience attending raw flesh is, that by its viscosity or glutinous nature, it adheres to the teeth ; in other

respects it is not disagreeable to the taste. Seasoned with a little salt, it is easily digested, and must be more nourishing than any other.

"Mein Got," said a captain of Croates, to me one day in 1815, "we should not put ourselves to such trouble to procure good cheer. When we are in campaign, if we are hungry, we take down the first game we meet; we cut it up into small fleshy pieces, season it with pepper and salt, of which we always have a supply in our *sabre-tasche*;* we place the meat under the saddle, on the horse's back, whilst we take a smart canter, and (imitating a man eating with a ravenous appetite) gnaw, gnaw, gnaw, we regale ourselves like princes."

When the sportsman of Dauphiné sets out for the chase, if he meets with a fig-pecker in good condition, he at once plucks it, seasons it, and carries it for some time in his hat, and then eats it. They say that this bird prepared in this way is much more palatable than if it were roasted.

Besides, if our ancestors lived principally on uncooked food, raw flesh is still much in use amongst ourselves.

Italian and Arles sausages, smoked beef from Hamburg, Anchovies, red-herrings, &c., which have not been subjected to the fire, are well adapted to some stomachs, and they are no less palatable because uncooked.

When people had lived a long time after the manner of the Croats, fire was discovered; this was, however, the result of chance, for fire does not exist spontaneously on the earth; the inhabitants of the Ladrone Islands, for instance, knew nothing of fire.

Fire, once discovered, man's progressive instinct soon prompted him to bring meat under its influence, first to dry it, then broiling it on embers.

The meat thus prepared was found to be much better, more firm, and easily masticated, and the sweet smell it exhales while roasting, is always most grateful.

However, it was soon perceived that meat broiled on coals could not be kept free from dirt, for some of the ashes always adhered to it, of which it was very difficult to rid it.

* The *sabre-tasche*, or *sabre-pouch*, is a kind of bag suspended from the shoulder-belt, which supports the sword of the light-armed troops, and is often alluded to in the anecdote of the soldier.

To remedy this inconvenience, it was put on a spit, which was then placed over the burning coals, supported by stones of suitable height.

This was the origin of steaks, a preparation as simple as it is savoury, for broiled meat of every description has always been a favourite.

Things were much in the same state in Homer's time. We trust our readers will be amused by the manner in which Achilles received in his tent three of the most distinguished amongst the Greeks, one of whom was a king.

Thus we see a king, the son of a king, and three Greek generals, dining very heartily on bread, wine and roasted meat.

We must believe that if Achilles and Patroclus thus occupied themselves in preparing the feast, it was because the occasion was an extraordinary one, and to do the more honour to the distinguished guests they were about to entertain, for on ordinary occasion the cooking was entrusted to the slaves and the women, which we further learn from Homer, in the *Odyssey*, when describing the banquets of the suitors of Penelope.

In former days the entrails of animals stuffed with blood and fat (the pudding) were considered an exquisite dish.

At that time, and no doubt long before, poetry and music were associated with the pleasures of the table.

Venerable minstrels sang the praises of nature, the loves of the gods and the exploits of heroes; they exercised a sort of priesthood, and it is probable that the divine Homer himself was descended from some of those inspired men; he would have never gained such fame, had not his poetical studies commenced with his childhood.

Madame Dacier remarks that in no part of his works does Homer make any mention of boiled beef.

The Hebrews were more advanced in consequence of their having dwelt in Egypt; they had vessels which were capable of resisting the fire, and it was in one of those vessels that the pottage was made, which Jacob sold at such a price to his brother Esau.

It is impossible to learn how man first arrived at the knowledge of working metals; it is said that Tubal-Cain was the first who made the attempt.

Our knowledge of science at the present day enables us to make use of one metal in working another; we hold it with the

pincers, we weld it with the hammer, we cut it with the file, but we have never met one who could tell us how the first pincers and the first hammer were made.

As soon as vessels, either of brass or earthenware, were rendered capable of resisting fire, cookery made rapid progress; meats could then be seasoned, and made more palatable, vegetables boiled, and *bouillon*, gravies and jellies followed without intermission.

The oldest books in our possession speak in glowing terms of the banquets of the kings of the east. It is easy to understand that those monarchs who ruled over such fertile countries, capable of producing so many things, particularly spices and perfumes, kept sumptuous tables, but we are ignorant of their details. We only know that Cadmus, who introduced letters into Greece, was cook to the king of Sidon. He was a kind of oriental Soyer.

It was those voluptuous and effeminate people who introduced the custom of surrounding the banquet table with couches, and eating in a reclined position.

This refinement, which was evidence of weakness in the people, was not everywhere equally well received. Those who valued strength and courage, those with whom frugality was a virtue, were for a long time opposed to it; at last, it was adopted in Athens, and became universal over the civilised world.

The art of cooking was brought to great perfection by the Athenians, who were a refined people and fond of novelties; kings, wealthy private individuals, poets and learned men set the example, and even philosophers did not think it beneath them to enjoy those luxuries which were drawn from the bosom of nature.

According to what we read in the ancient authors, their banquets must have been regular festival entertainments.

The chase, angling, and commerce supplied them with a great portion of these objects, which, to this day, are considered luxuries, and which then competition raised to a fabulous price.

Even the arts contributed to ornament their tables, around which the guests ranged themselves on couches covered with rich purple tapestry.

It was their constant study to add to the pleasures of their good cheer that of agreeable conversation, and table-talk became a regular science.

The minstrels, who were usually introduced at the third course, had lost all their wonted gravity; they were no longer exclusively employed in singing the praises of the gods, of heroes and historical exploits; but they sang of friendship, love, and pleasure, with a sweetness and harmony, such as are now rarely enjoyed.

The wines of Greece, much prized to this day, had been examined and classified by connoisseurs; they generally commenced their repast with the lightest wines and ended it with the strongest; but on extraordinary occasions they went through the entire list, and what is very different with us, the size of the cup increased in proportion to the good quality of the wine.

The finest women also contributed to ornament those sumptuous entertainments; the presence of beautiful women, games and amusements of every kind prolonged the pleasures of the evening. Voluptuousness was inhaled through every pore, and more than one Aristippus who entered under the banner of Plato, took his exit under that of Epicurus.

The learned men of the day made the pleasure which they derived from those delightful reunions the subject of their poems. Plato, Athenaeus, and many others, have immortalized their names. But, alas! their works are lost; and if there is one more to be regretted than another, it is the *Gastronomy of Archestratus*, and which is translated by Ennius in his *Carmina Hedypathetica*.

"This great writer," we are told, "travelled over land and sea to satisfy himself as to what they were best capable of producing. He studied in his travels, not the customs of the people, since they never change, but he visited those laboratories where the luxuries of the table are prepared, and he only conversed with such men as could contribute to his pleasures, or forward the object he had in view. His poem is a treasure of science, every line of which contains a precept."

Such was the state of cookery in Greece, and it remained so up to the time when a few adventurers, who after establishing themselves on the banks of the Tiber, extended their sway over the neighbouring states, and finished by conquering the world.

Good cheer was a thing unknown to the Romans as long as they were only fighting for independence, or making war on

their neighbours, who were as poor as themselves. At that time their generals whistled at the plough and lived on vegetables. Historians dwell with pleasure on those primitive times, when frugality was considered an honour. But when they extended their conquests into Africa, Sicily, and Greece; when they regaled themselves at the expense of the vanquished, in those countries where civilization was most advanced, they carried back to Rome those dishes which delighted them abroad; and we have reason to believe they were well received.

The Romans sent a deputation to Athens, to report on the laws of Solon, also for the purpose of studying belles-lettres, and philosophy. While refining their manners, they partook of their entertainments, and learned to appreciate them, and cooks arrived in Rome, in the company of orators, philosophers, rhetoricians, and poets.

In the course of time, when a series of victories caused the wealth of the world to flow into Rome, the pleasures of the table were indulged in to a degree almost incredible.

They partook of everything that could possibly be procured, from the grasshopper to the ostrich, from the dormouse to the boar:* everything that could quicken the appetite was tried as a sauce, and employed as such, even substances the use of which we could never comprehend, such as *assafoetida*.

The whole world was put under contribution, both by armies and travellers, to supply the wants of Rome. Pintadoes (sea-fowl) from Africa, rabbits and truffles from Spain, pheasants

* *Glires farsi*.—*Glires isicio porcino, item pulpis ex omni glirium membro tritis, cum pipere, nucleis, lasere, liquamine, farcies glires, etsutos in tegulâ positos, mittes in furnum, aut farsos in clibaro coques.*

The Dormouse was considered a great luxury, sometimes scales were brought to the table to ascertain its weight. Everybody is familiar with Martial's epigram of the dormouse xiii, 59.

Tota mihi dormitur hyems, et pinguior illo

Tempore sum, quo me nil nisi somnus alit.

Lister, a physician and gastronomer of the reign of Queen Anne, when speaking of the advantage which cookery may derive from the use of scales, observes, that if twelve larks do not weigh twelve ounces, they are scarcely fit to be eaten; that they are passable if they weigh twelve ounces; but if they weigh thirteen ounces, they are plump and excellent. See also that glorious chapter (XLIV.) in *Peregrine Pickle*, in which "The Doctor proposes an entertainment in the manner of the ancients."

from Greece, where they were brought from the banks of Phasis, and peacocks, from the extremities of Asia.

The greatest men in Rome boasted of having beautiful gardens, in which they cultivated not only the fruits already known, such as the pear, the apple, the fig, the grape, but even those which were brought from foreign countries, namely, the apricot, from Armenia, the peach, from Persia, quinces, from Sidon, the raspberry, from the valleys of Mount Ida, and cherries, which were introduced by Lucullus, after his conquest of the kingdom of Pontus.

These importations, which necessarily took place under very different circumstances, prove at least that the impulse was general, for all felt pride and pleasure in contributing to the enjoyments of the sovereign people.

Of all dishes, fish was considered one of the greatest luxuries. Some fish was preferred to others, and this preference increased according to the latitude in which it was taken. Fish from foreign countries was brought to Rome, packed in honey, and when grand entertainments were given, it was purchased at an immense price, owing to the competition amongst the consumers, some of whom were richer than kings.

Drinks were also an object of special care and attention. The wines of Greece, Sicily, and Italy, were the delight of the Romans; and as they were prized according to the province, or the year in which they were produced, they always had a sort of certificate of their birth, written on the jar,—

O nata mecum consule Manlio.

This was not all. Owing to the spirit of advancement which we have already alluded to, they endeavoured to render the wine more pungent and odorous; they put into it flowers, aromatics, and drugs of every kind, and those mixtures which contemporary writers have handed down to us under the name of *condita*, must have had the effect of inflaming the tongue, and strongly exciting the stomach.

And it is thus that already at this early period we see the Romans dreaming of Alcohol, which was not discovered for more than fifteen centuries afterwards.

But it was in the furniture of the banquet room that the Romans particularly showed their love of display.

Every article of furniture necessary for the banquet, was of the most superior materials, and workmanship. The number

of courses exceeded twenty, and as each course was served, everything previously in use was removed. Slaves were especially appointed to wait in the banquet-room, and every one had his duties assigned to him with the greatest care.

The hall was filled with the most exquisite perfume, and heralds proclaimed the qualities of those dishes which deserved special attention, and announced the claims they had to this sort of ovation; in fact nothing was omitted which could quicken the appetite, keep up the attention, or prolong the pleasures of the guests.

But this display of luxury had its whims as well as its extravagance. Such were those banquets where the fish and fowl served up could be counted by thousands, and those dishes which had no other merit but that of being dear, such for instance as the one composed of the brains of five hundred ostriches, and another consisting of the tongues of five thousand speaking birds.

Thus, we think we can easily account for those vast sums which Lucullus expended on his table, and form an idea of the enormous cost of those banquets which he gave in the hall of Apollo, where he was known to exhaust every means possible to gratify the appetites of his guests.

Those days might be revived amongst us, but to perform all those miracles over again, we would require another Lucullus. Let us suppose then a man known to be immensely rich wished to celebrate some financial or political triumph, and give on this occasion a magnificent entertainment without any regard to expense.

Let us suppose him to call in the assistance of the arts to ornament in all its departments, the place where the banquet is to be given, that he commands the purveyors to provide his guests with all that art and money can procure, and give them to drink the rarest and most costly wines.

That during this sumptuous repast, two plays are being performed by the most celebrated comedians.

That while the banquet lasts the most exquisite vocal and instrumental music is heard, performed by the most renowned artistes.

That, between the dinner and the coffee, he has prepared a ballet, danced after the most charming and captivating style of the opera.

That the entertainment concludes with a ball, where we

see two hundred women selected from among the most beautiful, and four hundred of the most elegant and accomplished gentlemen.

That they are constantly supplied with all that is most choice in the way of warm, cool, and iced drinks.

That in the middle of the night they are served with a magnificent supper which renovates their exhausted strength.

That the attendants be fine looking fellows, with splendid liveries, the illumination perfect, and, that nothing be omitted let the host take upon himself the office of sending for his guests, and seeing them all comfortably at home.

This idea being well conceived, well directed, well attended to, and properly carried out in all its details, all who know Paris will agree with us, that the bills of the next day would contain items that could make the cashier of Lucullus himself tremble.

In pointing out what we should do in order to imitate this magnificent Rome in her *fetes* and festivities, we have sufficiently apprized the reader of what, in those days, constituted a banquet, at which were alternately introduced comedians, minstrels, mimics and buffoons, and every thing that could contribute to the pleasure of those who were assembled for no other purpose but their amusement.

What was practised by the Athenians, subsequently by the Romans, and later by ourselves in the middle ages; what in fine, is the custom of the present day, has its origin in the nature of man himself, who anxiously looks forward to the end of the career in which he has entered, and to a certain uneasiness which he feels as long as the time which he may have at his disposal, is not wholly occupied:

Like the Athenians, the Romans ate in a reclining position, but they adopted this custom in a somewhat different manner.

They first made use of couches at the religious repasts, which they offered to their Gods; then the first magistrates of the city, and the most powerful and wealthy, adopted them: and in a little time they became in general use, and continued so to the commencement of the fourth century of the Christian era.

These couches which, at first, were but rude benches, covered with skins and stuffed with straw, soon assumed that appearance of elegance and luxury which characterized every-

thing connected with the banquets of the Romans. They were made of the most rare wood, inlaid with ivory, gold, and sometimes with precious stones; they consisted of very soft cushions, covered with ornamental tapestry, magnificently embroidered.

They reclined on the left side, supported by the elbow, and generally three persons lay on the same couch.

That this custom, which the Romans call, *lecti sternium*, was more convenient than that which we have adopted, or rather resumed, we do not believe.

Viewing it in a physical light, the reclining position requires a greater amount of strength to maintain the equilibrium; and we always feel pain in the arm when it is obliged to support any part of the body.

Taking a physiological view of it, there are also many things to be said; the process of digestion is not so naturally gone through, and the food has more difficulty in finding its way to the stomach, in which it is but imperfectly mixed.

It was still more difficult to drink in this position; great care and attention were necessary in order not to spill the wine which was contained in those large cups, that always glittered on the tables of the great; and it was, no doubt, to the reign of the *lecti sternium*, that we are indebted for the proverb, "There is many a slip between the cup and the lip."

It could not be easier to eat with propriety in a reclining position, when we remember that many of the guests wore long beards, and that they used their fingers, if not the knife, in conveying their food to the mouth; for the fork is a modern introduction. There were no forks found in the ruins of Herculaneum, although some spoons were discovered.

We must suppose that outrages were often offered to public decency and morality, at those banquets, where the guests often passed the bounds of sobriety, where both sexes reclined together on the same couches, and where it was quite a common thing to see some of them asleep.

*Nam pransus jaceo, et satur supinus
Pertundo tunicamque, pelliumque.*

As soon as the Christian religion, after having survived those persecutions which embued its cradle in blood, acquired any influence, its ministers at once raised their voices against the excesses of intemperance. They censured the length of those

repasts where all their precepts were violated by the protracted indulgence of every pleasure and luxury. Devoted by choice and profession to an austere life, they placed excess in eating and drinking amongst the capital sins; they condemned in no measured terms the promiscuous mingling of the sexes, and severely criticised the custom of eating in a reclined position, a custom which originated in culpable effeminacy, and which they looked upon as the cause of most of those abuses which they deplored.

Their threatening voice made itself heard; the couch no longer ornamented the banquet room, and the old custom of eating in a sitting position was resumed; and by a fortunate coincidence, this form, which was suggested by morality, was found in no way to lessen their enjoyment.

At the time we are writing about, festive or social poetry was considerably modified, and assumed in the mouths of Horace, Tibullus, and other authors, nearly contemporary, a languid and effeminate strain, which was not known to the Greek poets. For example:—

Dulce ridentum Lalagem amabo,
Dulce loquentem.—*Horace.*

Quæris quot mihi batiationes
Tuxæ, Lesbia, sint satis superque.—*Catullus.*

Pande, puella, pande capillulos
Flavos, lucentes ut aurum nitidum.
Pande, puella, collum candidum
Productum bene candidis humeris.—*Gallus.*

The five or six centuries we have just gone over in a few pages were the golden age of cooking, but the arrival, or rather the irruption, of the people from the North changed and overturned everything; and those gay days were followed by long and impenetrable darkness.

On the arrival of those strangers the art of cooking disappeared with all the other sciences of which it is the companion and perhaps the product. Most of the cooks were massacred in the palaces in the act of clearing away the tables; the others fled in order not to administer to the pleasures of the enemies of their country, and the few who offered their services had the mortification of contemptuous refusal.

Those savages, with coarse stomachs and burning throats, were insensible to the pleasures of delicate food.

Large quarters of meat and venison with immense quantities of the strongest drink sufficed for their repast, which was nothing but a continued scene of revels and debauchery; and as the greater part of the usurpers were generally armed, the banquet-room was often covered with blood.

However, it is the nature of things, that what is carried to excess will not last. The conquerors became weary of their cruelty; they united themselves with the vanquished, became somewhat more civilized, soon began to appreciate the charms of social life.

The effect of this refinement in their manners was quickly evident in their mode of living; they invited their friends, not as heretofore, for the mere purpose of gratifying their appetites, but rather to regale them, and the latter perceived that the object was to amuse and entertain them; they were now more refined in their pleasure, and more sincere and friendly in their entertainments.

These improvements, which took place towards the fifth century of our era, became still more remarkable under Charlemagne; this great king, as we see by his Capitulars, was particularly anxious that his demesnes should produce all that was necessary for the luxury of his table.

Under this prince, and his successors, the fêtes took the form of gallantry and chivalry; ladies came to ornament the court; they distributed the prizes of valour; pheasants with gilt claws, and the peacock with outspread tail, were carried to the table of princes, by pages trimmed in gold lace, and by young girls of high birth who, notwithstanding their innocence, were desirous to please.

Let us not forget that this was the third time the ladies, who were excluded from society by the Greeks, the Romans and the Franks, were invited to ornament the banquet table. The Ottomans alone have resisted this appeal; but frightful storms are gathering over this unsocial people, and thirty years shall not pass over our heads, before we hear the tremendous roar of the cannon proclaim the emancipation of the odalisques.

The move, once made, has been transmitted down to us, acquiring great progressive motion from the conflict of succeeding generations.

The most exalted ladies occupied themselves at home in pre-

paring food, which they considered as one of the most important duties of hospitality; this was still the custom in France at the end of the seventeenth century.

Under their pretty hands food was made to undergo the most singular transformations; the eel had the tongue of the serpent; the rabbit appeared to have the ears of a cat, with such other amusing contrivances.

They made great use of those spices which the Venetians had begun to import from the East, as well as of the perfumed waters which were provided by the Arabs, so much so, that fish was often prepared in rosewater. The luxury of the table consisted principally in the number of dishes; and this was carried to such an excess that kings thought it necessary to check it by a law which met with the same fate as those laws which were made for a like purpose, and under similar circumstances, by Greek and Roman legislators. They were laughed at, evaded and forgotten; and were only suffered to remain in books to serve as relics of the past.

Thus people continued to live well as long as they could, and particularly in abbeys, convents and monasteries, because the wealth belonging to those establishments was not exposed to the dangers and uncertainties of civil war, which frequently desolated France.

Convinced as we are that the ladies of France devoted a considerable portion of their time to the affairs of their kitchens, we may conclude that to them is due that indisputable pre-eminence which French cookery has always had in Europe, and which it has principally acquired by an immense number of exquisite, light and dainty dishes, which none but women could produce or fancy.

We have said that people lived well *as long as they could*, but they could not do so always.

The suppers of kings themselves were often left to chance. We know that during the civil wars Henry IV. was not always sure of his supper, and that he would have made but a very poor one a certain evening if he had not had the good sense to admit to his table the citizen who happened to have the only turkey in the town in which the king was to pass the night.

However, the art progressed imperceptibly; the crusaders enriched it with the scallion, taken from the plains of Ascalon; the parsley was brought from Italy; and long before the time of Louis IX. pork butchers and sausage makers had realized fortunes.

Pastry Cooks were in this reign equally successful, and the results of their industry held a conspicuous place on every festive board. From that time they became a very considerable body, and Louis IX. gave them statutes, in which was noticed the privilege of making altar breads.

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the Dutch introduced coffee into Europe.* Soliman Aga, this wealthy Turk, who was such a favourite with our ancestors, treated them to the first cup, in 1660; an American sold it publicly at the fair of Saint Germain, in 1670; and the first *Café*, ornamented with plate glass and marble tables, such as we have them at the present day, was in the Rue Saint André des Arts.

Then also did sugar make its appearance,† and Scarron, in complaining of the avarice of his sister in wishing to lessen the size of his sugar basin, has led us to infer that in his time, at least, this article of table furniture was in use.

It was also in the seventeenth century that the use of brandy became known. Distillation, the first idea of which we have from the crusaders, was, up to that time, a secret which was only known to a few learned men. Towards the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV. stills began to be generally used; but it was not until Louis XV. that brandy became a general favourite; and it is only very lately, that, after many attempts, we have succeeded in producing alcohol in one operation.

It was also about the same time that the general use of tobacco was introduced; so that sugar, coffee, brandy and tobacco, those four very important objects, whether we consider them in a commercial point of view, or as a source of fiscal wealth, are little more than two centuries in existence.

Thus things stood at the time of Louis XIV., and under this brilliant reign, the banqueting art yielded to the march of intellect, which caused all the other sciences to flourish.

* Amongst the Europeans, the Dutch were the first who brought the coffee-plant from Arabia, and transported it to Batavia, and afterwards into Europe.

Mr. de Beissont, lieutenant general of artillery, brought a plant from Amsterdam, and presented it to the *Jardin du Roi*; it was the first that was seen in Paris. This coffee-tree of which M. de B. has given a description, was, in 1613, one inch in diameter, and five feet high; the fruit is very handsome, and somewhat like a cherry.

† Whatever Lucretius may appear to say, sugar was unknown to the ancients; sugar is the result of science; and without crystallization the cane gives but a worthless and insipid juice.

We yet read with pleasure those fêtes, which were the admiration of all Europe, and of those tournaments in which, for the last time, the lance glistened that has since been replaced by the bayonet, and the knights clad in shining armour, no longer of use against the fury of the cannon.

Those fêtes terminated with a banquet, which appeared to be the crowning of all, for such is the nature of man, that he can never be completely happy, as long as his taste is not wholly gratified; and this imperious want has brought even grammar under his subjection, so much so, that to say a thing is done in a superior manner, we say it was done with taste.

As a necessary consequence, those who presided over the preparations for those banquets, became men of much importance, and justly so, for they unite many different qualities, that is, genius to invent, knowledge to dispose, judgment in observing proportion, and sagacity to discover defect, firmness to have their orders carried out, and punctuality, in having all in due time.

It is on those great occasions, that the splendour of the *surtouts*, (*epergne*) began to be displayed, a new art, which unites painting and sculpture, and presents to the eye an agreeable picture, and sometimes a site appropriate to the circumstance or the hero of the fête.

It was here that the genius of the artist was required, and showed itself.

But soon, more select parties and more delicate repasts required much more accurate attention and greater care.

It was at the small dinner party at the *Favorites*, and the suppers of courtezans and the wealthy that the cooks displayed their talents, and animated by laudable ambition they sought to eclipse each other.

Towards the end of this reign the names of the most celebrated cooks were always associated with that of their patrons, who ever acknowledged them with pride; and the names of the most distinguished figured in books on cooking by the side of those dishes which they patronised, invented or created. This strange medley is not to be met with in our days; we are not less *gourmands* than our ancestors, on the contrary, but we give ourselves much less trouble about the name of the artiste who reigns no more above ground. The praise which we give through *the left ear* is the only tribute of admiration we accord to the artiste who contributes so much to our pleasures; and the

restaurateurs, that is, the public cooks, are those who receive the only praise which ranks them with great capitalists. *Utili dulci.*

It was for Louis XIV. that the summer thorn, which he called the *sweet pear*, was brought from the Levant; and it was in his old age that liqueurs were first used.

This prince suffered much from debility and those symptoms which people generally feel after the age of sixty; brandy was mixed with sugar and perfumes to make for him, what was called *cordial potions*. Such was the origin of the liqueur trade.

We may remark that nearly about this time cookery was in its highest state of perfection in England. Queen Anne was very fond of the pleasures of the table; she was often known even to converse with her cook; and the old English cookery-books contain several dishes designed after Queen Anne's taste.

This science, which remained stationary during the sway of Madame de Maintenon continued to progress under the regency.

The duke of Orleans, who was an enlightened prince, so far as regards the table, was well known for the elegance of his entertainments, which, as we know from authentic sources, consisted principally of the rarest and most delicate fowl, fish of various kinds and as fresh as when taken out of the water, and the finest turkeys, stuffed with truffles.

Truffled turkeys!!! the fame of which is increasing every day; blessed stars, whose apparition fills the heart of every lover of good cheer with delight.

The reign of Louis XV. was equally in favour of the science of cookery. Eighteen years' peace soon healed up the wounds inflicted by sixty years' war; wealth acquired by industry and diffused by commerce, together with the salaries of government officers, did away with the inequalities of fortune, and the spirit of conviviality was diffused through all classes of society.*

It is very easy to entertain a large number when their

* From the information, writes Brillat-Savarin, which I have got from several inhabitants of the provinces, a dinner for ten persons, in 1740, consisted of as follows:—

1st Course.	{	Soup. Baked veal. Side dishes.
2nd Course.	{	Turkey. Vegetables. Salad. Cream (sometimes).
3rd Course.	{	Cheese. Fruit. Jam.

appetites are good ; with butchers' meat, fowl, venison, and a few well selected dishes of fish, you have a dinner for sixty persons.

But to gratify those who never open their mouths but to make pretty faces, to entice those flatulent women, to excite *papier mache* stomachs, or put life into those worn out thin flanked individuals of no appetite, would require more genius, more judgment and perseverance than would be necessary to solve the most difficult problem of geometrical infinity.

Having now come to the reign of Louis XVI. and the days of the Revolution, we shall not dwell upon those changes which our fathers witnessed ; but shall merely notice the most remarkable of those improvements that have taken place since 1774 in the banqueting art.

Those improvements have had for their object the natural part of the art, and the customs and institutions of the people connected therewith ; and although these two orders of things are constantly acting upon each other, we have considered it advisable for the sake of clearness to treat each separately.

All professions connected with the preparing or selling of food, such as cooks, victuallers, pastry cooks, confectioners and provision dealers, &c., have multiplied and are steadily increasing : and what proves that this increase was really wanted is, that their numbers have not interfered with their prosperity.

The sciences of chemistry and physics have lent their aid to the elementary art. The most learned men have not thought it beneath them to occupy themselves about our daily wants, and have introduced improvements from the simplest dish of the artisan to the most costly and exquisite meats served up in gold and crystal.

New professions have sprung up ; for instance, those small pastry cooks, combining the pastry cook, properly speaking, and the confectioner. Their trade consists of all those preparations in which butter is mixed with sugar, eggs, lees, such as biscuits, macaroons, ornamented cakes, meringues, and other delicacies in pastry.

The art of preserving food has also become a distinct pro-

The plates were changed but three times, after soup, at the second course and dessert ; coffee was seldom served up after dinner, but very often raspberry, or cherry brandy, which was then not long in use.

fession, the object of which is to supply us in every season with those things which are peculiar to a particular time of the year. Horticulture has made great progress, hot houses supply us with the fruits of the tropics; various kinds of vegetables that have been acquired by cultivation or from foreign countries, and amongst others that kind of musk melon which never produces bad fruit, give the lie to the proverb.*

We have cultivated, imported and presented in regular order, the wine of every country, the Madeira which opens the trenches, the French wines that divide the duty between them, and the wines of Spain and Africa, which crown the work.

The French have adopted foreign dishes such as karik, beefsteak; sauces such as caviar, soy; drinks as punch, negus and others.

In England Coffee has become very popular, in the morning for breakfast, and after dinner, as a tonic and refreshing drink.

A great variety of vases and utensils have been invented with other necessities, which give the repast more or less an appearance of luxury and festivity; so that when strangers come to Paris, they find on the tables several objects of which they know neither the name nor the use.

From all those facts we may draw this general conclusion; that the order, system, and regularity observable before, during and after our banquets show a desire to please, which must be highly gratifying to our guests.

We have from the Greek the word gastronomy; it sounds pleasing to the educated ear, and although not well understood, it suffices to pronounce it to bring a smile on every countenance.

La Gourmandise has been distinguished from voracity or gluttony; it has been looked upon as merely a propensity which may be acknowledged as a social quality, agreeable to the host, profitable to the guest, and useful to science; and *gourmands* have been ranked beside all other amateurs who have also a known object in view.

A general spirit of conviviality has diffused itself through

* "You must try fifty to get one to your liking." It seems that the melon as we cultivate it was not known to the Romans: what they called *melo* and *pepo* was but a kind of cucumber which they eat with a very rich sauce. See Apicius, *De Re Culinaris*. Ed. Bernhold, Ansbach, 1800.

every class of society ; dinner parties are becoming more numerous, and each in entertaining his friends, endeavours to provide for them the best of whatever he has remarked in other more distinguished circles.

The pleasure that people feel in being thus together has led to more appropriate divisions of time, in devoting to business the time that elapses between day-break and sun-set, and the surplus to those pleasures that accompany and follow the banquet.

Cold breakfasts, *déjuneurs à la fourchette*, have been instituted, a repast remarkable as well for the class of meats of which it is composed, as the gaiety that always reigns there, together with the *négligée* it tolerates in dress.

Tea is now frequently introduced in the evening, a refreshment the more extraordinary, as it is intended for those who have dined sumptuously, and who are not supposed to be either hungry or thirsty ; its only object being to serve as a pastime, and is taken merely as a drawing-room dainty.

Political banquets have been instituted, and frequently given for the last sixty years whenever it has been found necessary to bring any influence to bear upon a large number of persons ; a repast which is always presided over by a chairman, who, however, attracts no particular attention, and where pleasure is only looked upon as a future memory.

At last restaurateurs have made their appearance, an institution altogether new, and which was quite unexpected, and such that any man who can command four or five shillings in London, or three or four francs in Paris, may in a moment, and without fail, or any other trouble but that of desiring it, supply himself with all those real enjoyments of which the taste is susceptible.

The restaurateur is a man whose business it is to supply the public with a banquet at a moment's notice, and whose dishes are retailed at a fixed price, to suit the convenience of his customers.

The establishment is called a *restaurant*, and he who directs it a *restaurateur*. The bill of fare contains a list of the different dishes with the price of each annexed ; and the pay-bill, which is furnished after dinner, is a list of those dishes that have been served, with the price of each marked opposite.

Amongst the crowds who frequent the restaurants, there are few who suspect that the man who founded the restaurant must have been a man of genius and a deep thinker.

We will follow up the course of those ideas, the succession of which must have led to the foundation of those establishments, now so general and so convenient.

About 1770, after the gay days of Louis XIV., the dissipation under the regency, and the long peace while Cardinal Fleury was minister, strangers had had as yet but very little opportunity in Paris of indulging in the pleasures of the table.

They were obliged to have recourse to the inn-keeper, whose cooking was generally very bad. There were a few hotels with an ordinary, which, with some exceptions, never afforded more than was absolutely necessary, and which had besides the inconvenience of being at a fixed hour

To be sure, the stranger could accommodate himself in the cook-shop, but here he could only procure a whole joint, and if he wished to invite a few friends to dinner, he should give directions beforehand, so that those who were not fortunate enough to have been invited by some wealthy family, left Paris without knowing anything of the resources or delicacies of its cookery.

This state of things, so injurious to Parisian interests and daily wants, could not continue, and already some improvements were suggested.

At last there was found a man of judgment, who foresaw that such a cause could not but produce its effect, that the same wants being felt every day, at the same hour, the customers would be sure to come to that place in crowds, where they would depend upon having those wants agreeably satisfied. That if the wing were cut off a fowl, in favour of the first comer, another would present himself who would be satisfied with the leg; that a cut of beef, taken off in the kitchen would not lessen the value of the joint, or render it unfit for further use; that people would not object to a slight increase in the charge, when they were promptly, neatly, and abundantly served; that there would be no end to a detail, in itself necessarily considerable, if the guests were to dispute about the price and quality of whatever dishes they might order; that besides, the variety of dishes, combined with fixed prices, would have the advantage of being adapted to men of all circumstances.

This man thought of many other things easily guessed at. He was the first *restaurateur*, and he created a profession by which a fortune can always be realized, through honesty, neatness, order and skill.

The introduction of restaurants, which after originating in France, have gone the rounds of all Europe, is of the greatest benefit to all classes of citizens, and is even of great importance to science.

By this means every man can dine at whatever hour suits his convenience, according to the circumstances in which he is placed by his business or his pleasure.

He is sure not to go beyond the sum which he intended to expend on his dinner, because he knows beforehand the price of each dish which he calls for.

Having once settled matters with his purse, he may, as he pleases, treat himself to a substantial, or a light and delicate repast, sprinkle it with the best of French and foreign wines, aromatize it with moka, and perfume it with the liqueurs of the two worlds, as long as his appetite or the capacity of his stomach will permit.

The dining-room of the restaurant is the paradise of the *Gourmand*.

The restaurant is also very convenient for travellers, for strangers, and those whose families have a temporary residence in the country—in a word for those who may happen to have no kitchen at home, or are deprived of it for a time.

Before this time, (1770,) the wealthy and powerful enjoyed almost exclusively two great advantages; they could travel with rapidity, and always fared sumptuously.

The present facilities of travelling have done away with the first privilege; the establishment of *restaurants* has destroyed the second; by their means the best fare has become popular.

Every man who can spend fifteen or twenty francs in a first class restaurant, is as well and better entertained than if he were at the table of a prince; for the dinner which is laid before him is as good, and having besides every dish at his command, he is not inconvenienced by any personal consideration.

The dining-room of a restaurant examined in detail presents to the searching eye of a philosopher, a picture well worthy his attention, by the variety of situations it develops.

The lower end is occupied by a crowd of solitary diners, giving their orders with a loud voice, waiting with impatience, eating in a hurry, and after having paid their bill departing.

You may see there families who are travelling for their amusement, who content with a frugal repast, to which, how-

ever, they add a few dishes that were before unknown to them, seem to look on with pleasure at a spectacle altogether strange.

Near them you may observe a married couple, who from their hat and shawl appear to be Parisians; it is evident that for some time they had nothing to say to each other: they have agreed to go to some small theatre, and you might lay a wager that one of them will fall asleep there.

Farther off are two lovers; they are recognized by the assiduous attention of the one; the affected airs of the other, and the *gourmandise* of both. Their eyes are sparkling with delight, and from the nature and style of their repast, you may judge the past by the present, and foresee the future.

In the centre is a table surrounded by old and regular customers, who most frequently get their dinner at a reduced and fixed price. They know each waiter by his name, the waiter will always privately point out to them what is best and most in season; they seem to be part of the establishment, as a common centre round which groups assemble, or rather like those tame birds that are used for the purpose of alluring wild pucks.

You might see there also certain individuals whose appearance every body knows, but no one can tell their names; they are as much at their ease as if at home, and they often endeavour to engage their neighbours in conversation. It is remarkable that several of this class, who are never met with but in Paris, having neither property, capital nor profession, yet are known nevertheless to go to great expense.

Again, here and there, strangers, and particularly English, are seen; these latter are regaling themselves with double portions of meat, calling for everything that is dearest, drink the strongest wines, and very often require to be helped out.

The correctness of this picture may be verified any day, and if it be intended to excite curiosity, it is also calculated to wound our feelings of decency and propriety.

No doubt the occasion, and the influence of objects around us, may seduce many persons into expenses far beyond their means. Perhaps this may account for so many with delicate stomachs suffering from indigestion.

But what is still more fatal to social order is that we know for certain that solitary dining begets egotism, accustoms the

individual to consider but himself, to isolate himself from everything around him, to dispense with the common rules and observances of society : and by his manner before, during and after dinner, in ordinary society, it is easy to recognise amongst the guests, those who live at the restaurants.*

We have said that the introduction of restaurants has contributed much to the advancement of science.

For, as soon as it was known by experience that one savoury dish, well prepared, would make a fortune for the inventor, self-interest, this powerful stimulus, kindled every imagination, and set to work all those engaged in the cooking and preparation of food.

It has been discovered by analysis that some substances were good for food, which were before considered to be of no use ; new dishes were then invented, old ones were improved, and both the old and the new were mixed up in a thousand different ways. Foreign inventions were imported, the whole universe was put under contribution ; and French repasts are now so composed as to afford a complete course of alimentary geography.

While the culinary art was thus advancing both with regard to discoveries and expense (for novelties must be always paid for), the same motive, that is, the hope of gain, gave it a contrary turn, at least with regard to the expense.

It occurred to some restaurateurs that they could combine good fare with moderate charges, and that by adapting their prices to small incomes, which are always the most numerous, they would be sure of securing the greatest number of customers.

They selected from amongst those objects of low price such as, when well prepared, would be sure to please.

They found in butchers' meat, which is always good in Paris, and in fish, of which there is always an abundance, an inexhaustible resource, together with vegetables and fruit which, from the improvements in agriculture, could be had at a very low rate. They calculated what ought to satisfy an ordinary appetite, and appease the thirst of one who is not a cynic.

* When the dish is sent round with the meat cut up into small pieces, they serve themselves, then place the dish on the table before them without passing it to the person next them, not being accustomed to occupy themselves with their neighbour.

They observed that there were many objects that were only valued for their novelty, or the season, which could be procured somewhat later at a low price; in a word they arrived at such precision, by little and little, that in gaining 25 or 30 per cent., they have been able to give their customers, for two francs, and even less, a dinner fit for any gentleman, since it would require, at least, a thousand francs per month in a private house, to keep a table so well and so variously served.

The restaurateurs, considered in this latter point of view, have rendered a signal service to that interesting portion of the population of a large city, which is composed of strangers, military men, and officials; and they have succeeded, by studying their own interest, in solving a problem which seemed opposed to it, namely, to provide good fare at not only a moderate, but a cheap rate.

Those who have adopted this system have been as successful as their confrères; they have not experienced so many reverses as those who were at the other end of the ladder, and their fortune, though more slowly acquired, was surer; for if they gained less at a time, they gained every day; and it is a mathematical truth, that when an equal number of unities is collected in one point, their total is the same, whether they are united by tens, or collected one by one.

Amateurs have retained the names of several artistes who have distinguished themselves in Paris, since the establishment of restaurants. We may mention Beauvilliers, Méot, Robert, Rose, Legacque, the brothers Véry, Henneveu, and Baleine.

Some of those establishments have been indebted for their success to special causes, for instance:—the Sucking Calf (*Le Veau qui tette*) to its trotters; *Les Trois Frères Provençaux* to its cod with garlic; Véry, to its entrées of truffles; Robert, to his bespoke dinners; Baleine, to his excellent fish; and Henneveu, to the mysterious boudoirs of his fourth story. But of all those heroes of gastronomy, none has such claims to a biographical notice as Beauvilliers, whose death was announced in the papers in 1820.

Beauvilliers, who established himself in 1782, was, for more than fifteen years, the most distinguished restaurateur of Paris.

He was the first who had an elegant saloon, well dressed waiters, a well stocked wine-cellar, and a superior kitchen, and when several of those we have named wished to compete with

him, he sustained the contest with credit to himself, because he had but little difficulty in keeping pace with the progress of science.

During the two occupations of Paris, in 1814 and 1815, vehicles of all nations were constantly seen at his door; he knew all the foreign military commanders, and spoke all their languages, as well as was necessary for his business.

Beauvilliers published towards the end of his life a work in two volumes, in 8vo. called *L'Art du Cuisinier*. This work, the fruit of long experience, bears the mark of enlightened practice, and is still as popular as when first it appeared. Up to that period the art had not been treated with so much minuteness and system. This book, which has gone through several editions, prepared the way for those works that have followed it, but which have not surpassed it.

Beauvilliers had a prodigious memory; he recognized persons after twenty years, who had only dined with him once, or twice; he also had, in some cases, a system which was peculiar to himself. When he knew that a wealthy party had met in his saloons, he approached them with a courteous, obliging air, was all humility, and in fact, made them the objects of his special attention.

He pointed out such a dish that they should not take; another that they should lose no time in ordering, and send for a third which no body thought of. He had wine brought up from a cellar of which he alone had the key; in fine, his manner was so obliging and so amiable, that all those extras passed as so many civilities. But this role of an agreeable host lasted but a moment; he disappeared after having performed it; and shortly after the size of the bill, and the bitterness arising from this "quart d'heure de Rabelais" showed plainly that they had dined at a restaurant.

Beauvilliers had made, unmade and remade his fortune several times; we know not in which of those different states death overtook him; but to judge from his executors, we do not think the residuary legatee was much to be envied.

We find from an inspection of the bill of fare of first class restaurants, and particularly that of Véry, and the Trois Frères that he who takes his place in the saloon has at a moment's call, as materials for his dinner, at least

12 different Soups,
24 side dishes,

15 or 20 dishes of Beef,
 20 do. of Mutton,
 30 do. of Fowl and Game,
 19 or 20 do. Veal,
 12 do. Pastry,
 24 do. Fish,
 15 Roast Joints,
 50 dishes of First Course,
 50 Desserts.-

Besides, the fortunate gastronomer can sprinkle all this with at least his choice of thirty different kinds of wine, from Burgundy to Tokay, or Cape, and with twenty or thirty different kinds of perfumed liqueurs, without counting coffee, and other mixtures, such as punch, negus, and many more.

Of all those various things which constitute an amateur's dinner, the principal are produced in France, such as butchers' meat, fowl, and fruit; others are an imitation of England, such as beefsteak, Welsh rabbit, punch, &c.; others come from Germany, as the sauer-kraut, Hambourg beef, chinees from the Black Forest; others from Spain, as olla-podrida, garbancos, dried grapes from Malaga, spiced hams from Xeres, wines and liqueurs; others from Italy, as macaroni, parmesan, Bologna sausages, polenta, ices and liqueurs; others from Russia, as dried meats, smoked eels and caviar; others from Holland, such as cod, cheese, dried or pickled herrings, curaçao, anisette; others from Asia, as Indian rice, sago, karik, soy. wine from Schiraz, and coffee; others from Africa, as Cape wine; others again from America, as sweet potatoes, kidney potatoes, pine apples, chocolate, vanilla, sugar &c., which furnishes abundant proof of what we have elsewhere advanced, namely, that a repast, such as can now be had in Paris, is in every respect cosmopolite, where every country of the world is represented by its productions.

Why is it that Frenchmen appear to have a natural taste for cooking? "Mr. Wadd," says *Tim Moore* in *The Irish Lion*, "I was'nt reared a tailor. My grandfather was a tailor, my father was a tailor, and I being the eldest son of my father, by all the rights of primogeniture was *born* a tailor." Is it that Frenchmen are "born" cooks. See them in camp or quarters; in the workshop or the factory they are still able to turn their hands to the saucepan. Try the Star and Garter,

try the Wellington, try any of our large noted dining places, or our clubs, and we find that the more perfect the dinner, the more certainly we may write the cook down a Frenchman, or one who has acquired his science from a Frenchman.

Then what must we say to our awful steam baths, the Strand, and Fleet-street dining rooms? Simpson's for example. In we rush from the roar of the Strand. A long, dark, sweltering room is before us; no bright-eyed *dame du comptoir*; no shining, flashing mirrors; no waiter to glide at your nod, hot roaring guests, shouting waiters, men in cotton coats shoving about large dishes of steaming meat on rolling tables, and you eat your dinner in an atmosphere full of gin, fat, steam, and gabble.

For our own part we always leave those Strand dining rooms in a state of astonishment that Englishmen should so generally visit Paris, and yet come back and endure, without complaint, such dens as Simpson's, or Anderton's, in Fleet-street, where you are choaked by foul air, and are forced to select from a cuisine which in its incongruity reminds one of the opening lines of King's *Art of Cookery*:—

“Ingenious Lister,* were a picture drawn
With Cynthia's farce, but with a neck like brawn;
With wings of Turkey, and with feet of calf;
Though drawn by Kneller, it would make you laugh!
Such is, good sir, the figure of a feast,
By some rich farmer's wife and sister drest;
Which were it not for plenty and for steam,
Might be resembled to a sick man's dream,
Where all ideas huddling run so fast,
That syllabubs come first, and soups the last.
Hence, mackarel seem delightful to the eyes,
Though dress'd with incoherent gooseberries.
Crabbs, salmon, lobsters, are with fennel spread,
Who never touch'd that herb till they were dead;
Yet no man lards salt pork with orange peel,
Or garnishes his lamb with spitchcock'd eel.”

Perhaps, reader, we may have, next quarter, another talk with BRILLAT-SAVARIN.

* See ante, p. 471, note.

ART. IV.—JOHN HOGAN.

Many a time as we sit in the stillness and security of our chimney corner, and turn over the pages of a ponderous volume of universal history, or the hot-pressed leaves of some periodic Review—a less pretentious, but perhaps even more comprehensive world-picture—we pause and ponder, straying far from the mere narrative to touch the very limits of dream-land; and suffering imagination to clothe itself in the garb and spirit, as we fancy, of some earlier time, we are filled with the greatness and glory of what is gone, and in the ecstasy of our vision cry out—“Well, it must have been a grand thing to be alive in those days!”

The marvellous culture of heathen Greece, when poetry, art, and beauty, formed the ritual of its worship, the very daily bread of its existence, and the intellect, free for once of all moral and observant restraint, could do and dare all that living intelligence might dream of; the magnificence of Roman dominion, when the first Cæsars sat enthroned in the Capitol, and the resources, the manifold tribute of all known kingdoms, flowed in the wake of victorious legions to the feet of the world's mistress; the enthusiastic passion of mediæval ages, when Charlemagne defied Teutonic gods—or the Hermit Peter led the wayward hordes which a new enthusiasm stirred from the ease of a growing security, and hurried out to the fabulous East in search of adventure, renown, or the martyr's penalty and palm; the almost wild exultation which thrilled through men when a new world, a very universe as it seemed, was conquered for the nations by the faith and perseverance of one poor mariner; the Te Deums which echoed through delivered Europe when Sobieski overthrew the Moslem, and Don John of Austria won Lepanto:—the memory, in one word, of scenes and events so momentous, and so full of wonder, and their effect in the drama, as it is well called, of the world's history, so attract and enchain us, that

“Looking before and after, we sigh for what is not,”
and with somewhat of a querulous outburst regret that our own days have fallen in so poor a time.

We are wrong, utterly. Imagination misleads us. If

we had lived in those desired times, even with our present boasted culture, and eager thirst for what is great, nay, with the power of appreciation we arrogate, no such fancied result of moral and intellectual exultation would have been our portion. Just as hundreds of years ago our ancestors whose fortune we so envy, being as it were "to the manner born," accepted with equanimity enough the "course of events," and regarded as quite accountable occurrences all the pageants, which in the mid distance sweep by with so thrilling a magnificence: so would it have likewise been with us too, if somewhat closer to the foot-lights we caught a glimpse of the side scenes, and gained a too familiar acquaintance with the science of stage effect.

"The past will always win
A glory from its being far,
And merge into the perfect star
We saw not, when we moved therein."

To the thinking mind, no doubt, there is mystery and significance enough in every event, be its importance hidden or revealed at the moment; and no form of real greatness need escape the ken of the seeing eye. But oftentimes leisure, as we say, fails, or the faculty is altogether wanting for such wide and deep observance. Besides, it is an article of our own belief that after all, the hour of a country's most apparent prosperity, of what is supposed to be its highest upward progress, is not the moment when the moral life of its people has reached its climax; is not the moment when either the race is fullest of innate strength, or the individual best capable of receiving those marked influences, which result in the production of works which bear the stamp of genius, while preparing him to receive the impress of what is highest in the character of God-like human nature. Ultimate perfection, it now needs no prophet to tell us, is not to be expected in individuals or in nations; and long continuance in any circumstance of well-being is not to be counted on. And it does so happen, as if by some strange instinct, that in periods to all appearance of the greatest national success, there is a universal hurry, as if men sought to seize with avidity the good that is at hand; there is a predominant rapacity as if for immediate and unlimited possession; there is a haste in all things; and from the abundance of resources the very expansiveness of individual

power is contracted, so that men who in less affluent times might have been born to the inheritance of genius, become dwarfed, and are mere talented users of the ready appliances of advanced civilization. Any smart journeyman can design for us a goodly house, rain-proof and storm-proof, in which we can live comfortably with our family and dependents. Considerable knowledge is necessary to do so much ; we question not how it has been acquired ; we profit by it largely. But who shall venture to say, that there was not a quality far more akin to genius in the brain of the old Grecian, who planned and *invented* a way of making his little hut impervious to bad weather, and lifted the roof of it on genuine Doric pillars ? A clever schoolboy can repeat problems in astronomy, and solve them too, never doubting ; and can map out the orbits of stars and systems, and explain laws, and make calculations, in a manner astounding indeed if one but think of it. Yet who will sit down by the young urchin, well crammed though he be, and fancy himself in the presence of a great intelligence ? Rather, if he want good company, and need communion with the highest intellect, he will go back a few centuries, and grapple with the thought of a Kepler or a Galileo, who in his day was certain of far less than our precocious schoolboy ; or he will travel back over weary thousands of years, until he find himself with the Chaldean Shepherds who named the Constellations.

We hold it, therefore, a more fortunate and a better thing to stand in the dawning of a great hope, watching the growth of some vital principle ; so that we feel, in every movement of the world about us, the stir of strong, fresh life, and catch, ever and anon, a glimpse of coming brightness, through the long shadows and partial obscurity of a morning slowly creeping into day. Now, all is hope and prophecy. Later, the meridian glory may overshine the world ; but the next change must then be a gathering darkness. What if it really be the goodliest fate to live in such a dawning of new life ? What if we but open our eyes, and find that, by kind Providence, our own lot of life is cast even in so precious a moment ?

A certain benevolent individual, wishing well, no doubt, to Ireland, said, once upon a time, that the best thing that could happen would be a complete submersion of the island

for a few hours. To give the gentleman his due, when he set about wishing he did not stop at a trifle. Future commentators may dispute about the vocation of that prophet; it may be questioned whether he was not an accessory before the fact; we care not. Ireland has but risen from a very sea of tribulation. All that she has suffered for generations of oppression, opprobrious tyranny, degrading thralldom, and fiendish persecution, need not now be dwelt on. Friends she had in the days of her deepest sorrow; advocates in the moment of her lowest degradation; defenders in her sorest need; worthy sons, not a few, to lead the forlorn hope of her nationality. But martyrs they were as much as heroes; martyrs, alas! too often, "by the pang without the palm." Their labours have not yet borne the rich harvest of such a seed. There was not one, we fancy, of all those noble souls who, in his dying hour, could find any greater consolation than that which the recollection of a weary, heroic life could give; not one of all those could say that his work was accomplished, and all that gained for which he lived and worked, in such vicissitude of trial and circumstance.

To go but a short time back, Grattan fought hand to hand with systematised injustice, until there was no longer ground to stand on. The senator and the patriot sadly enough followed the remnant of an Irish Legislature, and witnessed its annihilation in the proud and unscrupulous majority of an Imperial Parliament. The fight was over—the field with the oppressor. Curran confronted corruption in the Senate, and the very demons of hate and injustice in the courts of law. Government, Acts of Parliament, unrighteous custom, dominant sectarianism, were all against him. He shook the Commons with the thunders of his denunciations, and made the unjust judge writhe upon the bench, and grow pale in the gaze of his victims. But to what good? Evil has had its way. The dispirited, worn out advocate lingered a few years, and died; still bereft of his great hope, in the company of strangers. Emmet and Fitzgerald are names of blood and tears: *non rationam dolor*. O'Connell went through a life of labour, turmoil, pressing care, which would have broken the heart of a giant; and died at last, having conquered much, but not all; weary enough, we dare say, and sore, too, with the

Brutus stab of his own disciples. Then came famine, pestilence, the reign of terror and of death. No longer patriotic fury of Conciliation Hall, or the shouts of millions on the hill sides of Tara; but instead, the death moan of stricken households, the hurrying of despair and disease, and a nameless desolation to the swarming lazars of the poor-house. The *noyades* and massacres of a French Revolution destroyed the population of cities; the snows of a Russian campaign buried alive whole legions; earthquakes and plagues have desolated states. The victims of these are counted by thousands. By *millions* we reckon the multitudes whom the accursed misgovernment of a party left to die on the highways, and in the ditches of Ireland, while there were ships in England's harbours, and stores in her granaries, which would have fed three kingdoms. There was no Joseph in Egypt in those days.

A very night of sorrow darkened the land, and silence has reigned ever since. Those that wish to have it so, assert that there is now no patriotic feeling, no nationality in the country; that politics, and all that sort of thing, are at an end; that the people are minding their business, and will soon get comfortable, well fed, content. "You have no Dan O'Connell," say they, "to agitate for you; no one makes fine speeches about you now; your patriotism is dead; you are quelled utterly!"

But is it all over indeed, the blood and sweat of all these valiant men gone for nought? We say no; most assuredly, no. It is not the silence of despair that wraps the land, but the silence of the seed time, before the hurrying feet of the reapers, and the joyous gathering of the harvest, make a welcome inroad on the stillness. Yes, it is even so. The seed is scattered; the husbandmen are gone; there is no more talking. The people are left to themselves, and to—God. But is there nothing doing? Nothing! Pause a moment, and you may feel the grass grow under your feet, so instinct with life is the very ground you tread on. No agitation on the surface certainly; no passing show, but beneath a great, dumb, ever-growing power, which shall soon be a nationality the world may wonder at.

When we speak here of the people of Ireland, we mean not the few native-born hundreds who talk and write, make money and spend it; not the select circle whom people

meet in genteel society, dine with, dance with, and to go the devil with—who calculate the country's prosperity by the balance sheet of their rent-rolls, and its progress in civilization by the attendance at levees and drawingrooms, and the increased demand for fashionable country-houses—who, going to church, if they are orthodox by the law, piously detest all manner of Papists and Dissenters, affectionately recommending a friendly aggression on themselves and their doctrines; or who, if they be born "Papists," strain every point to observe an amiable conformity, and are so "liberal," so free from all rough corners, that in polite society no one would know them from unbelievers. This class, which may be called the upper branch of the middle order in Ireland, is thoroughly contemptible, and uneducated in every true sense. Their ambition is to ape the attitude of their masters; they have come in too close contact with a race alien in every way; they have touched what was to them contamination; they are neither sterling Saxon, nor honest Irish; they are a mongrel breed, and flunkeyism is their code of law, the profession and practice of their creed. When, therefore, there is question of the people of Ireland, we do not make allusion to those, but to the thousands of real men, who, far below them in the social scale, do the rough work of life, and toil hard for mere dry bread, but who have living souls for all that, and are the very heart of the nation.

It seems to us that it was because this great myriad race was left too much out of the calculations of former patriots, that so much good work was marred, or entirely wasted. Perhaps there was scarcely help for it. A nation of slaves may rise for revenge, but cannot stand up for freedom. Self-consciousness and self-reliance have first to be learnt, and O'Connell had not yet come to teach that lesson. Too much labour went in vain efforts to make the dry branch bud into life. Now let the dry branch wither; there is sap still at the root for healthy offshoots. For once, let us begin at the beginning.

And are the great mass of the people standing still in all that regards true progress? Are they following crooked roads, or travelling they know not whither? Very far from all that. There is more of hardy, earnest, eager life in this class in Ireland at the present day, than any one not

actually living among them could easily believe. There is a spirit of self-development among them, and a system of education at work, silently, it might be said unconsciously, moulding a very facile material into a most solid vigorous nationality. Since green grass first grew on the island there was never such hope as now. Thrice blessed those who outlive some few years more of toil and weary waiting, and witness the first grand outburst of a nation's self-assertion !

The immense educational power at work in Ireland, is the real preparation for this consummation, and forms the solid basis of the superstructure. Whatever may be said of the colleges and middle-class schools, there can be but one opinion of the training pursued by those who have charge of the great mass of the population. The mechanical part is excellent, and there is a very necessary vigilance exercised by those who have even a higher responsibility, than the schoolmaster. Mere intellectual culture is a poor provision for any class ; without much in addition it is especially pernicious for the lower orders, who are not amenable to those influences, so subtle yet so powerful, which often act as a needful check upon the rank above them. The vexations and defects of the so-called "National System," which cause so much irritation, and hinder so materially the benefit which a system truly national would accomplish, are neutralized in a great measure, by the watchful care of the clergy and the religious orders, who so often are the guardians and correspondents of these schools. The objections urged against the system are to be traced, rather to a justifiable fear of the mischief, which surely would ensue, if the administration of the charge fell into unfit hands, than to any wrong that has actually been done. Fortunately there are vigilant eyes abroad—laborious hands and real energy at work ; and, so controlled, the national system is a help, and to say the least, in the present state of affairs, a great convenience. The great advantage, however, is with the Christian Brothers. They reject the national system altogether, use their own method, and compose their own books ; and let any one who visits their schools, and listens to an examination of their classes, say whether the fifteen thousand "monks' boys," as they are called, do not, with their ready answers, bright intelligent

eyes, and consummate discipline, represent a very phalanx of power, ready drilled for all purposes of good. Truly these fifteen thousand are an army of civilization. The steady march into manhood, every few years, of a generation so trained, will clear the ground of many obstructions. In these schools alone, there is a whole nation gaining intellectual power, and gathering vital strength. Let your gentry look to their honours, and your hitherto privileged classes make way. There is a new race ready even now to supplant them, and claim by right divine the inheritance of their forfeited birthright.

If we look to a higher, or at least older portion of the community, we find evidences of almost miraculous advance in refinement and intelligence. There is hardly a large town in Ireland which has not now its Catholic Young Men's Society, organized for purposes of self improvement, intellectual culture, and mutual support in faith and works. The strong bond is here of unity, and a fixed aim and principle ; for the want of which Mechanics' Institutes, and such like fast and loose associations, fall away, after a hopeful beginning, and a more or less enduring play of spasmodic action. Here the tie is strong as love, for it is no other ; powerful to fetter all base passions ; and strong enough to keep in check even such characteristics of temperament and of race, as have hitherto proved fatal to social progress. The principal of self restraint is taught in these societies, by the example in daily life of each individual member. The real strength of will, the power of continuous self-denial, which the Irish, of all others, were supposed least capable of exercising, until Father Mathew proved the contrary, are nowhere better shown than in the existence and conduct of these societies. Sobriety reigns supreme in the midst of their pleasant meetings ; works of edification, and the care of those less prosperous, in the world's sense, than even they themselves are, occupy the rare intervals of leisure, which break up the monotony of the working man's life. No angry debate disturbs their meetings ; no word of politics is ever heard within the precincts of their halls and reading rooms. In the cities and towns of Ireland hundreds of poor, humble, toil weary artisans are congregated in these societies, maintaining most exact discipline. Their politics to keep themselves unspotted from the world ; their propagandism

to disseminate all good fruits of Christianity ; their aim above all, with God's blessing, to make Catholic truth a vital, practical, principle of action. Most astonishing it is to witness the attendance of these young men at the lectures which from time to time are addressed to them, either by members of their own body, qualified by position and education to become instructors, or by men of high attainments, who, taking a deep interest in their welfare, think it not beneath their talents to labor to advance so good a cause. We should boldly ask a stranger among the audience, to show us more real, innate civilization, in the same rank in any nation. Merely to sit, and listen patiently to certain lectures which we have heard delivered, would of itself give proof of surprising advancement. Not very popular subjects, we have heard treated, by men of first rate ability, and have watched with something of fear lest the audience should weary of "such high argument." But not a bit of it. They liked it well ; and listened, not alone with decorum, but with marked attention ; applauding where it was right to do so. We could no longer therefore wonder that men of such acquirements as we knew the lecturers to be, should deem they had "fit audience," and put out the full measure of their strength accordingly.

All this proves that we are at the turning point of Ireland's history, and shows in what direction the tide is to flow. Only a little while longer to wait, and we shall have a new face of things. No longer want and degradation, and all shapes of terror and unloveliness ; but a better time of comfort and civilization, and the reign of peace and art.

Yes ; all these go together. Without bread, even the bread that perisheth, no form of civilization can endure very long ; and without peace, of a certain quality, we must not hope for the possession of those arts, which are essentially the arts of peace. For proof of this we need go no farther than our own experience. The Irish, it has often been remarked, ought, judging from internal evidence, to be a nation of Poets and Artists. They have quick vivid perceptions ; an organism attuned to the very key note of melody ; an imagination so glowing that no medium can resist its power, and even the unfigurative English becomes, in their mouth, oriental in its rich expressiveness ; a facile hand, moreover, to give form to any conceivable idea. But

a people, no matter how rarely gifted, whose sensations are most frequently those of pain, and whose consciousness is of bitter wrong, are not the best prepared, either to produce great Artists, or to appreciate, and leisurely enjoy, the works of genius. In addition to certain natural gifts and tendencies, an amount of genial education is necessary, before art can have its true value ; and opportunity for observation and self instruction must not fail. Hitherto the Irish people have not been able to put shoes on their feet, still less to travel forth in search of the artistic and picturesque ; and those who by their position and wealth might have brought high art, with all its ennobling influences, within the reach of the masses, are even less up to the mark, less prepared to do good service in that line. They are, in fact, as little educated in such matters, as their social inferiors. Besides they want the heart ; and if you will, the money ; for our "aristocracy of the land," with their hounds and betting books ; and our "aristocracy of the desk" with their castle-going wives and daughters, need, it must be owned, long purses ; and the possession of pictures and statues, the patronage of struggling genius, if it be native born especially, are not recognised, in this state of things, as the best conductors of fortune's partial favors.

Presently there shall be an end to this, and the true Artist's appeal shall be, not to patrons, but the people. From them he shall take his commissions ; it shall be his pride to work for them—to embellish their places of resort, with national memorials, and to make their churches instinct with the life of national, universal, religion.

Precisely in this marked interval between the barbarity and darkness of one period, and the ever-increasing enlightenment of another, JOHN HOGAN, the greatest of all Irish Artists, lived and worked ; and,

" Standing thus between the glory and the dark,"

his name must ever live in the sad, yet grateful memory of his country.

Like all great men, he was somewhat before his age. He bore the burthen and heat of the day, and they paid him but scant wages. He passed through every phase of that transition period, had full experience of all. The ignorance of a population wronged him ; the stupidity of a clique

wounded him : the patronage offered to him by individuals and associations, he was forced to accept, and wrung from their tardy, too often niggardly payments, enough of daily bread ; he toiled and slaved, and died in a hard life-battle. But with a true poet's faculty, he discerned the advent of a better time. He stood so high above the crowd, that his eyes were gladdened with an earlier sunrise ; and this hope, this promise, ever ran like a thread of gold through the sombreness of his own experience. Ireland has given birth to great talents, even to genius in art. But although we may claim native born artists, we can point to no IRISH ARTIST, in the full sense of the term, before Hogan's time. From the people he sprung, full of the vivacity, the enthusiastic temperament of the race—with a love of country which no neglect, ill treatment, or bitter wrong, could extinguish. His aim, his passionate desire, was to glorify by his genius, the country of his birth and his affections. His desire for a people's sympathy, outran that people's capacity to understand the richness of the gifts which he thirsted to lavish upon them. He would be—and he was—the Great Irish Sculptor. But over his untimely grave his people only now awake, and find that it was even so. They shall not see his like again. He was with them—a Heaven-sent true Artist—and they know it not !

Later, when the history of Irish art comes to be written, the story of Hogan's life, we trust, shall be worthily told ; its whole significance revealed ; and his example held up, as it well deserves to be, a beacon light for those whom a high destiny shall send upon a kindred mission. Later too, when we shall better understand how true art and true feeling form in reality one fellowship ; when we find at last, that he who would teach the million hearts, and lead them by beauty to truth, must himself be true to the pole star of duty, and faithful to the love of all excellence, the teaching of such a life shall not be lost. Few, indeed, who chronicle the meteor course of genius, have so noble a theme as this man's life affords. No need in this case to temporise, laboriously excuse, or frantically defend. The somewhat hackneyed, and most saddening plea so often put forth, that genius must be held excused from the following of principles, without which lower natures in the intellectual scale are not to be tolerated ; the audacious assertion, that

because a man's intellectual gifts surpass the common measure, he must needs in morals fall below the ordinary standard, are negatived by many worthy examples ; and to the credit of human nature, and for our own good fortune, we have inherited in Hogan another noble instance. In one word, John Hogan possessed surpassing genius ; he had the poet's temperament with the artist's expression ; to these were superadded those virtues which give value and dignity to common life—perseverance, sturdy independence, a most lofty integrity. In the midst of troubles, trials, temptations within and without, he kept himself unspotted from the world ; in childlike simplicity, following his noble and sometime weary way ; untiring, unwavering, faithful to the mission of his genius :—

“ True to the kindred points of heaven and home.”

A mere sketch in outline is all that need be given here of Hogan's life. The simple facts scarcely require a commentary, they speak for themselves. Somewhat discursively therefore, we shall speak of the artist and his works.

John Hogan was born in the month of October, 1800, in the town of Tallow, County Waterford. Cork has claimed him for her own ; a tacit plea for the distinction has been established, and somehow the honour has been given her. Though she certainly cannot glory in the accident of his birth, she may with justice claim to be the nursing mother of his genius. The gold medal of the Royal Dublin Society, awarded the artist in 1836, designates him “ John Hogan of *Cork* ;” and so let it stand. A few months after his birth, his parents, with two elder children, removed to Cork, and there the family remained until 1821, with what furtherance to young Hogan's genius we shall see. Before, however, the development of his rare gifts can well be said to have commenced, the kindly atmosphere of a frugal, well-ordered household, in which the proprieties of an humble estate were ever preserved, and the real home affections cultivated, had had its effect in cherishing the growth of manly, Christian principles, and the gentler influences of love and dutiful obedience.

Like all our great modern sculptors, Hogan sprang from the artisan class. Canova's father was a stone cutter ; Thorwaldsen's, a rude carver in wood ; Christian Rauch

stood behind a royal carriage; and Dannecker may have cleaned the stables of a duke. Schwanthaler claimed no high descent, though he brought up the rear of a line of artists. Tenerani and Benzoni, Flaxman and Chantrey were all of the people. Hogan's father, however, though he held no higher position than that of master builder, came of an old tribe, mentioned in the "Annals of the Four Masters," and once possessed of castle, chapel, and we may hope good rents in the County Tipperary. The artist's mother, if not of bluer blood, had notable ancestors in times less distant from our own. She was a Miss Frances Cox, of Dunmanway, Co. Cork, great grand-daughter of Sir Richard Cox, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland in the reign of William and Mary, and Lord Chancellor under Queen Anne. She was an orphan, and while living under the care of certain relations, whose family mansion was in the course of undergoing alterations according to the directions of the elder Hogan, met the young artisan at the table of his employer. She was evidently attracted by the manly carriage, and respectable manner of the young builder; and appears soon to have discovered, with a true woman's instinct, that he, with his pride of independence, and steady industry, was worthier of her hand and heart than any of the hereditary squirearchy of her own estate. At all events she responded in faith and generosity to his honourable suit. How good was the exchange is told in a word:—she left without one sigh of regret her aristocratic relations and guardians, whose indignation at the supposed *mesalliance* was made the excuse of refusing to pay the marriage portion of £2,000 she was entitled to, and chose for her own liege lord a man, who, valuing her for herself alone, declined to urge his claim to the money so dishonourably withheld. Through a long wedded life of some change and trial, the real communion of labour was exemplified in this worthy pair. The husband's part was more especially to provide for the daily wants of the household, to gain bread for his children, and means to give them fitting education. The wife's no less arduous task was to keep in peace, true affection, and all Christian virtue, the sons and daughters of their humble home.

How beautifully the fruits of this fine example, and blessed training, are shown in Hogan's feelings and ever

constant conduct ! To his parents he was loyal and loving, and when he had begun to make a name, even in the Capital of Art, and the gifts of fortune visited his hand, he never failed to lay his laurels with pride at his parents' feet ; and no matter what sum of money his hard work procured him, he invariably, as the good old ballad says, "cut it in twain" and sent the full half to his Cork home. His sisters found him a generous guardian when circumstances made them somewhat dependant on him. One sister, after a time, he took with him to Rome ; to another, who chose a religious life, he gave £300 on entering the convent of the Sisters of Mercy, in Cork—at a time, too, when he had a wife and five children to support ; and the two remaining sisters, who were married, and settled in the West Indies, he never allowed to feel the want of a brother's interest. In his only brother, Richard, whose early death was one of the severest blows the artist's loving heart ever received, he enjoyed not only the sympathy which true affection never fails to bestow, but likewise in his companionship he found nurture for his own rare talents. They were companions in everything ; their aspirations were after the same excellence ; their aim tended to a kindred object. Art was the ideal of each, and both were pledged to strive for excellence in true brotherhood of genius.

The home of the Hogan family was in Cove-street, a gone-down sort of place even then, with little more than memories of better times, but full enough of social character, and local peculiarity, to make it not quite unfit for the home of a young artist. The inhabitants of this southern portion of "the beautiful city" are a race apart, as distinct from the natives of the north, as if they were another people. Manufacturing industry remained with the latter, as well as all that we know of Cork vivacity and mercurial energy ; but the former, with perhaps some of the absurd pride of old inhabitants, kept themselves to themselves, socially ignoring all mutuality of citizenship with the rest. So remarkable is this, that if one wanted to find out the locality of a new comer or settler of only some twenty years standing in that exclusive quarter, he would have no business to ask information of the next-door-neighbours of the stranger, supposing them to be of the pre-adamite settlers ; he would be surely told there was nothing known of the man in that place. Moreover, the out-of-door habits of the peo-

ple, the somewhat southern aspect of their surroundings, were not without a certain picturesque effect.

The artist's temperament, as we well know, is sensitive beyond measure. The small every-day chances and appearances which, to common apprehension, possess nothing more than their material or arbitrary value, become invested to his imagination with strange importance; and, in reality, though perhaps without his cognizance, direct or check, or happily further his inborn pre-dispositions. Fortunately, the matured genius is more or less independent of externals; no longer yielding to them, accepting them, or bearing with them as others do, he has finally mastered them, and can take out of them what meaning he likes; since indeed to him, if to any,

"Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage."

True genius has thus much in common with true religion, that it gives the show of things and appearances only its true value, and looks through all outward and common things, to their inner, divine, significance.

The growth of a youth such as Hogan's, must have been peculiarly influenced by the world about him. We deem it therefore to be a notable fact, that he found himself in early life, not alone in a genial Christian home-circle, but settled down in a corner of the world, obscure enough, but for that no doubt, all the freer from the tame uniformity and last new fashions, of a quarter more in the gang way of busy prosperous life.

Then for beauties of scenery, and loving enjoyment of nature in manifold variety, there could be no better site than Cork itself, with its picturesque hill sides grown over with pleasant woods, varied with the abodes of men; and the river "winding at its own sweet will" close to the foot of these pleasant heights, or stretching out in long reaches through more level grounds—not a mud-pool either, such as sluggishly flows through other cities we might name—but a river of running water with life in it, and reminiscences of peaceful farms, tributary trout streams, and the mountain pastures of the Kerry borders. Again, the mingled quiet and busy routine of real, hearty, country life, to be enjoyed at no dearer rate than a few miles walk in any direction; and in addition "the far off sounding of the sea,"

and its freight, ever re-appearing, of ships well laden with the produce and the news of other lands. And to crown all, that we may not leave out, if not the glory, at least the peculiarity of our southern city, a most changeful, capricious, tantalizing climate, which gives to those many features of landscape and scenery, at least a thousand different aspects in a day. Well do we remember how, the first time we saw the Glanmire hills, it was through a medium so delusive to our unaccustomed eyes, that we fancied we beheld a beautiful cloud picture in the sky; and it was only on the assurance to the contrary of our companion, a person of sense and experience, that we were satisfied to believe that what we looked on was not a pile of airy castles on a fancied hill of clouds, but only a mere commonplace view of Glanmire, "as seen through a mist." Such, and so varied, were the sights and sounds and semblances which everywhere met the quick senses of the young artist.

Social life in Cork, had, just at that period, much to boast of and profit by. It was a condition of unusual activity, and the current flowed in a way that affected the literature of England even yet more than the every-day-life of that one Celtic city. Though young Hogan mixed little, if indeed at all, with the notabilities of that lively population, it were absurd to conclude that so quick an intellect remained uninfluenced by the surrounding atmosphere. In Cork, more than in any city of the world, there is a sort of public interest or property in every species of private worth or genius. In other places circles and coteries keep apart. Dublin, for example, has its little artistic circle, its small literary society, its musical sets and scientific knots; and so on. It is known that these subdivisions exist, but the limits being somewhat strongly marked, there is little egress or ingress; and strange things may be said, and stranger things achieved within them, and the citizens at large be little the wiser. Cork society is better organised for some purposes. There is no doing anything there in secret. Cork society is a very broad highway. What is whispered on Patrick's Hill, will be published on the South Mall, and Blackpool will have its share of the glory or shame of Blarney lane. There exists in fact a certain communion of labour, we cannot always say of love, which makes the humbler and less gifted, partaker in some measure, of the

success and fame of the more richly dowered. The grand solo parts are all the more telling, thus relieved by the ever recurring sonority, of the many voiced chorus. The state of things in that stirring community, reminds one very forcibly of "La Sonnambula," where the chorus is ever on the *qui vive*, and the *dramatis personæ* can scarcely put on their night cap, or steal a march at any hour, without the entire population being notified of the fact. Just at that time there was so much talent among the leading men of the City, so much of the fire of genius poetising the hearts of youths yet unknown to fame, that we cannot believe the influence of proximity to have been inconsiderable, on a mind like that of our Artist.

Barry's name was fresh in the memory of his boastful countrymen, when Hogan's boyhood still kept the secret of his greatness. It was a name that might stir too deeply young aspirants to fame, who had not received high commission to dare and achieve as much. The strong, fierce man had gone forth some fifty years before, with a power of resistance, at least equal to his power of production. Academies and authorities, theories and formulas, were nothing to him who had the presumption to think for himself, defying presidents and precedents. There is much in Barry's course to deter from the following of such an example; much also to attract in the excitement, which, as we read his life, carries us away in sympathy with his scorn of such patronage, as may be had for a mellow manner and a cringing attitude; and makes us look up with something of admiration to the wild-eyed man, who, with his classic notions, flung grand thoughts on canvas like a young Angelo, in days when Reynolds reigned supreme, and genius was a delusion and a snare, unless a Dilettanti Society stamped it. He made a splendid fight of it; lived in a real London garret, sordid and uncared; went about almost in rags, to the disgust of prim academicians: but at a time when he had to work some fourteen hours a day, he contrived to provide materials for his profession, and subsistence for himself, out of an income of eighty pounds a year. So that it was said of him, that he was never known to borrow money, or want it. It may have been well that an early death saved one or two of Barry's fellow citizens, from issuing forth into the world with a like daring. More than talent

was wanted to do what Barry did:—an indomitable will, namely, and very rare strength of character. Young Hogan had much in common with this lion of the race, and we fancy, was not without a conscious sympathy with the famous Cork man.

We find no such hero as Barry on the stage just at the time we allude to. Yet the stage was not untrod by many notable figures. Maginn, an LL.D. in his twenty-fourth year, kept school in Marlborough-street; lectured young Southernns in science and classics; and made sport enough for the quick wits of the society about him, slyly stirring up the while, the readers of "Blackwood" to wonder and admiration at the marvellous resource, and endless frolic, of the genuine Phelim O'Doherty. Soon he was to be out in the throng of London literary life, no longer the nameless, though inimitable correspondent, but the acknowledged centre of as sprightly a race as ever congregated in the clubs and taverns, and chance gathering places, of poets, reviewers, editors, and contributors. In his exit from Cork—too small a world it was thought for such as he—the witty Doctor, he may have left some portion of his good fame behind him. "Poor Maginn!" we can never help saying when we think of him. Before long he had drank his last bottle, and laughed his last laugh; and there was soon a sad end to what a brother reviewer called, "this singular mixture of classical erudition and *Irish fun*." Father Prout was then young Frank Mahony of Cork, home occasionally when college vacation permitted; a sprightly genial youth, with a deal of humour in all his sayings and doings, and talent in store, or as we natives say, in *galore*, behind that splendid forehead of his. By-and-by English literature, and the English press shall make profit of his fame, and Continental capitals shall have reason to know his whereabouts. Daniel Maclise, though a mere boy, haunted the hall of the Society of Arts, and desired to have this said to him by one of judgment and taste who marvelled at his assiduity: "My little friend, if you work hard and *think*, you will be a great man one of these days." The bright-eyed boy was not long in fulfilling the promise of his youth. Then "my noble young friend Scottowe," and Kelleher, "my early fellow student," to whom Hogan in after years used to send such pleasant messages and

hints about their art studies, were busy at work. And that wonderful Ford, whom his companions called "young Raphael," must have been even then haunted by the "Genius of Tragedy," and full of dreams of the "Fall of the Angels." While, in busier scenes of the world's life, Dr. England, later Lord Bishop of Charleston, drew a throng round the pulpit, and made his thundering voice heard, in the cause of patriotism, on the noisy platform of Irish politics.

To return, however, to Hogan. At eight years of age, he was sent, a fine, sturdy, quick-witted boy, to Mr. Cangle's school in Tallow. Why a Cork education in the vicinity of his home, was not preferred, we are unable to state. It has been suggested that the exclusiveness, or "snobbery" of Cork society, might have made the builder's son feel out of place, among the more aristocratic frequenters of a first class city school. Possibly, also, a little *roughing* might be essential, and a temporary removal from the charmed circle of home, not the worst preparation for entrance into the world of business and society. Hogan was soon an established favourite with his master; and among his school-fellows he kept his ground creditably, for he could box his corner right well, ever bravely standing up for his own. Classic studies, strange to say, seem to have had little attraction for him. Mathematics, and arithmetic, and history, were more to his taste, and in these he became a proficient. After six years absence, young Hogan was brought home; and with the idea, we suppose, of giving "our eldest," a fair start in life, and a chance of acquiring that much desired quality—respectability of position,—he was placed in an attorney's office, and expected to progress towards that wished-for object, under the guidance of a Mr. Michael Foote. Disappointment, however, was the lot in this case of both father and master. The artist's soul was already awake in the boy; and instead of assiduously pursuing his legal studies, and seeking distinction as an attorney's clerk, he thought of nothing but cutting figures in wood, drawing all the strange fancies that came into his head, and most industriously copying architectural designs, and such works of art as provincial shop windows in the early part of the century, gave him an opportunity of studying. Neither persuasion nor punishment, could

deter the young scapegrace from such provoking conduct. We may guess his brother Richard, and other young friends of the Society of Arts, were not backward in applauding his determination. Doubtless, they gave him the only thing eagerly coveted—encouragement in his erratic courses, and the meed of admiration, his assiduity, if not his achievements deserved. We are also told that* :—

“A friend and client of Mr. Foote’s, Dr. Coghlan, a physician in good practice, and not a little eccentric in his habits, accidentally discovered the young draughtsman one day at his desk absorbed in his labour of love, to the neglect of his proper business. He praised the sketches, faithfully kept the secret, and seldom afterwards visited the office without rewarding, with a bright crown piece, what he, doubtless, regarded as the innocent amusements of a clever wilful boy.”

Such little encouragement as he got, strengthened his own strong determination, to be an artist and nothing else. Yet we know not how he should ever have got free of the meshes of the law, if happy accident had not given him an opportunity of displaying, with considerable convenience to others, his self-acquired proficiency in outline drawing :—

“A new gaol was about to be built on the banks of the Lee ; and the contract was taken by the eminent house of Deane, of which the principal was and is Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Deane. Hogan the elder was in the employment of the firm, as foreman, and the talents of the son were already known to Mr. Alexander Deane, brother of Sir Thomas. The Architect, (Mr. Robinson of Dublin,) having sent down his plans and specifications there was a difficulty about finding a competent person in Cork to copy them within the time, (not more than a fortnight,) when the works should be commenced. In this embarrassment young Hogan was sent for, on a Sunday evening ; and the reader may guess with what trembling delight he half distrustingly consented to assume the responsibility pressed upon him by patrons, who could naturally have but a doubtful faith in powers yet but little developed, and wholly unacknowledged out of his own limited circle of confidants. He yielded at last to their solicitations, and working night and day, with a fixed resolve to succeed, executed his task within the allotted time in a manner to challenge the wonder and admiration of his employers.”

The first and best result of this timely trial and complete success, was the removal of young Hogan from the dreary

* This extract and the following are from an article entitled “John Hogan” in the Dublin University Magazine, January, 1850. The particulars given in that paper are, we believe, true as far as they go. We know the writer took notes from a conversation with Mr. Hogan in his Dublin studio.

office of Mr. Foote, where he had spent two hopeless years, to the more congenial workshop of Deane and Company. He was bound to the firm at once, and employed as draughts-man and carver of models. Hard work was no hardship to him now, he was ready for anything, drawing, carving, modelling; but so decided had his vocation become, that after a very short time, Mr. Deane, who looked with approbation on the persevering energy of his gifted apprentice, and had good feeling enough not to thwart the growth of so noble a talent, presented him with a set of chisels, and before very long, John Hogan was avowedly a sculptor.

What we admire very much in Hogan, is the steady good sense which ever accompanied him in all that regarded his profession; and the unceasing perseverance with which he laboriously gained every onward step of his progress. Accordingly, without any indiscreet zeal to achieve miracles, or any ambitious design of taking the world at once by storm and surprise, he knuckled down to the so necessary preliminary studies, and not only practised his hand in every style of drawing and carving, but for some years attended Dr. Woodroffe's anatomical lectures, with what profit his splendid modelling sufficiently shows. One of his first works was a carving in wood of a human skeleton, life size, which the doctor long after used in demonstrating to his pupils. The great Michael Angelo's zealous studies, come naturally here to mind, and we remember as a coincidence, the Crucifix in wood which the great Florentine made for the high altar of Santo Spirito, to please the prior, who had given him a room wherein to dissect dead bodies. While thus gaining the accurate knowledge of form and proportion, so indispensable to success in the art he had chosen, young Hogan busily employed himself modelling hands and feet—gaining every day in technical nicety of finish.

He was not very long employed in following this method when circumstances occurred, which must have filled the young artists of Cork with strange delight, by affording them a most unexpected opportunity of seeing, admiring, and studying the undying works of antique art. At the close of the great European war, in commemoration of the so grateful peace of 1815, His Holiness, Pope Pius VII., presented to the Prince Regent a magnificent selection of casts from the antique, which had been taken under the

superintendence of Canova. This gift, though it may seem at first inappropriate, considering the recipient, was in reality a very graceful acknowledgement of the good service rendered to art by the English government, which not only appointed persons to remove the *chefs d'œuvre* of Italian churches and galleries from their temporary location in the Louvre, but likewise paid the expense of the restoration. This was a prize which an art-loving community might long to possess. We know not how it escaped being seized on by certain metropolitan institutions, or the more grasping corporations of the English manufacturing towns. However, for the good luck of Cork, the casts were obtained for that wide-awake city, in the year 1818, through the interest of the Marquis of Conyngham, Lord Ennismore, or, as some will have it, John Wilson Croker, Reviewer-General of the Quarterly, and Irishman, as well, by birth and parentage. Indeed, it was a piece of good fortune not unmerited, for the citizens had just two years before, with most praiseworthy exertion, succeeded in establishing a Society of Arts, for the cultivation of taste, and the direct encouragement of native talent. Many no doubt, remember the sort of loft, which served in those early days of art, as the gallery of antiques. Gods and heroes, masks and groups, may now have fitter dwelling place, but we doubt if ever such devout worshippers gathered round so prized a shrine, since the Hogan brothers, those young artists we have mentioned, and lesser stars of a bright constellation, met in that old lumber-room, and the fire of genius was kindled in the light of those old-world gems. How much this same gallery had to do with Hogan's subsequent success; how untiringly he thought, and studied, and wrought in its dingy precincts; and how, as it seems natural, the same was the scene of his greatest triumph, shall now be briefly stated. The following passage is from a paper in the Irish Penny Journal, December 19th, 1840, and is, we believe, from the pen of Dr. Petrie:—

“The period, however, had now arrived when the eagle wing of Hogan was to try its strength; and most fortunately for him, an accident at this time brought to Cork a man more than ordinarily gifted with the power to assist him in its flight. The person we allude to was the late William Paulett Carey, an Irishman no less distinguished for his abilities as a critical writer on works of art, than for his ardent zeal in aiding the struggles of genius, by making their merit known to the world. In August, 1823, this gentleman, on the

occasion of paying a visit to the gallery of the Cork Society, "accidentally saw a small figure of a Torso, carved in pine timber, which had fallen down under one of the benches. On taking it up," to continue Mr. Carey's own interesting narrative, "he was struck by the correctness and good taste of the design, and the newness of the execution. He was surprised to find a piece of so much excellence, apparently fresh from the tool, in a place where the arts had been so recently introduced, and where he did not expect to meet anything but the crude essays of uninstructed beginners. On inquiry he was informed it was the work of a young native of Cork, named Hogan, who had been apprenticed to the trade of a carpenter under Mr. Deane, an eminent builder, and had at his leisure hours studied from the Papal casts, and practised carving and modelling with intense application. Hogan was then at work above stairs, in a small apartment in the Academy. The stranger immediately paid him a visit, and was astonished at the rich composition of a *Triumph of Silenus*, consisting of fifteen figures, about fourteen inches high, designed in an antique style, by this self-taught artist, and cut in bas-relief, in pine timber. He also saw various studies of hands and feet; a grand head of an Apostle, of a small size; a copy of Michael Angelo's mask; some groups in bas-relief after designs by Barry; and a female skeleton, the full size, after nature; all cut with delicacy and beauty, in the same material. A copy of the antique *Silenus* and *Satyrs*, in stone, was chiselled with great spirit; and the model of a Roman soldier, about two feet high, would have done credit to a veteran sculptor. A number of his drawings in black and white chalks, from the Papal casts, marked his progressive improvement and sense of ideal excellence. The defects in his performances were such as are inseparable from an early stage of untaught study, and were far overbalanced by their merits. When his work for his master was over for the day, he usually employed his hours in the evening in these performances. The female skeleton had been all executed during the long winter nights."

Becoming thus acquainted with Mr. Hogan's abilities, Mr. Carey, with that surprising prophetic judgment with which he was so eminently gifted, at once predicted the young sculptor's future fame, and proclaimed his genius in every quarter in which he hoped it might prove serviceable to him. He commenced by writing a series of letters, which were inserted in the Cork Advertiser, "addressed to the nobility, gentry, and opulent merchants, entreating them to raise a fund by subscription, to defray the expense of sending Hogan to Italy, and supporting him there for three or four years, to afford him the advantages of studying at Rome." But for some time these letters proved ineffectual, and would probably have failed totally in their object but for Mr. Carey's untiring zeal. Acting under his direction, Mr. Hogan was induced to address a letter to that noble patron of British genius, the late Lord de Tabley, then Sir John Fleming Leicester, and to send him at the same time two specimens of his carvings, "as the humble offering of a young self-taught artist." This letter, which was backed by one from Mr. Carey himself, was responded to at once in a letter written in the kindest spirit, and which contained an enclosure of twenty-five pounds as Sir John's

subscription to the proposed fund. This was the first money actually paid in, and subscriptions soon followed from others. Through Mr. Carey's enthusiastic representations, the Royal Irish Institution was induced to contribute the sum of one hundred pounds, and the Royal Dublin Society to vote twenty-five pounds for some specimens of his carvings which Mr. Hogan submitted to their notice. These acts of liberality were honourable to those public bodies; yet, as Mr. Carey well observed, it was to Lord de Tabley's generosity that Mr. Hogan's gratitude was most due. Here, as he said, "was a young man of genius in obscurity, and wholly unknown to his lordship, rescued from adversity in the unpromising morning of life—a self-taught artist built up to fame and fortune by his munificence—a torch lighted, which I hope will burn bright for ages, to the honour of the empire. HOGAN may receive thousands of pounds from future patrons, but it is to Lord de TABLEY's timely encouragement that he will be indebted for every thing."

The subscriptions collected for Mr. Hogan amounted in all to the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds.

Thus with fair prospects, that is to say, with a brave manly heart, a passionate desire to do something worthy of his friends' expectations, and a scarcely expressed hope to glorify old Ireland before long, young Hogan, with money in his pocket to keep the wolf from the door for a year or two, set forth to fight his way in the wide, unknown world. He had lost his mother not long before. Her whole life and her death, were worthy of a saint; and her loving, dutiful son, ever to his dying day, spoke of her as the worthiest, holiest of women. So great a loss only drew closer the ties, which bound the members of that obscure but exemplary home. Our noble spirited artist, seems even then to have adopted the whole family as his own, and to have undertaken a father's care for the whole household,—good old man, only brother "Dick," "the dear girls," and all. He would work hard, be faithful in that strange land, and make them all happy and comfortable one day.

Everything in the outward journey, was new; * and had

* We are indebted, more than we can express, to Mrs Hogan for entrusting to us a most interesting collection of letters, written at different times by the artist, to his father and sisters. We were told that it would be in vain to look for any of Hogan's correspondence, as he was no letter writer. Truly he was no letter writer in the ordinary sense: he never wrote for the pleasure of writing, or for the sake of keeping up literary or artistic correspondence; but his love for his family was great enough to make a poet, much more a letter writer, of any man. In his desire to give them pleasure, and to describe accurately what befel him in the struggles and vicissitudes

to be judged by reference to the only standard known to him. Dublin is so fine a city, that he doubts "if the buildings are *even* equalled by those on any part of the Continent (except Rome)." The Dublin Society's House, "a beautiful building, almost as large as the new Barracks in Cork, with a fine large green to the rere." The Elgin marbles, of course, delighted the young sculptor, he thought them "sublime figures; but the Theseus does not, he thinks, come up to the style of the *Torso* of Hercules, among the Cork casts"—"it is not near so fleshy, soft or grand, although every bit as large." "Let the Cork boys," he adds, "look sharp, for they have no idea of the fellows here. Let Kelleher be on the alert, and assure him that he does not know the value of the casts in Cork. These are not to be compared to them, I would not know them to be taken from the same marbles."

The good friend Carey gave his protégé a friendly, kind reception—"lots of advice—a letter to General Cockburn requesting him to introduce me to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire—his blessing with an earnest wish for my welfare etc., and a happy return to my native country." Certain relations of his mother settled in Dublin received him with open arms, kept him with them, and even after the short intercourse of a few days, parted with him reluctantly, for he says, "I perceived tears in their eyes when they kissed me."

In London too he chanced upon kind friends. One lady, whom he knew, "a good little soul," had him every day to breakfast, and used often chide him for not dining also: but as he walked about, he thinks at the rate of twenty miles a day, and was usually miles from St. Paul's at the proper hour, that was not possible. He was not the least moved by the appearance of London, but was surprised to see such a collection of smoke and vapour, and somewhat put out of his way by the danger of crossing the streets, and the consequence, in going through the crowd, of being "shouldered

of his banishment, he uses true nature's eloquence; and there is a frankness, an ease, and a *style* about his letters, which make them contrast favorably with the stiffness, affected dash, or premeditated carelessness, which we note in much of the literary correspondence we are acquainted with. Hogan's character comes out very nobly, as the reader shall find, in those stray leaves, which neither he nor his loved ones, ever thought should meet strange eyes.

and jostled about like a three-penny brick." Again, "the casts in the academy are quite inferior to those in Cork," but he highly approves the attendance and regularity in Somerset-house "fires, stoves, and servants in every part of the building." The students here, and at the academy, are "young men who dress and appear well; I saw among them some handsome, well looking chaps, but none so young as Dick. Some of them are very clever; it is reasonable to think that students who attend regularly with perseverance for years, and are admitted to every lecture given in that academy, must consequently draw well, let their capacity or genius be ever so trifling." Flaxman, "a mean looking, decrepid man," he did not admire, either in himself or his works, "although he is thought a great deal about by his countrymen." A lecture given by him was attended by most of the Royal Academicians, the president Sir Thomas Lawrence "wearing a cocked hat in the chair." In the Adelphi the young Irishman saw Barry's pictures, "a great sight no doubt;" and in the same hall was much struck with some figures by Bacon, which he took for antiques, so good was the execution; In Westminster Abbey he admired Roubiliac's monuments to the Duke of Argyle, and Lady Nightengale; and "two exquisitely beautiful children, with two female figures extremely graceful" on the pediment of Matthew Prier's monuments by Rysbrack; he adds:—

"At the other side of the Abbey there are five or six grand and sublime compositions by Bacon, Nollekens, Westmacott, etc. Bacon's especially is of the Earl of Chatham, who is at the top in a fine speaking attitude, and under his feet are very large and noble figures representing Ocean and Earth in great attitudes, with other allegories, &c.: it is about forty feet high, and the marble of it alone, I should suppose, cost £1000—a master-piece undoubtedly. I could not examine the rest because the ruffian of a guide hurried us from one to the other, and would not suffer any person to remain behind after the rest of the company had seen it."

In the hall of the British Museum he noticed "a most delightful and inimitable statue of Shakespeare by Roubiliac;" there are he thinks some very fine figures there, and a great number of indifferent ones. His remarks on the Elgin Marbles are noteworthy, proving how bold was his criticism, and how early he began to think for himself in all that regarded his art. "I do not think," he says, "the Elgin

Marbles deserve so much praise as is bestowed upon them by the English. I know if they were in my possession I should throw half of them into the Thames." Lord Listowel, to whom it appears young Hogan had an introduction, gave him a hearty and welcome reception, on the two occasions the artist visited him. "His lordship wanted me to breakfast with him, but I refused as I had done so before I left my lodgings; he is a very engaging, mild, and easy old man, fond of the arts, but no great encourager." In Lord Listowel's gallery he saw "some beautiful original pictures of the old masters; a choice collection of excellent landscapes, by the Dutch and Flemish, touched with the lightest and most delicate pencils; and a few portraits and figures said to be by (but rather after) Titian, Guido, Rembrandt and Parmegiano, and worth all of Lawrence's productions together." Sir John Leicester (Lord de Tabley) was still at his seat in Cheshire, but he left the letters of introduction for the artist, together with a very kind one from himself, and directions for admission to his gallery.

A former fellow student named Porter, who was staying in London, introduced Hogan to a certain Mr. Leahy, who informed him that Mr. Latham was hunting all over London to find him out, as he had some letters that might be of use in Paris and Rome.

"Accordingly I waited on him next morning, and found him to be a man of vast understanding, together with an obliging turn of mind: he handed me two letters to bankers on the continent, at the same time offering to get those which he saw in my possession, for Ireland, franked, saying that he would seal them and put them into the post office. After shaking hands, and wishing me every success, he gave me a five-pound note, hinting that it might be of service to me on the very long journey to Rome. This conduct from a gentleman I never saw before, is certainly very noble, but it is chiefly owing to the good opinion he had of me from seeing a few things of mine somewhere or other."

The said five pounds, be it noted, was not put in his pocket for travelling expenses, but was sent directly to the old home, with directions and advices not a few concerning the conduct of affairs in Cork. The old father is not to be uneasy about his boy, "for, thank God, I inherit an understanding and disposition, which I trust will never lead me into scrapes and difficulties." Then Dick is to be kept closely to his crayons, and the girls to take lots of exercise,

and to be kept regular, "that is to say to have them go to bed precisely at half-past nine o'clock every night, *no later.*"

Paris disgusted and disappointed our traveller. It sounds like some old-world history, to hear complaints of the narrow dirty streets, of that now elegant capital; and of the want of foot-ways, and the danger of being run over by coaches, which are driven quite close up to the shops. But the Louvre is there—and the pictures *are originals*—and the gallery is as long as the parade of Cork! Florence though out of the line is visited, many things seen and observed, the gates of Gioberti, as one might expect, visited five or six times. And at last on Palm Sunday, 1824, John Hogan entered the Eternal City.

Thus happily was realised what is ever to the artist the most glorious day-dream of his youth; thus was brought to certain practical result the kindly efforts of Hogan's early and most discerning friends. He was now in Rome—the very centre of Christianity and of art: his tools in his hands, the world of art encircling him. The one glorious path was open to him—the way by labour, and heroic constancy, to excellence, and an honourable fame. Thither came, as for hundreds of years had come, all who striving for renown and reward, worshipped at the inner shrine of art. In the academic halls, in the glorious galleries, in the studii of the Eternal City congregated native sons of Italy, and what of genius and promise lay in their hearts, sprung forth, bloomed and blossomed, in the quickening atmosphere of that heaven-favoured capital. The colder, duller north, transplanted thither rare exotics of genius, and in the magic circle of that influence, they grew strong and hardy, and flourished full of ripe luxuriance. The fatherland had sent many a worthy son to Rome, there to prove his title to immortality. Denmark had commissioned her young giant Thorwaldsen that he too might enter the list, and haply come forth a conqueror; and even out of England, anti-Roman though she be, the children of art had gathered round the common mother of their race.

Among the chosen out of thousands, our Irish Hogan was now to live in fellowship of toil and glory. With what rare assiduity he pursued his course, how he wrought and studied, how he haunted galleries and churches, may

well be imagined. In no city of the world has the very highest class of education been always so accessible as in Rome. There free lectures are not of recent introduction as in other countries : and as in all other branches of study, the most eminent men are appointed professors of the Roman University, and the pupils are all admitted gratuitously to their instructions, so in the Fine Arts are the lectures of the most distinguished artists of the day open to those, who are fortunate enough to be able to reside in Rome, and attend the Schools of St. Luke's.

For several months Hogan contented himself to pursue his studies, not alone in these schools, but also in the halls of the Vatican and Capitol, and the life academies of the French and English Artists. He would willingly have commenced modelling a figure for Sir John Leicester, but the impossibility of taking a studio prevented him. One that would be fit for such work could not, he says, be had "without paying a year's rent in hand, and also holding the same two or three years, as the Romans never let a painter's or sculptor's studio for less than this term." He consoles himself by thinking that after all "it is better not to begin in a hurry without previous study a figure for a noble patron of the arts, *comme Sir John*, on the success of which would in a great measure depend his future notice or esteem of the artist ;" meanwhile he adds, "I feel myself gaining ground rapidly, and say from conviction that I can finish the hands and extremities of the human figure, as well, if not better, than Gibson, Westmacott, Gott, or any other English sculptor, a quality very essential to an artist." Here is a passage deserving the attention of patrons as well as artists :—

"My pension is just sufficient for the maintenance of nature, and that in a moderate style. Provisions and wearing apparel are dear. Of the latter you may judge from my having a pair of their shoes every month which costs a crown each, owing to the bad stuff, or rather to the effect of the scorching sun in summer, which cracks and parches them up completely. I paid above seven shillings for soles and heeling the remains of my old boots made by the old craftsman. To prevent my buying a new coat I had that old blue mantle, turned, which was so threadbare when I arrived here, it appeared pretty smooth when the blue bag was rubbed to the cuffs and button holes—had my cravat cut diagonally to make two. I see you all laughing at my saving a few *bajocchi*, therefore not a word more of what I have done. I live temperate as usual. You pay at the

Trattoria three *bajocchi*, (about two pence,) for a bit of boiled beef which would scarcely satisfy a tom-tit; and so of the other meats: to atone for which their *Piselli*, *Cipolette*, rice, *Cartina*, and other soups, are good and very cheap. Know then that to study, as I should like, it would be necessary to have at least £100 a-year, (if possible £200): this sum would enable me to take a studio, pay living models, cut marble, model in clay, cast in plaster, and at length arrive at excellence."

He sends word that Kelleher must visit Italy, by all means, if he wishes to become a painter; packs up for Dick's amusement about twenty studies from nature, and a few sketches from Raphael, done on white paper, "as I bought for economy a lot of that stuff together," and gives him excellent advice to use the pencil with courage and pick up some pence by portraits, nature being the true path to fame. "Stick close," he adds, "to your drawing and study with all your strength, as a student is not always advancing because he is employed. It is useless for me to say that labour is the only price of solid fame, and that whatever a man's force of genius may be, there is no easy method of becoming a great artist."

Our young sculptor had not only ample opportunity, but likewise plenty of time for the profoundest study. He was free from temptations and interruptions likely to beset other students, who might be deemed more fortunate. He was alone in that great world. The letter to the Duchess of Devonshire which Sir Thomas Lawrence had given him was of no use; her grace had died meanwhile. He could not boast a knowledge of the language which might have opened a way for him to the society of already distinguished men. It will doubtless interest many amongst us to know that the much revered, Father Gentili, was Hogan's instructor in Italian. The afterwards famous preacher, was then a young Roman barrister. The Artist used to tell with great humour, how coming home one day after a long study among the *chefs d'oeuvre* of the Vatican Museum, and finding his mild teacher in the midst of his books awaiting him, he made a spring at the table, gathered up the volumes, and flung them all right out of the window:—"There is nothing in the world but art," he cried, "so here goes!" The accomplished and saintly Italian, and our bold Irishman, continued always great friends; and the former when he was about to enter the church, came to take leave of his pupil.

The English and Scotch artists, whom Hogan met on his first arrival in Rome, seem to have been not by any means congenial spirits. They are, he says, familiar and civil with him, but he likes not their company. They are generally sneering and talking of the absurdity of the Catholic religion, misgovernment of Catholic countries, and so on. He all but curses "the rascals," but adds ;—"However as I am the only Catholic among them I take no notice, but pass it off in seemingly good humour; to act contrary with such fellows would be to want sense." His countryman Heffernan he appears to have willingly fraternized with; he says "he is a very pleasant man, and exceedingly clever."

Meanwhile, in the midst of his own struggles, he is very low-spirited when he thinks of his father being still at labor, "working like a carrier horse," and he is quite afflicted that he cannot send the girls necklaces and other trinkets on Christmas day. He does find means of sending one of them five *Luigi*, though where he got that sum we cannot make out. But he has his eyes open all the while, and sends them pleasant descriptions of the sights and occurrences which attract his attention. The events which marked the opening of the pontificate of Leo XII. are well known to the readers of Cardinal Wiseman's "Recollections of the Four Last Popes;" here is another note of an eyewitness :—

"Rome. 18th August, 1824.

"On Ascension Thursday I have seen the Pope take possession of St. Giovanni di Laterano, the cathedral church of the Catholic world, in the greatest pomp and magnificence imaginable; he was drawn in a chariot by six black horses, surrounded by cardinals, senators, and nobles of Rome and other Catholic countries; he was very unwell, so much so that it was impossible for him to ride a snow-white beautiful horse, whose tail scattered the dust as he pranced along, presented to him on the occasion. After the usual ceremonies in the Church he ascended the balcony, where he gave his solemn benediction to the people, with his hands and heart lifted to Heaven. Although he was extremely weak and ill, he remained in the balcony for some time to satisfy the people, who gazed on him with rapturous delight and pleasure, during which time the lofty castle of St. Angelo kept up a continual fire of artillery. I have seen him also proclaim the holy year, preparatory to which he had ordered bishops to preach in the different *piazze* to the people for fifteen evenings; they commenced the first and ended the fifteenth of this month. It has been the case for ages past with the popes to pardon criminals; scarcely a man was put to death in Rome, but

imprisoned for a certain time according to the nature of his offence. When his present Holiness visited the prisons, the criminals cried out in one voice, "pardon, pardon, Holy Father!" to which he replied, those who were worthy of liberty should have it immediately, but others who were not should have justice administered fairly. He kept his word—the next day the guillotine, a dreadful instrument, was planted in one of the piazze of Rome, where half-a-dozen men lost their heads in one second. I have seen two myself guillotined, their heads are put on a dish and shewn round on the scaffold to the people, the eyes and mouth work for some time after the head is separated from the body. * * * The last pope was a saint, passive and tranquil, but Leo is a man, active and determined, bearing a lofty mind with the greatest humility. I wish he might enjoy better health, as Italy would be for ever the better of his just government. * * Everything here is carried on in the grandest style, the Romans give such effect to the most trifling objects, they dress and dine splendidly; in every eating house you are served with silver forks, spoons, waiters, &c., a country rascal from the Sabine or *Kerry* mountains will receive the same sauce."

Just a year later we have further evidence of the remarkable change which took place in the health of his Holiness, and another testimony to the vigour of his government:

15th August, 1825.

"This day, at Santa Maria Maggiore, I have received the Pope's benediction; he is in right good health at present, is about my height, with broad shoulders, and fine proportioned frame, aged about sixty years, considered rather young for the head of the church. Five days ago he sentenced three very young men to death, the crime was robbery, not murder, but such is the justice of Leo, that after having them to hear mass and receive the Sacrament they were placed kneeling in the Piazza di Bocca della Verita, opposite the beautiful temple of Vesta, and in that posture they received the contents of the carabines of about forty soldiers; not a word, not a groan, not a kick, was heard or seen from them after. At the execution I saw but two women, and those were of the lowest class; by it you have an idea of the tenderness of the Roman dames; but when I reflect on a poor devil about to be hanged in Cork I see battalions of the sex posted on all sides of Gallows-green. O! my country."

In Hogan's letters are many passages showing his love of nature and quick eye for beauties of scenery. The first extract is of early date, the latter alludes to a better time when he was actually in possession of a studio.

"We remarked that the country about these villages was in one mass of verdure, thick with the olive trees, and the vines bending with the weight of the juicy grape, while the Campagna de Roma appeared like the desert of Arabia, the grass and herbage being

burnt and dried up by the heat. Italy is certainly the country of wine and oil, volcanoes, ruins of the elements—broken, sawn, and piled in sublime confusion: precipices crowned with old, gloomy, visionary views; black chasms in rocks where curiosity shudders to look down, infernal caverns where reign the terrible of nature, and, if we believe poets, the paradise of Europe."

"Since my arrival here I have paid at the rate of five crowns a-month for my lodging, but now I pay only two and a-half for a capital one in the Vicolo dei Greci in the Corso; there is a beautiful garden to the rear of the house, the fruit of which is excellent; until about one month ago three immense vines were groaning under the weight of ponderous bunches of rich, purple, Pergolese grapes; some were never clipt, but left to be picked by birds and fowls. Trees reaching up to my windows of the second floor bear delicious green figs, many a full score of which I eat. Now we are beginning to smell the lemons and oranges that are ripening fast. I have only to pass through this garden to my studio."

At last, after long and somewhat impatient waiting, we find signs of a move in the right direction, and Hogan begins to model in clay, the designs which have hitherto been only peopling his brain. He made a desperate venture and hired a studio. We rather think that this was done by the banker advancing a gale; for we find that he does not wish the committee at home to be made aware of the fact, lest they might think, that in this way his stay in Rome should be shortened, and what they supposed his opportunity of advancement somewhat lessened. But the move was a good one, and the sculptor having at last fair play, strode on to excellence with a rapidity, most astonishing even to the experienced artists about him. The following extracts from a letter dated August 15, 1825, are full of interest.

"Now for the main object, a subject which gives pleasure to my father. I therefore shall, in a few lines, give a brief but true account of all. A short time before Mr. Rice left this, I discovered that a studio was about to be let for twenty-four crowns a-year, in Vicolo degli Incurabili vicino al Corso, an excellent situation. Knowing that the English paid about fifty or sixty annually, I, without losing a moment, entered into an agreement with the *padrone*, paid twenty-two *scudi* for stands, benches, irons, clay, &c.; and, as it is expected that Rome shall be crowded with English nobility next year, I go *sleep* on speculation, commence modelling, and finished a figure in plaster, that I might have something to show against that time: the subject a shepherd boy recumbent, with his pipe in one hand, and by his side a goat, which I understand forms an admirable pyramidal composition. My model was a stout Sabine lad: I had him employed for fifty hours, for which I paid him five crowns, and,

when done, wet his whistle with a jorum of wine: I paid a *formulare* twelve *scudi* to cast it in *gesso*. Cammucini, a first-rate Italian painter, Gibson, and all the English artists here, confess that it is very like nature, and modelled with a great deal of spirit, breadth, and force. One or two of my intimate friends say that some things I have done, particularly a bust, look as solid as stone, or appear more like casts from marble than from clay; but this I attribute to my practice in timber, which gave me a lightness in execution which few possess. Let no person read this as I puff myself. Who knows but some fellow would take a liking to it, and order it to be cut in marble; if so I finger the cash when finished. I am about to commence immediately Sir John Leicester's figure in clay, and am resolved to pay all due attention and application to the same. Although I have made several sketches for it, I am not yet determined on any particular one. My first intention was a dancing figure, but Canova and others have done so many of that class, that there scarcely remains an original attitude."

Marble was still out of the question. The artist was now on his last £40, and he seemed low enough in spirit also. In a letter, however, to Dick, dated Christmas day, 1825, we find the following fine passage:—

"But cheer up my old boy. Carey is still at work for me in London. He is stirring up the nobility and gentry with a long pole, and is *raising* more cash to enable me to prosecute my studies like a hero. As that independent spirit which I possessed previous to C.'s visit to the Cork academy no longer exists, I care not a pin who pays—all is fish that I catch in my net, being aware that it is not for my welfare that they are concerned—but, for the glory of *Ould Erin*. Artists make an honorable boast at Rome, when they are pensioners of their country—*perche non io pure?*"

He then goes on to tell of Mr. Carey's zealous efforts, who commenced by paying £10 himself. Sir John Leicester gave £25, and Mr Oliver Latham £25 also. In spite of the exertions of his indefatigable friend the subscription this time did not exceed £150.

The next work mentioned is a favourite and a famous subject. Hogan began to have hopes from Cork; he writes thus to the people at home:—

"There is one thing which you must set to work at immediately, it is to raise the wind about a famous *basso-relievo*, which I modelled a short time ago; the subject is a Dead Christ, laid simply at the foot of the cross, from which hang the crown and sceptre of insult. It is five feet long by twenty-two inches high, and is peculiarly adapted for the panel of an altar. In justice to myself all the artists say it is full of sentiment and character, and very like nature. I should be satisfied to cut it in marble for £50, (a third less than the expense of a wretched bust executed by any of the London artists,)

as I would be pleased to have my first original *basso-relievo* seen in Cork, to evince to the Committee that their encouragement has not been abused or mis-applied. Now if you could find a person who would relate the fact to Mr. Mathew, Mr. O'Keefe, Mr. England, or the Bishop himself, perhaps one of them might, out of a religious motive, wish to have it executed for his own chapel. All I want is an order on Torlonia & Co. for £30 to purchase the marble, and if not liked when finished and landed in Cork, my father forfeits the remaining £20. If you succeed I shall give you credit, and expect a letter from you by post on the strength of it."

Poor fellow ! that was doing it cheap with a vengeance. Cork *does* boast the possession of a Dead Christ by Hogan, not this one, but a later work, and a masterpiece. Under what circumstances it was obtained and retained, Cork knows well, to her disgrace.

At last the young sculptor took courage, and began to model a figure for Sir John Leicester, that noble patron having given him, not alone such timely help as we have seen, but what to the young artist is the most desired of all prizes—a commission for his first work. The subject chosen by Hogan was one, combining the simplicity and grace of ancient art, with the embodiment of a sentiment, more deep and tragic, than Athenian Phidias ever owned. From Gesner's beautiful Idyll, "The Death of Abel," he took the idea, and the work is known as "Eve startled at the sight of Death." It was greatly admired when done, shortly after, in marble. The English artists congratulated the young sculptor, on the purity of sentiment, and gracefulness of outline exhibited in the figure ; and the Italians, particularly Albignini and Rinaldi, were actually astonished at the execution, and the mastership of the chisel which he displayed—fully agreeing that he excelled all other English sculptors in that particular, and most essential, branch of the art.

It appears to have been cut in marble by his own hand. The block was unusually hard and beautiful, and he worked on it with great care and caution. The subsequent history of this lovely figure is curious, and may as well be told here. Though finished without delay, it was not completed in time to gladden the sight of the generous patron, and vindicate to him, what indeed he never seems to have doubted—Hogan's claim to distinction in his art. Just as it was receiving the final touches of the chisel, the news of Lord de Tabley's (Sir J. Leicester's) death, was brought to the artist. The latter was of opinion, that after all Sir John

had done for him, it would be “wrong and unmanly,” to put in a claim on his successor, for the acceptance of the statue, “which his lordship had ordered for his advancement.” He must therefore, look out for a purchaser—expecting to receive double the sum mentioned by his lordship; for it would appear, that a small figure was all that Sir John commissioned, though the poor artist, in his dashing, generous fashion, went far beyond the mark. Mr. Carey, however, settled the matter, and a polite letter was received from Mr. Lester Parker, informing the artist, that in consequence of his relative’s engagements to him, Hammersley and Company should pay to his demand, £74—the bare cost we suppose, of the marble and rough workmanship. But the noble sculptor was in strange delight to get the money, no matter how dearly earned; and on the instant, an order for £30 was forwarded to the old home, with regrets that he could not remit more. But he adds:—

“I rejoice much, as I have said before, because it will enable you to live a little more comfortable and social some few evenings; and also add some *bombazines* to your stock of wearing apparel—perhaps a pair of boots and surtout to my father’s wardrobe.”

The figure was sent off at once, and will it be believed, that the case containing this beautiful work remained unopened some thirty years, and was only, on the occasion of the Manchester Exhibition 1857, rescued from the obscurity of wrappages and packing boxes, and placed before the critical and admiring eyes of British connoisseurs? There stood, among nymphs, and Venuses, and very human women, the graceful, modest, mourning form of our common mother. The sweet, sad mouth, the unconscious attitude, the self-forgetfulness of the whole expression, tell the tale of that new terror and grief. If we stand before this piece of art, and musingly say, “this indeed is no mere academic study; the idea is a true one, and the subject must have been well felt by the Sculptor,”—we speak rightly. That dead bird might testify to a bit of the artist’s own experience. Hogan, who we know always studied from nature when it was at all possible, wanted a model for the bird in this group. He went out into the market-place, purchased a dove, placed it in his bosom, and carried it gently home to his studio. But how to kill that pretty fluttering creature! could a man do that? He looked at it in admiration, thought it a sad

thing, perhaps a wrong thing to take its life. At last, suddenly, with a hard grasp, he killed the bird, and flinging it from him, rushed into the street, with a real consciousness that he had done something wicked. In his haste, he struck against a messenger who was bringing him a letter. The seal was black, and the poor artist, so nervously excited, cried out, "I have done very wrong—I am punished—I am sure my brother is dead!"

That sad news, unexpected as it was in every way, had come indeed ; and the poor artist has been heard to say that it was long before he could dissociate his grief for the loss of his brother, from a sense of personal guilt on his own part. How well is proved by this little incident the vitally intimate connection which exists, between the artist's own soul, and the work which is fashioned by his hand ! It is no true work of art, if it do not give form and expression to what he has himself felt, and deeply understood.

The loss of the young brother was a terrible blow to Hogan's soft heart. In his sorrow he seems to upbraid himself as if he had been harsh and severe to the poor fellow : but he adds :

"None loved him more than I did. I had a secret pleasure in thinking of his *talents*, his drollery, his good nature, and his *innocence*. Yes, I pictured him by my side during my journey on the path of life, partaking of the same pleasures and pains, assisting one another mutually. But, alas ! little did I think when I parted him at the coach-office that I would never see him more—may his soul and the soul of my dear mother rest in eternal peace."

And then, the deep religious feeling coming through all, he desires them let him know what time he was at communion before he died ; whether he confessed and received regularly ; improved in his drawing—and had grown taller ; for "all these things would give me much pleasure." He says he has reconciled himself to his loss, being convinced it is all for the better, and can speak of him without emotion. As a proof of his fortitude, he tells them, he is going to attend his religious duties immediately

From this date we find the sculptor thrown into continual difficulties in consequence of receiving commissions, or supposed commissions from home. A friend would write, saying that another friend would give him an order for a figure or a monument, and that a sum in advance would be forwarded without delay. On the strength of that, he would purchase marble, and set to work ; in his impetuo-

sity never doubting that folks at home might not be in such haste to remit, as a poor artist would necessarily be to receive. Perfectly certain, on one occasion, of receiving an order for £60 from Cork, he paid 100 crowns for a block, and set a *scarpellino* to rough out the Shepherd Boy,* while he employed himself modelling, and studying from nature, in the English Life Academy, which was splendidly kept up at that time by the nobility. . After the work had gone on some time, to his dismay he found his bill dishonoured, and was obliged to dismiss the *scarpellino* to whom he had been paying 9 pauls a day, and take the rough work into his own hands. What further ill consequences would have ensued, we know not, if a timely gift of another £25 had not arrived from Mr. Latham. This made up a sum of £55 received from that generous friend—"princely encouragement" as the gratified artist says, who acknowledges he "would stand rather queer *senza quell ajuto*."

The next work in order is the famous Drunken Faun. In the letters we find him modelling "an active, light and strong figure of a Faun," which, he says, has gained him infinite honour, being considered perfectly original in composition and full of nature; and this we know to be true. Cammucini was delighted with it, and that artist's praise was a great stimulus to the young sculptor, and "acted in the same manner as the sound of a trumpet to the ears of a war horse." It was the same Cammucini we believe, who in Hogan's presence, at an evening party of artists, threw out the observation, that anything original in the classic style was now impossible, all attitudes, expressions and variety of forms, having been already done into marble by great masters. We can scarcely wonder that

* This work, some years later, was seen in Hogan's studio and purchased by Lord Powerscourt, who informed the sculptor that he intended to place it beside works of Thorwaldsen, and other distinguished sculptors. Hogan fought hard to be allowed to do it over again, as he did not think it fair to exhibit his first work, beside the later, and finished productions of those great artists. However, the nobleman resolved to have it as it was, and at once had it removed to Powerscourt House, where it may now be seen. The sum paid for it was £70; and, small as the payment was, the artist had to wait a considerable time for a settlement, cursing the while all aristocratic bad pays. A cast of the work was presented by the artist to his esteemed friend Lady Morgan.

Cammuccini should have said so, for there certainly has never been a more inveterate mannerist than the said clever Roman. Long indeed before he ceased painting he appears to have thought any original figure quite out of the question. The sense of the company on the occasion we allude to may be inferred from the fact that on Hogan boldly declaring that he could not believe any such thing, one of the party, Gibson it is said, addressing the young Irishman somewhat sneeringly, replied, "then, perhaps *you* sir can produce an original work!" The brave Hogan, who as we have seen had been but a few years devoted to his art, and who indeed was even then still occupied with his first work in marble, returned to his studio, and thought: and the Drunken Faun, which Cammuccini, and all the artists of Rome admitted to be original and perfect, and which Thorwaldson pronounced worthy of an Athenian studio, was the result of his thinking.*

* No patron of art has as yet been found tasteful or liberal enough to commission this great work in marble. It made the name of Hogan famous but put no gold into his coffers. The original plaster cast lay for a great many years at the foot of the stairs in the College Street Institution, where it became familiar to the frequenters of the ever changing exhibitions, of which the large saloon above was the scene. Here it suffered some sad mutilations; and subsequently, when transferred to the care of the Royal Dublin Society, to which it was presented by Hogan, although rescued from a fate which seemed upon the point of reducing it to a *torso*, it was exposed to a danger of another kind, having been overlaid with some coatings of paint, which certainly were not calculated to improve the details. Some time after his return to Ireland, Hogan felt a strong wish to restore or re-model this work, but had much and very provoking difficulty to overcome, in the shape of official forms in order to get it removed, for that purpose, for a while to his studio. How great his desire was to save this precious production of his genius, is shewn in the fact of his deigning to ask for a loan of it at all: for, a few years before, he had applied for permission to remove it to Rome for the purpose of having it copied in marble, at his own expense; and although undertaking to return the original, or a cast of the new work, the favour, after a "bond" had been executed, on these terms, was finally refused. As soon, however, as the transfer of the work to his Dublin studio had been effected, and the artist's eye was brought freshly to bear on the work after so many years of absence, he determined that he would not content himself with a mere restoration, but set in earnest about re-modelling the figure—or rather upon the production of an entirely new work. There is scarcely any part of the figure in

In the Autumn of 1827, we find Hogan still at work in Rome, expecting the arrival of the Rev. Justin Foley MacNamara. This good friend made his appearance at last, and his coming was a great pleasure to his late fellow-citizen. They visited galleries, palaces, churches, and antiquities together, until the worthy father became a dilettante and connoisseur in art. He brought the young artist on a tour to Naples, and they spent three delightful weeks, inspecting the curiosities, and enjoying the beauties of Southern Italy.

Hogan complains of being quite lonesome after his companion left; he seems to have had great esteem and affection for the worthy priest. On the return of the latter to Cork, he began to exert himself, to get a good order for the sculptor, but without much success at first. Certain patrons at home suggested that Hogan should forward written opinions of artists, respecting his merit, and the progress he had recently made in his art. The proud sculptor liked not such a proposition, it seemed to him preposterous and inconsistent, and he thought such evidence would be a weak, and silly proof, of an artist's ability—"Yes, the only thing that is required from a sculptor (and in fact the only test he can produce) is his own work, which always, and in all places speaks for itself, *when possessing merit*."

Though he was longing to get home, he was determined not to leave Rome, until he had got an order to cut in marble some statue, worthy to be placed in Carey's Lane new Chapel! * This sort of ambition sounds like something

which he did not introduce a decided improvement. A fine living model, which Hogan was fortunate enough to find in Dublin, greatly facilitated his efforts, and afforded him better nature to copy, for his subject, than what he had found in Rome for the original work. It had a somewhat odd effect on a casual visitor to Hogan's studio, to be told by rather a rough subject, with all the conceit imaginable, that *he* was the model of that splendid statue. All the accessories are likewise greatly improved in the new work, every portion of which evinces a much more matured eye, and a more experienced hand in the artist than does Hogan's early production.

* The said chapel is not yet commenced. However, there is every certainty that the building will presently be, not only begun, but brought to a creditable completion; for the work has fallen into most excellent hands—those, namely, of the Rev. J. J. Murphy.

absurd ; but let no one laugh at it. The Capital of Italy, was less of the world to him than that Irish city, where still dwelt in peace, his own people, and his old patrons, and his merry fellowstudents. Meanwhile, he began to model another figure of the Dead Christ. He succeeded to admiration ; the form, proportion, dignity of character and expression, were universally admired ; the *head* has been pronounced one of the finest known in sculpture, and the *Roman artists* thronged to his studio, to congratulate him on his success. Thorwaldsen came among the rest, was astonished at his progress, and declared this figure to be his *capo d' opera*. There was now only one opinion that Hogan was on the true path to fame and glory. Speaking of Father MacNamara's efforts to get him an order for this work, he says :—

"I hope in God he may succeed in his kind intentions towards me, as it is on his exertions my present fate depends ; if he could raise the wind so as to enable me to purchase a *fine block of marble*, and pay for the embossing, I should be content to live on maccaroni al sugo and *polente*, until such a time as it would be finished : *e poi* he could take his own time as to the remainder of the remuneration, which on no account would be unjust. I am at present engaged on the *Cariatidi putti*, in the hands of which are to be seen the scourge, nails, &c., emblematic of the passion, and at the same time they serve as the chief supports of the table of the altar, forming a delightful contrast with the principal figure. It is said this work, (although only my fourth study from life,) *ranks me as a Sculptor*. I am raving to attack it in stone. All I want now is an order to execute it in marble ; when finished, I return with flying colours to Old Erin, and should not indeed be ashamed to exhibit this work.

"I beg you will not show this letter to any person, as I write too much in my own praise."

At last, in November, 1828, Father MacNamara writes the welcome intelligence, that he may begin the work ; that in about a week from the receipt of his letter, £100 shall be remitted to him ; that sum being actually lodged in Mr. O'Keefe's hands for the purpose. This seemed tolerably certain, and in spite of former experience, Hogan bought an immense block of marble, paid 91 dollars, at once, promising the remaining 91 in a week or fortnight, transported the marble from the wharf to his studio, and set two stout, *bravi Giannetti*, to hew it out, promising to pay them about 74 crowns for the job. Months passed away. and no remittance came from Ireland. The marble-merchant, naturally con-

sidering Hogan a swindler, gave great annoyance, and if it had not been for the kindness of a friend named Jackson, who paid the two *scarpellini*, and took the artist continually to dine with him, the state of things would have been sad enough. Not till April following, was any order received, and then one to the amount only of £70. But after the terrible anxiety of the interval, the sight of any sum in hard cash, was a relief; so paying off all debts, and holding in hand some 80 crowns, the light-hearted artist was lively as ever, and worked away quite cheerily, trusting that something would turn up, to enable him to return to Cork.

In the midst of his troubles, he is alive to what is going on about him. The following passages are interesting. The expectations created in his mind by the passing of Catholic Emancipation are curious; the artist must have looked a good half century in advance.

“It was joy to my soul to hear of my being free from the Orange yoke, and I trust that the arts will now be pushed on gloriously in Ireland as the bill has passed. We have had many changes here these three months past, having lost our old Pope, and elected another, possessing talent and humility in the highest degree, with an inclination to do good to all. Immediately after he was created, he sent a considerable sum to the poor of the village he was born at—gave portions to fifty young women, clothed one thousand poor, released all pawns under five shillings, from the first of January to the day he was elected, and allowed the people to drink in the wine shops, a privilege denied in the last Pope’s reign under pain of imprisonment and fine. He has done many other things, but this last has made him very popular.”

June, 1829, saw the Dead Christ finished in marble. Even to his dear old father, the artist does not know how with propriety to tell that the Roman Artists considered it a grand and noble figure, full of grace and sentiment.—“Although my own work,” he adds, and let the reader note this well—“it has once or twice affected myself.” But the dollars had been growing every day “beautifully less,” and the folk at home must get him somewhere or other twenty or thirty pounds to bring him home, and save him from a *camera* in the castle of St. Angelo.

Fortunately, the good people at Cork succeeded in borrowing £35, which they transmitted at once. When the welcome sum arrived, Hogan packed up his marble figure of the Dead Christ, his cast of the Drunken Faun, some

busts and a few studies in plaster ; and having seen the brig containing the precious cases safe down the Tiber, he stowed into a soldier's knapsack his small stock of wearing apparel, a guide-book, note-book, and passport, and set out by the cheapest route, on his homeward journey ; leaving, not without regret, it would appear, the charmed precincts of *Vecchia Roma*, where he acknowledges "a frank and familiar intercourse with professors of all nations opens a man's eyes" to many things, and where "there is felt a certain stimulus in the air which makes a person think and *fare* like an artist."

We have purposely dwelt long upon this early portion of the artist's career. The first years of trial, struggle, hope and expectation, are, in the life of a remarkable man, always the most interesting. With the triumph and vicissitude of a later time we feel less sympathy ; it delights us most of all to watch the beginning of greatness, the first spring into life and action of those characteristics, which in progress of time become more fully developed. We must now make more haste, and travel over a greater number of years in fewer pages.

November, 1829, found Hogan arrived in Dublin, the brig freighted with the three cases at anchor in the river. The promised supplies had not come from Cork ; the cases could not be released from the hands of captain, broker, and commissioners without the payment of £39 16s. The artist, naturally in a fever of anxiety to have his beautiful works exhibited, had to wait a good part of a month without news of the expected remittance. At last arrived a £10 note, instead of the £30 promised by the Cork patron. Meanwhile, however, Hogan received much courtesy and kindness. The good relatives who had so warmly entertained him on his first visit to Dublin, now once more offered him a home ; the members of the Royal Irish Institution, very generously placed at his disposal their fine board room, for the purpose of exhibition ; and Major Sirr, the notorious Major Sirr, did him still more substantial service by advancing the money necessary to redeem the precious cases. The Major indeed, who in spite of all, seems to have had some real knowledge of art, showed great interest in the sculptor, and was so enchanted with the statue that he was for ever hovering about it, as if it had

been the work of his own hands. All the Dublin artists spoke freely and generously of the extraordinary success of their countryman, and received him most warmly and hospitably. The Royal Dublin Society resolved to confer upon him the honor of a gold medal. The Lord Lieutenant and the Duchess of Northumberland visited the exhibition. And the money received for admission, a personal friend having undertaken to do duty at the door, amounted on an average to twenty shillings a day ; so that there was hope of soon paying the expenses of removal from Rome. The late venerable Archbishop of Dublin, the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, expressed the greatest anxiety to purchase the Dead Christ for his cathedral ; and an intention was expressed of setting on a subscription for that purpose. Finally, however, after the figure had been exhibited about two months to the citizens of Dublin, who as Hogan said " idolised the statue," it was purchased for Clarendon-street Chapel by the Rev. Mr. Lestrange. Hogan valued the work at £500, the purchaser pleaded poverty, and offered £400, a large sum indeed for a poor Carmelite community to spare, and the artist, well pleased to be free of his debts, and in a position to help the family at home, accepted the offer, the purchase money being paid at once. The figure was placed, under the directions of the sculptor himself, beneath the high altar ; and so, having delighted the great ones of the city for a season, it was removed to its natural and fitting position, and is now in the sacred precincts of the Sanctuary, the well- prized treasure of a lowly Catholic congregation.

The best part of this triumph, we may safely conclude, was the satisfaction of proving to his Cork friends, among whom Sir Thomas Deane, as he well deserved to be, was the first in his regard, that their kindness had not been misapplied ; to say nothing of the joy of sharing his glory with his honest old father, and the well loved sisters. His visit to his family on this occasion was the first of many paid to their obscure abode, after he had become distinguished as the good man's " sculptor son." A friend well remembers scenes of these happy meetings, at which as an intimate friend he was privileged to be present. One pleasant evening a sister played on the piano some merry old Irish tune ; the old father elated by the strains of native music, started up and

danced about the room ; John immediately joined him, and after dancing with all their might for some minutes, the young man wrapped up in his arms and fondly embraced his old father. If he could only have shielded that dear household from poverty, care, and sorrow, he would have asked no greater blessing.

Once more in Rome, Hogan set to work manfully. He had brought from Ireland commissions for some busts, and the Dead Christ for Cork in marble ; and an order for finished casts of two apostles, and a group for Francis-street chapel in Dublin. Without much delay he repaired to Carrara, and remained two months in the neighbourhood of the famous Caves, in search of an immaculate block for the Dead Christ. He completed an entirely new cast for this work, making several important alterations in details, and considerably improving the design.* The two apostles he resolved to model on his return to Cork to save expense. He must not stay longer than was absolutely necessary ; he must come back to Ireland to receive payments for his works, and, with Heaven's blessing, new commissions. The money promised by his Cork patrons was not paid according to agreement to his poor people at home ; they were at this time not only in want of money, but in absolute distress ; and his own condition was most miserable, so far from them,

* The fate of the Dead Christ, or rather of Hogan, in regard to it is very lamentable. It was put up in St. Finbar's, commonly called the South Chapel, Cork. Small sums were at different times remitted in payment to the Sculptor—in all, we believe, not exceeding £272 10s. When Hogan, after a long interval, applied for the balance still due, not only was he received with discourtesy, but the statute of limitation was cast in his face. It might be well for those whom the matter concerns, to consider whether the said statute should hold good with regard to the artist's helpless family. Even on his death-bed he was made uneasy by the recollection of this grievous wrong, and he directed one of his family to search among his papers for memoranda relating to the transaction.

When the figure was about to be removed from its Sanctuary, for the purpose of being placed among the sculpture in the Cork Exhibition of 1852, Hogan was told that it was undergoing a process of scrubbing with freestone, or some such agent, to remove from it the hue of antiquity which it had already assumed. The artist's anxiety on the subject may be more easily imagined than described. For some days he was in the greatest pain, and we are not aware whether the impression was ever removed from his mind, that many of the finest touches in the work were spoiled for ever.

and without means to put an end to their trouble. Immediately on his arrival in Rome, he had commenced his group for Francis-street, and before many months had elapsed his famous, and surpassingly beautiful, *Pieta* was a finished work. Little our noble Hogan dwelt on the hard fact that he was to receive only the wretched sum of £150 for design, execution, freight and all, of the apostles and the group. If he had been a clever trader he would have manufactured works to the value of that amount, keeping the balance on the right side:—but he was a divinely inspired artist, and when designing a work had nothing in his mind's eye but the ideal of excellence. In a moment of happiest inspiration he imagined the tragic beauty of that glorious group. He got fame by it which crowned him with honour. It was the admiration of the Roman artists, who were of one opinion, that it had only to be seen in Ireland to secure him a commission to do it in marble—a commission which would suffice to immortalise him. Nothing more desirable could be wished for. Then indeed there should be a glorious monument to his name; his country might be proud of such a grand production of genius; it would be the making of them all, the poor artist thought, and he desired his nun-like sisters to pray that it might be so. He told them that before setting out on his homeward journey, with that precious freight, he would prepare *himself* by faithfully performing his religious duties in Rome. But it was not to be; their prayers were not to be heard in that form. Hogan with difficulty, and after tantalizing delays, received the stipulated sum for the group and figures; but no Irishman, no community, no committee, was found tasteful, or patriotic, or might we say it? religious enough to commission that magnificent work.

The original cast ever after continued to occupy the most prominent position in Hogan's Roman studio.* The classic character of the composition always obtained for it enthusiastic admiration. A first-rate Roman artist

* The subject of this group was a great favourite with Hogan. Not long after, he modelled a half-size group in relievo, the composition differing entirely from the larger work, and at intervals got orders to execute the same for altar pannels. One is in possession of Mrs. Ball, Loretto Convent; one was ordered by N. Maher, Esq., M.P., for the chapel of Ross, Co. Wexford; and another, the last, for St. Saviour's, Dominick-street, remains unfinished in his studio.

was sent by the proprietors of the *Ape Italiana* to make a drawing of the group; and in that great artistic work, which circulates throughout Europe with a character of the highest authority, appeared a graceful outline engraving of our countryman's great ideal work. In this composition Hogan entered into competition with the greatest in art. The *Pieta* was the first great work in marble of the divine Michael Angelo. That *chef-d'œuvre*, smaller than life, is now to be seen in one of the chapels of St. Peter's:* the composition is thus described in a few words by Mrs. Jameson:—"The Virgin is seated; the dead Saviour lies across the knees of his mother: she looks down on him with mingled sorrow and resignation, but the majestic resignation predominates."† It was also the great Florentine's last work. The unfinished *Pieta*, which is life size, and infinitely more beautiful than the former, is still in his native city. The maestro's treatment of the subject differs much from that of his latest disciple.

An accomplished connoisseur, Count Hawks le Grice, who resided the greater part of his life in Rome, and wrote a work on the productions of contemporary sculptors in that city,* thus describes Hogan's affecting and magnificent group:—

* "This *Pieta* is the only work wheron Michael Angelo inscribed his name, which he has carved distinctly on the girdle of the Virgin. The circumstance which induced him to do this is curious. Some time after the group was fixed in its place, he was standing before it considering its effect, when two strangers entered the church, and began, even in his hearing, to dispute concerning the author of the work, which they agreed in exalting to the skies as a masterpiece. One of them, who was a Bolognese, insisted that it was by a sculptor of Bologna, whom he named. Michael Angelo listened in silence, and the next night when all slept, he entered the church, and by the light of a lantern engraved his name, in deep indelible characters, where it might best be seen."—(See "*Early Italian Painters*.")

(Something worse in the same line happened to our own countryman. We know an instance in which the proprietors of one of Hogan's works in *alto-relievo* allowed it to be copied three times. The bitter indignation of the Sculptor may be imagined when a stranger visiting his studio, and casting his eye on the original cast of the said *relievo*, exclaimed, "Oh, I see you have got F——'s work here!")

† "Legends of the Madonna," p. 41.

‡ "Walks through the Studii of the Sculptors at Rome."

“ The afflicted Mother is seated at the foot of the cross on the summit of Golgotha, contemplating with a countenance full of grief the lifeless body of her Divine Son, which lies stretched a little below her. This different locality of the figures has been judiciously chosen by the artist, to consult for the symmetry of the group, and develop the figures to greater advantage, the lines of which thus assume a pyramidal form. The ancient Christian sculptors placed the body on the knees of the Virgin, a precedent from which the present artist has boldly and judiciously departed ; for it is neither dignified nor, perhaps, true to nature to suppose that a mother, exhausted by grief and suffering, could have sustained for any time the weight of a dead body. This departure from established usage we therefore look upon as creditable to the judgment and originality of the Irish sculptor. Mary is simply dressed in a modest tunic, with a large veil which descends from the head, and which, although covering a considerable part of the body, reveals, however, her figure seated on the bare ground near the sacred body of her Divine Son, in deepest contemplation and sorrow. To connect the group the Sculptor has made the Virgin take on her lap the left arm of the Saviour, supporting which with her left hand she extends the right in an attitude which eloquently speaks to the eyes and the heart of the beholder, whom she seems to call upon to wait and see ‘ if there be sorrow like unto her sorrow.’ The body of the Saviour is naked, save, that part of the winding sheet beneath it, is partially brought over the figure, and as the drapery of the Virgin is on a large scale in accordance with her semi-colossal form, so also is that which is spread beneath and partially over the Redeemer, both draperies being in perfect accordance with nature. The countenance of the Redeemer is truly divine, although the expression is relaxed into the cold, placid sleep of death. The head drooping on the left shoulder gives a lifeless appearance to the body, and materially assists the composition. The gentle declivity on which the body is outstretched is also well calculated to display the lifeless form to the best advantage ; whilst the dark shadow detaches the body from the ground, and a broad light, admirably contrasting, gives to the figure a most imposing appearance. The style is truly grand, and the execution is worthy of the style. This group is, in truth, a masterpiece, and reflects the highest honour on the artist.”

We must not tarry on the way, to accompany Hogan on his many journeys between Ireland and Rome, during the next twenty years. In Ireland, he was always well received ; fêted, praised, patronized, and commissioned with numerous works. They did everything but pay him what they owed and promised. If the gentlemen of Ireland had kept their engagements, his life would have been a tolerably comfortable one, and his mind would have been free from a multitude of distracting and vexatious cares. We must generalize more, and give a few sketches of his Italian and

artistic life. It was a life of the severest application and study, for even when engaged on his great works, he never neglected to pursue with industry and ardour his studies from life, and the great models of antiquity.

He seems to have early familiarised himself with the severest school of classic art. In fact, so exclusively did he do so, that he scarcely deigned to recognize anything in painting, sculpture, or architecture, that was not strictly according to that high standard. He would often favour a friend with his company to some of the museums or studii of the Eternal City, and on those occasions, his criticisms were generally so severe as to be scarcely palatable to an ordinary observer: for while one would wish to admire and dwell upon the beauty of a thousand objects, Hogan, whose eye took in their precise merits, and had often measured them before, would not allow him to indulge his unskilful wonder, but silenced each rising exclamation of delight with a remark rapid as lightning, and irrefragable by its truthfulness, exhibiting defects in a light which at once rendered them intolerable, and diverting the gaze away from those things to what was grand, beautiful, and perfect. He could not endure the unnatural style of the Bernini school, which found so many imitators all through Italy. Even the ponderous dignity of Michael Angelo, used, in his early days, to displease him, though at a later period the great Florentine was his grand ideal. He always expressed a marked disapprobation of the affectation of Canova, and of the sometimes cold conventionality of Thorwaldsen.

Such fearless avowals seem to have caused no bitterness in his intercourse with his gifted contemporaries. Though there are national cliques among them, the artists of Rome live for the most part on terms of intimacy and harmony together. Some of their principal resorts used to be the Caffè Greco, and the Belli Arti. Hogan had many particular friends among them, and frequently made excursions with some of them to the Alban or Sabine hills, or to Frascati, and other towns along the high ground which borders the Campagna. Among his more especial acquaintances, were Tadolini and Rinaldi, pupils and we may say, imitators of Canova; and Tenerani—the “Goliath of sculptors,” as he has been called among the Italians, the same to whom Gibson gives the palm among the moderns,

the "Christian Sculptor" in a word, whom Thorwaldsen loved, and whom as his favourite and favoured pupil he associated with himself in that world-famous work, the tomb of Eugene Beauharnais, in Munich. But before all of them in Hogan's friendship, was that justly celebrated sculptor, Giovanni Maria Benzoni of Bergamo. The gentle simple nature of that most graceful and elegant artist, seems to have been very attractive to Hogan; he was on terms of the most intimate friendship with him to the last, and used often call him affectionately "poor old Benzoni." Theed* shewed much friendliness to Hogan; we find him at one time modelling in the Englishman's studio, when he was not in possession of one of his own. With Gibson, Wyatt, and Macdonnel, Hogan was also on friendly terms. Their intercourse as artists seems to have been more than courteous; but there were points in their national characters, which could never harmonise. Gibson had a high respect for Hogan's talents. A friend was once present when Gibson was showing Hogan a statue of Queen Victoria, the modelling of which in clay he had then almost finished. Hogan frankly pointed out some egregious defects in the position of one of the feet, and in the main folds of the drapery, and in two days after, the eminent English sculptor had re-modelled his work on Hogan's suggestion. The same friend has also seen other artists in Rome adopt important hints thrown out freely, and after the first glance of the eye by our gifted countryman.

The giant of those days was Thorwaldsen. "A tall fair-haired boy, ill clad with unkempt hair;" he had fought his way to the modelling class in the academy of Copenhagen; had carried off the gold medal to which is attached a travelling pension for three years; and had been sent in a royal frigate, to pursue his studies in Rome. After years of labour and suspense, he had returned to his own country with a European reputation, and was received and treated as ever should be a great artist—the pride and glory of his country. A guard of honour always waited at his gate, and he was commissioned with great works—magnificent monuments to himself, his sovereign, and the nation. As we have seen, Hogan sometimes enjoyed his society.

* Mr Theed has just finished a statue of Edmund Burke for St. Stephen's Hall, New Palace, Westminster.

From his kingly seat among the famed in art, he appears to have early discerned the merits and high claims of the Irish Sculptor. One of their first interviews, perhaps we should say, encounters, was rather a trying one for our countryman. Hogan had just modelled a figure in clay ; with the timidity of a young artist, and we may suppose a nervous desire for the approval of so imperial a judgment, he asked Thorwaldsen to come see his model, and putting a stick into his hand, requested him to mark any defects he might perceive in the figure. The remorseless master actually cut the figure in pieces, to the terror and dismay of the poor sculptor, who, with such bitter feelings as we can imagine, rushed into the studio of a neighbouring fellow-artist, and told him his melancholy story. "Never mind," was the answer—"maybe Thorwaldsen is jealous—don't show him a clay model again." Hogan took the hint, and not until the cast was completed of the Drunken Fawn, requested Thorwaldsen's presence in his studio—not this time for the purpose of making corrections. "Ah!" said the Dane, striking the artist suddenly on the shoulder, "You are a real sculptor—*Avete fatto un miracolo!*" The other day, we held in our hand a bronze medal, which Thorwaldsen gave Hogan when he took leave of him on his return to his own land—"My son," said Thorwaldsen, embracing him warmly, "You are the best sculptor I leave after me in Rome!"

But in Rome it is not alone the studii of great artists, or the contemplation of the genius of past times, but the actual life about us which present the artist with studies for symmetry and beauty. Men, women and children in their figures, in their costume, and in their manners, exhibit the graceful or the picturesque, in a way of which we can have no idea, in the midst of the angularity to which we are accustomed in our own straitened society. Standing one day under a portico on the Campidoglio, Hogan was greatly struck with the appearance of a young mendicant who came up to importune him for a *mezzo bajocco*. Nothing could be more classic than the urchin's costume. The *toga* was perfect, and Horace could not have worn it more gracefully ; but then it was a wretched filthy rag, and Hogan could not help expressing to a friend some misgiving that it was often no better garment,

which his brother artists of antiquity had so identified with all that is most graceful and dignified in the drapery of the human figure. Chance studies thus offered to the quick eye of genius are worth as much as the still groups of the Vatican museum, and the streets of an European capital fill the brain of a true artist with ideas as manifold and as rich as the frieze of the Parthenon.

Hogan's studio in Rome was in the Vicolo di S. Giacomo, a small street running from the Corso to the Ripetta, under the walls of the great Hospital of S. Giacomo. It had been part of Canova's studio, vacated a short time before Hogan's arrival in Rome, by the death of the great Italian. The portion occupied by our countryman was extensive, consisting in fact of nos. 18, 18 A. and 19 in that street. Hogan resided for a long time in the Vicolo degli Incurabili, which is situated close to the opposite side of the Hospital just mentioned, and also leads from the Corso; but for some years before he left Rome he occupied a spacious house in the Via del Babuino, one of the three great streets which diverge from the Piazza del Popolo, the other extremity of that street being in the fashionable thoroughfare of the Piazza di Spagna. Hogan, who was always a hard working man, was to be found every morning in his studio at five o'clock, if there was light, and generally during the summer still earlier, and his *siesta* was never a long one. The men employed by him to rough out his works in marble, were frequently assisted by him in the operation of "taking the points," which according to the old method still used in Italy, and unaided by mechanism, required the nicest accuracy; and when the block of marble was reduced by them to a tolerable approximation to his model, he was in the constant habit of taking the chisel into his own hands, and bringing out himself all the fine developments of muscle, and all the critical details of the drapery, without waiting to content himself with giving merely the last touches. In this way he took upon him a great deal of additional labour—labour which few sculptors have the mechanical skill to undertake. Many sculptors are utterly unable to handle their own works except in the plastic clay in which the model is first produced, and for every subsequent operation are obliged to depend on the skill and expertness of tradesmen. But it was not so with

Hogan. He was generally his own *formatore*, making the waste-mold for the clay and casting the plaster model, and also, as we have said, when there was difficulty or nicety, he took upon himself the harder manual labour of the *scarpellino*. Thus to his own hands are to be attributed the delicate softness of the flesh, and the peculiar grace of many a fold in his works in the rigid marble.* It is said of Michael Angelo that he chiselled a statue out of a block of marble, without the preliminary step of modelling it, and Hogan has often been known to deviate boldly from his model in transferring the work to marble; a thing which would be impossible unless he held the chisel in his own hand, and which must have required great skill in guiding it, and no little courage in attempting an alteration in such a material.

Hogan prided himself on his knowledge of anatomy, a study indispensable to the sculptor, and a deficiency in which has often made artists fall into most egregious errors. A muscle wrongly inserted, or unnaturally developed, was always inexcusable in his eyes. A human skeleton which he amused himself in carving when a young man, and which skilful anatomists have pronounced to be scientifically accurate, he generally kept by him in after life while modelling his figures. He was also an admirable draughtsman, his academy figures in crayons being beautiful specimens of drawing, both in outline and shadows, and consequently he was very quick in detecting incorrect drawing in a picture.

Hogan never spared trouble even in the minutest details. His casts are most beautiful, and have the hardness, and

* A critical writer in the Athenæum speaking of Thorwaldsen's works, and of their having suffered by that artist's practice of working only in the clay, makes the following excellent observations:—

“Their number would have been less, but their excellence enhanced, had the artist's own hand oftener impressed *con amore* their surface, like the finger of love dimpling the cheek of beauty. * * * True, the chief merit of statuary lies in the model. Sculptors do not reflect enough, however, that if the clay inspire the marble, the marble inspires the clay; we mean that dealing with the stone itself has a reactive effect, suggests its capacities which nothing else can suggest, and thereby teaches how to deal with the clay for future sculptural enterprises. Hence, Michael Angelo obtained his miraculous glyptic power: he was a mighty workman in the material itself of his works.” * * * “England has manufacturing statuaries enough.”

often the appearance, of stone. Even to the last the modelling of the drapery for his figures was a most anxious work. We have known him after casting a piece of drapery, to stride up and down his room actually in a state of fever—"I know" he would say, "it is fine, but it won't do. I must begin it again." His pains were not in vain in this particular. His drapery is magnificent, and no living artist can compare with him in that essential department of his art. In the hand too—one of the most difficult of all forms—he defies competition. The most beautiful models are in his studio: and in his figures every man has his own hand—not a mere conventional or classic one, but his own absolutely—form, and sinews, and veins after nature, and the whole character expressed in the turn of a finger.

The artist himself made a fine appearance in his studio. His tall, lithe, powerful figure showed well among the groups and colossals: and his noble head and eagle look bespoke the artist. He was full of gesture, and his friends well remember the vivacity and expression of his action, his hands and eye speaking almost as much as words could. So remarkable was this that even when using a foreign language it was easy, even for one unacquainted with the idiom, to understand his meaning.

The ten years following 1838, were the busiest and most glorious of his life. In that year he married a young Roman lady to whom he had been some time attached. Want of sufficient means, and we rather think an intention of marrying and settling in Ireland, made him hesitate some time before taking the step, but his affection was great enough to conquer prudential motives, and turn him aside from earlier determinations. He might doubtless have looked to a rank higher than his own, if ambition had led him to such a wife among aristocratic connections; for the salons of many distinguished circles were open to him; and among the guests at the table of Torlonia the banker, and the frequenters of the soirees of the Shrewsbury and Borghese families, the Irish sculptor was not unnoticed. However his ambition was for none of the things which fashionable society values. He chose a wife rich in every virtue, and he had never cause to repent his choice. Their union was one of real affection; and the "*cara Cornelia*" of his later

correspondence, is now his mourning widow, round whom his orphaned children gather with a reverence, and dutiful affection, most touching indeed to those who witness it.

After his marriage he withdrew from the society of his brother artists ; their dissipated style of living had always been distasteful to him ; and he became more and more domestic in his habits, seldom going abroad for amusement except when accompanied by his family. "We are civil and strange," he says "to every person, and live in one *continued round of peace*." In many things Hogan had become a perfect Italian, and few Italians were more abstemious. About seven or eight o'clock in the morning he might be usually met at the large caffè near the church of San Carlo in the Corso. Here he came to sip a *tazza* of coffee, which, with about two mouthfuls of bread, constitutes the Roman breakfast, and to read Galignani where he met an occasional paragraph of Irish news. In the evening he never exceeded a glass or two of sober *Orvietto*, or of the bitter infusion which the Germans call beer. Sometimes he walked in the evening with his family on the Corso, and sometimes took them out for a holiday to Albano or some of the picturesque towns beyond the Campagna. He was hospitable to friends, and very frequently had young English or Irish artists at his table ; but whether in society or otherwise no man could live more temperately. Throughout his married life we find just as remarkable as in his early years. the passionate love of the artist for his "dear, pious, honest old father," and for the well beloved sisterhood in Cork and beyond the seas. Some thoughtful soul, we think Jean Paul himself, has said "the human heart is like heaven—the more angels the more room"—and it was so with Hogan. He never deserted them, and we do think no anxiety weighed very heavily on him that did not affect them in their far off home.

Hogan's reputation both at home and abroad was greatly increased by his famous monumental group to the memory of Dr. Doyle. In April, 1837, he received the commission, carrying off the palm from ten competitors, and returned in triumph to the eternal city, where his brother artists received him with congratulations on his success in Ireland, and prophesied that he would make a glorious work of it. A block of purest Carrara marble was purchased for 500

dollars, and so heavy was the load that fifteen large buffaloes were yoked to draw it from the Tiber to his studio.

In the spring of 1839 the group was finished and gained him great applause. There was but one opinion of its rare excellence among artists of all nations. A writer in "The Pallade"* October 8th, 1839, after alluding to the celebrity and acknowledged talents of Mr. Hogan as a sculptor, gives an elaborate description of the group, from which we extract the following passages:—

"In this work the sculptor has represented Ireland by personification, in an attitude of submission as one patiently supporting the burden of the unjust and oppressive laws which had been imposed upon her. She is plunged in profound, and yet dignified melancholy, but her countenance bent towards the earth closely indicates an inward feeling of doubtful hope, blended with gratification arising from the knowledge, that one of her own beloved children has undertaken with strenuous and powerful efforts the assertion of her cause before the empire. The bishop in a posture expressive of tenderness and emotion, his left hand approaching her back below the left shoulder, and his right raised in dignified and earnest supplication, with his face to heaven, stands by the drooping figure of his country, as it were to raise her from the anguish and distress in which for so many ages she had groaned: his confidence fixed above, thither he addresses the fervent aspiration of his soul for the welfare of his beloved Ireland. Such is the philosophical conception of the work—a conception which has an intimate connexion with the history of that fertile and unhappy land, so long the victim of political and religious dissensions.

These two figures of the size of $6\frac{1}{2}$ English feet, constitute the monument which is raised on a large and elegant base of the Doric order. The bishop robed in the costume of his episcopal office in calm movement, (*moenza placida*), appears penetrated with a sense of the sufferings and despondence of his country; (and his eyes turned towards heaven, whence he implores aid and assistance, and whither he also raises his extended arm, the spectator reads as it were in his soul the fervor with which his prayers inspire him. On his bosom, suspended by a cord, rests the episcopal cross wrought in gold, and by his side stands the mitre which adds a solidity to the breadth of the composition that helps to sustain the principal figure.

The figure of Ireland clothed in a rich tunic or *peplum*, closed on the left shoulder by a gilded fibula, is partly seated on volumes of Moore, the celebrated poet and historian of that country, and rests her left knee on the ground, raising herself gently on the right foot; with the left arm she holds close to her side the harp—a national emblem; and that instrument which is shaped after an ancient Irish model, is ornamented with olive branches, and has carved on its extremity the

* A Roman Journal dedicated to the arts.

head of the wolf dog, an animal so celebrated in that Island—thus completing the national arms. . . . A wide cincture girds the waist of the figure of Ireland, and on it is carved in letters of gold the word *Eria*, being the ancient Celtic name for that country. The sweet expression of the bishop's countenance bears, nevertheless, the impress of that characteristic firmness and strength of mind for which among his other mental virtues he was distinguished. The features of Ireland display, as we have already mentioned, that elevated and undesponding sadness which the artist desired to express, and has so happily succeeded in indicating. The naked arms are well disposed, and the folds of the exterior portion of the drapery are simple and well contrasted; the rochet or surplice over the long and ample episcopal robes produces a good effect by the variety with which it is handled; and, in a word the whole group is finished with such attention to execution, so necessary to give to each detail its appropriate character, that all the artists in the city unite in giving it credit for this quality in a very high degree." . . .

Some discussion arose at that time—the subject of the controversy was then newly started—about the propriety of using gold in the decoration of cord and cross, and the letters of Hibernia. The writer in the journal above quoted, alludes to the acknowledged use of the same medium by Phidias—the reference to its application in similar instances by Virgil—and M. Quatremaire's triumphant defence of the antient method of the Greeks. Critics nearer home have also objected to the mural crown, and to the shape of the harp introduced into the group. In answer to remonstrances on these points, Hogan himself wrote to Lord Cloncurry; and from the following extract from the letter we shall be able still more surely to conclude that our countryman knew very well what he was about, when he made choice of these accessories. He neither wrought carelessly, nor left the minutest detail to chance.

“ *Vicolo dei Greci, Roma, 14 October 1841.*

“ With regard to the mural crown, I believe I am correct according to the authorities generally referred to. It was the usage of the antients to adopt a mural crown, (if any), on a figure personifying any country, province, or city, forming part of an empire; while the adjunct of other emblems especially belonging to that particular country—as the harp and wolf dog to Hibernia, unerringly declares its individuality.

“ The kingdoms and provinces sculptured in bas relief, which adorned the Atrium of the Portico of Agrippa, and of Neptune, (adjacent to the Pantheon), were so personified, and wore the mural crown. There are two celebrated bas reliefs in the Museum at Naples, where the provinces are similarly represented. Also in the Capitol may be found another bas relief. The Vatican Museum contains a very celebrated statue. It is intended to personify Antiochia, and

is equally turretted. I have quoted some of the most remarkable, but examples, *ad infinitum* might be cited. The statues of Cybele may be considered the origin of all subsequent impersonation of nations, countries, provinces, and cities. The form is generally that of a female, and whether as a statue or bust, or in bas relief, or on monies, medals, or in gems, she is invariably represented with a mural crown, though they sometimes vary in shape. With regard to modern authorities, I name two of the greatest reputation. There is a most majestic figure of Italy, by Canova in the sepulchral monument to Alfieri in the Church of the Santa Croce at Florence. There is also in the same place, a statue of Italy placed over the tomb of Dante by Ricci—a Florentine sculptor of great eminence. In both cases Italy is portrayed with a turretted mural crown, notwithstanding that Italy has her own peculiar crown, *as remarkably distinct from all others as is that of Ireland*. Both of these works are situated in the centre of Florence, and could not be more exposed to the criticism of artists and antiquarians. I believe a *question never arose as to the propriety* of the ancient mural crown, and the non-adoption of the Italian. Yet Italy is supposed to have her special affections and predilections, and to be no less jealous of her individuality; but in art, she is guided by art, and by classic usage: in a word the mural crown has a far more classical, solid, and imposing effect in sculpture than the sharp-pointed diadem, which very closely resembles the modern continental coronets of counts and marquises. When in Ireland I made a minute drawing of a harp from that preserved in the Museum of Trinity College, of the authenticity of which I apprehend there cannot be a doubt. From this it was my intention to work on any requisite occasion, its form being so extremely original and beautiful.”

To the unquestionable genius displayed in the design and execution of this magnificent group, Hogan owed the honour, which, of all he ever won, he prized the most—that, namely, of being elected a member of the Incorporated Society, or Congregation, as they call it in Rome, of the Virtuosi of the Pantheon. This society was founded in the year 1500, in the Chapel of St. Joseph, in the Pantheon, by a canon of that Church, and consists of forty-five members, chosen in equal numbers amongst the most eminent sculptors, painters, and architects; the Pope himself being the head of the society. The honour of being enrolled among the Virtuosi, is the greatest an artist can enjoy. It was a distinction never dreamt of, nor sought for, by Hogan; great, therefore, was his delight when the Secretary, an Archbishop, announced to him by letter, that he had been unanimously elected, not a black bean

* This important letter, which, with others from Hogan to Lord Cloncurry, hereafter quoted, and hitherto unpublished, we owe to the kindness of W. J. Fitzpatrick, Esq., author of “Life and Times of Cloncurry.”

being against him in the ballot. His diploma was presented to him by the celebrated Signor Fabris, the personal friend of Gregory XVI., and afterwards director of the Vatican, and of the Museum of the Capitol. The uniform worn by the members is a very splendid one. On the buttons are represented the compass, chisel, and pencil, with the motto, "*Florent in domo Domini*," and the wearer is entitled to carry "a true Toledo, silver mounted." No British subject had ever been enrolled amongst the members of this most select society. Our countryman also became a member, under equally flattering circumstances, of the Academy of St. Luke.*

The magnificent group which had gained such honour for our countryman, was placed by him for exhibition, in the Royal Exchange, during the winter months of 1840. His fame had preceded him. The Roman correspondent of the Freeman's Journal,† had faithfully kept the art-loving public *au courant* with the success and glory of our great artist. Not only was this latest work of his hands praised and admired, and looked on almost with

* The Academy of St. Luke is part of the Roman University of La Sapienza, of which it is in fact the fine arts college, and a portion of the University Palace is occupied by its model gallery and lecture rooms. The professors gratuitously instruct in painting, sculpture, architecture, geometry, perspective, optics, anatomy, history, mythology, etc. And the premiums, for which foreigners of every creed and colour may compete, are distributed annually in the great hall of the Capitol. For a full account of the academy, its treasures and constitution, see Dr. Donovan's "Rome Ancient and Modern." Vol. III., p. 992.

His present Holiness Pius IX. has shown great interest in the academy. He has distributed gold medals to the most distinguished professors, and increased the treasures of the museum by some valuable additions. See "Rome and its Ruler," by J. F. Maguire, Esq., M.P.

† We hope we are not breaking faith in mentioning that the said correspondent was no other than our esteemed friend, Martin Haverty, Esq., author of "Wanderings in Spain." He was a valued friend of Hogan, and was worthy of the friendship of the great artist, whom he resembled in his love of country and love of art. It is touching to find many entries of this friend's name in a little diary in which the artist used to note memoranda on his many journeys. To this gentleman's own recollections of intercourse with his noble countryman, we are indebted for many of the most interesting paragraphs of this paper.

veneration by the crowds who visited the place of exhibition, but the artist himself had almost reason to complain of the personal interest excited in his favour. Invitations to viceregal banquets, and the continual re-appearance of "couriers booted and spurred, sweating with dispatch from the castle," together with similar attentions paid to him by other distinguished officials, nearly wore out our quiet-loving artist. He used to complain of all it cost him on these occasions for car hire, and other expenses, and concluded at last with a very hearty wish, "that they would send him, instead of a polite invitation, a ready boiled or roasted turkey, which he might eat at home in peace, with a pleasant friend or two." The only consolation he had, was the honest pride he felt in appearing among the great ones, in the full costume of the *Virtuosi* of the Pantheon, which was more than any other born British subject could do. Here is an extract from a letter to his sister, dated December 8th, 1840. It is extremely characteristic of the man:—

"I am become almost desperate when I think of three or four things which annoy me *even in my sleep*. There is my dearest father very ill—my dear Cornelia crying in my ears, *venite, venite*, and near her, *partorezza*; my child, crying *papa, papa—mia cara figlia!*—my works and engagements in Rome buzz in my ears—come and finish me or you will lose your reputation; and my own breast tells me, leave this country, you are not born for their dinner and gross supper parties; my heart within me beats for *quiet, solitude*, and study,—*e piu di tutto*, my dearest, *dearest* old father, according to your letter, on his last legs. In a word, I am become frantic because I cannot be with you all, see you all, direct you all at the same moment. And to crown the matter, can hear nothing from Carlow about the Doyle affair."

The matter last alluded to, was a cruel vexation. In the midst of the admiration excited by his beautiful group, Hogan was sadly worried by the incapacity, or neglect, of the Doyle Committee, to keep to their agreement with him. As Hogan had reason to complain of similar grievances on other occasions, we shall give some passages of the history of this transaction, as a specimen of what he had now and then to suffer.

When the order for Dr. Doyle's monument was given, in April, 1837, Hogan remarked that "They can or will not give more than £1,000, but I believe they intend to defray

expense of freight, &c., &c." An instalment of £300 was paid on that occasion, and an agreement entered into to pay him £200 more on completion of the model, and the remaining £500 when the group should be finished, and placed in Carlow Cathedral. The model was finished, and the work far advanced, when Hogan, fifteen months after the first date, complained that no second instalment had arrived, although he had applied for it by letter. On this occasion he made the following remark: "They do things d——d slovenly in Ireland, particularly in a public work, all being equally complicated, each of the Committee individually thinks it is not his business, and naturally leaves it to another, thereby leaving the poor artist to the mercy of wind and waves." Six different times he applied to the Committee—no longer mentioned as "the Doyle Committee," but "the *base* Committee"—without receiving even an answer, and more than two years after the first promise, no money had arrived. Torlonia advanced 200 crowns to go on with the group. At last in his distress and perplexity, the group being finished and ready for shipment, Hogan wrote to Lord Cloncurry, whom he supposed to have influence with the authorities, stating the terms of agreement which had been entered into, and the non-observance of which, he says, "well-nigh tends to overwhelm me with disaster." Lord Cloncurry, in his reply, lamented "the very shameful and unfeeling treatment" which Hogan had to complain of, and added, "My countrymen, warm and generous in their feelings, are bad calculators, and I fear, often name what they cannot afterwards perform. You seem to have been the victim of their want of principle, and I am sorry and ashamed for it."* His lordship, however, who on all occasions, proved himself so good a friend to Hogan, had not power, it would appear, at this time, to help the artist as he desired. The remittance not appearing, the artist became nearly frantic: spoke (in private only) of taking an action "against half a dozen of the swindling and unprincipled scoundrels. I shall give it notoriety," he says, "as I have very little to expect in the way of patronage from the present race of Irishmen; a *dinner* or *feed*, either public or private, being the very summit of *their glory*."

* See Life and Times of Cloncurry: by W. J. Fitzpatrick.

Endless, indeed, was the torment caused to the artist by this affair. The fault, we rather think, lay not so much with the Committee, who *only* engaged to pay what they had not in their possession, as with the Irish gentlemen, who took several years to send in the subscriptions so liberally promised. When the account was finally settled, we cannot say just at this moment, but we know that in 1843, six years after the Commission was given, £420 remained still due to Hogan. And in addition we have the poor artist's own assertion, that, "The price of the Doyle monument only left him about £1 a week for his own time!" The one item alone of insurance, which Hogan expected would have been allowed for, amounted to nearly thirty pounds.

However, he did not return to Rome without a triumph, which consoled him for these annoyances. It was decided in high quarters, that without opening the subject for competition, the commission for a Statue of Mr. Drummond should be given to Hogan. In a few days after the above date, the affair was decided; and what was best of all, and a rare thing indeed in Hogan's experience, the terms offered were most liberal: £500 in hand; £200 to be paid in Rome when the work should be modelled and cast; and the remaining £500 on the arrival of the statue in Dublin, without any expense to the Sculptor, of freight, insurance, pedestal, etc. The terms were kept to the letter; and for this piece of good fortune we are quite certain he was indebted to Lord Morpeth—"The gentle and unassuming Lord Morpeth, whom I may lawfully call the king of Ireland." This nobleman has ever been a true friend to Hogan. The artist has often been heard to speak with grateful acknowledgment of the kindness he received from that quarter. He had no love for aristocrats, very much the contrary. He loved the aristocracy of talent, he said, and of goodness, and to such a class Lord Morpeth belonged. The following remarks are interesting: they refer to what took place at a meeting of the Drummond Committee:—

"Committees in general are dilatory and difficult to please; we all know that. Lord Morpeth at the head of them met on Monday to inspect my models of Drummond's monument. The bust they seem all to agree upon as like, with the exception that I have ennobled his character too much—which in their presence I brought down to its proper standard *by a few touches from me*, in a twinkling,

to their great surprise. His Lordship then expressed before me and committee, that the model for the single figure before them at that moment, was too graceful and too eloquent for the character of Drummond—a fault *pur troppo* complimentary to me. You must therefore infer, dear Bess, that I am a century or two before my time in this *benedetto paese ancora*. They are to meet next Thursday at three o'clock, to see that my productions are a little more to the taste of Ireland, (*ossia piu vulgare*), upon which occasion I trust the affair will be *finito*."

The colossal figure of Drummond was finished early in 1843. But in a letter to Lord Cloncurry the artist says, "I shall detain it in my studio until spring—particularly as it causes—even in Rome—somewhat of a sensation, alike for the spirit of the execution, and for the sentiment which it breathes."

Returning this time by London, Hogan found his old friend Scottowe "turned quite an Englishman," and Maclise he seems to conclude, has taken the same line completely; those Irish boys were wise no doubt in their generation. Of Maclise he made the remark several years, before on seeing him and his works in London, that he is "making lots of money apparently—is without doubt clever—but not in the grand style; he studies Wilkie and the Dutch school."

Immediately after his arrival in Rome, we find Hogan hard at work on several extensive commissions. This of Drummond's colossal;—Mr. Crawford's statue, on which he worked *con amore*, for he had both esteem and affection for that worthy citizen;—a splendid monument, typifying the resurrection, to the memory of Mr. Beamish, another distinguished Corkman;—a beautiful relieve to the memory of Miss Farrell, in which the principal figure reminds one of a sketch for an Etruscan Vase—so easy, graceful and flowing are the outlines of face and figure;—a basso relieve of the Nativity, for Mrs. Ball, Loretto Convent;—another relieve commissioned by J. Maher, M. P.—busts for Lord Berehaven, and Mrs. Aikenhead of the sisters of charity;—a group of the Blessed Virgin and St. Stanislaus for the convent of Villa Lante;—and lastly, Lord Cloncurry's Hibernia.

This last named, though one of Hogan's most admired ideal works, must be dismissed here without a word of description. It is well known in Ireland, having occupied a prominent position in the Exhibition of 1853. In the letter to Lord Cloncurry last quoted alluding to this great work then in progress, Hogan writes:—

"I have purchased a block of marble for your figure of Hibernia, so transparent and immaculate that one could almost see through it from one side to the other. I have been informed by many artists that a block superior to it never entered Rome. I have men roughing out Drummond's figure, the marble of which promises well, and am at present modelling the colossal statue to the memory of Mr. Crawford, after which I commence instantly our beloved Erin."

Writing to the sculptor, and alluding to his intended visit to Rome the noble Lord says, "we shall have no shuffling in my commission if I like the model;" and on his visit to the Irish artist's studio soon after, he liked the model so well, that in addition to the sum he had engaged to pay, he presented him with a free gift of fifty dollars. Later we find Lord Cloncurry directing Hogan to erect in the church of St. Isidore, a suitable monument to the memory of the esteemed and accomplished daughter of John Philpot Curran, who had lately died at Rome. Indeed, this worthy nobleman seems to have been ever on the look out for some means of doing good service to the great artist who had so immortalised him, in the beautiful group of Hibernia and Cloncurry. He sent the sculptor £20 to defray expenses of removal of group to the Exhibition building in 1853; and it is well known that he plainly signified to Hogan, his intention of having the magnificent Hibernia erected on a pedestal, and placed over his tomb, under the direction of his esteemed friend the artist, who should receive £300 for carrying his wishes into effect. Still further evidences of Lord Cloncurry's interest in the well being and honour of his distinguished countryman, shall be noticed as we proceed.

We must pass over many interesting details to come to one of Hogan's great works:—the colossal statue of O'Connell. It was a time of considerable excitement in Ireland, when the Repeal Association, in a moment of enthusiasm, determined that a full-length colossal statue of the Liberator, should be executed by Hogan, who was then in Dublin. On the 28th August, 1843, Hogan writes that he is busy making a small model for that great work, which is to be eight feet in height—the size was afterwards increased to ten feet. It was too busy a moment in the Liberator's life for an artist to expect to catch him easily for so tame an affair as a sitting; and accordingly we find Hogan delayed three weeks in Dublin, waiting in vain for an opportunity of modelling the bust. The Agitator was

always on the move. The artist, however, made the most of his opportunities. After referring to a meeting with the sub-committee, Hogan writes, 28th August, 1843:—

“I have been also a guest at a dinner given by Sir John Power, five miles out of Dublin, and was placed in a position at table, for the express purpose of seeing and studying the head and expression of our great Liberator, on which, ever and anon, I glanced, during that night, an eagle’s eye. His mouth and chin are really beautiful, but his eyes are small—the form of the face, on account of his age and morbid flesh, is by no means favourable for a sculptor. Yet, on the whole, if he can be prevailed upon to sit for me, I am confident of success, and of making a most perfect likeness; which I must in candour say has never yet been accomplished.”

And then the artist was with O’Connell at Mullaghmast. What a study! The great leader, with a nation at his beck, and a whole portentous future before him. In a little diary Hogan writes that he started for Mullaghmast on Sunday, 1st October, 1843, accompanied by certain members of the Repeal party, and arrived in Dublin about four o’clock on Monday morning—travelling by “coach and four greys.” Of what had happened in the interim there is no note whatever. But history records that “through the aid of MacManus, the Irish artist, *we* have obtained the Irish cap;” and that the form of the said “people’s cap, is that of the old Milesian crown, to which is added a wreath of shamrocks, interwoven with a white band, etc., etc.”—and that it was determined that O’Connell should be “crowned” with this cap—and that O’Connell said that he would not wear it, unless Hogan put it on—and that Hogan, being present at the meeting, was fain obliged to place it on the Liberator’s head.

The excitement which followed this famous meeting seems to have made the peace-loving artist a little nervous: especially after the Clontarf proclamation he seems to have been apprehensive that the proceeding above alluded to might be the cause of trouble to himself. There may have been some grounds for uneasiness. We know, at all events, that he was always under the impression that good service had been done him, at this time, by a friend in high quarters, who drew his pen over Hogan’s name, when it appeared in the list of proscribed—knowing very well, he said, what business brought the artist to that meeting. Hogan had a great respect and sincere admiration for O’Connell; but

popular tumults, and all political commotions, were thoroughly distasteful to him. It would have been almost a comical thing (if one could overlook the consequences), to see the shy, almost timid, artist sentenced to durance vile, on accusation of having sought to disturb the public peace. Hogan, however, got safe to Rome; and while advancing many other works, occupied himself modelling the gigantic O'Connell. As soon as the model was completed, he undertook a journey to the famous marble quarries at Saravezza: here is his own account:—

“I have been last month at the caves of Saravezza, about 250 miles from Rome, for the purpose of choosing a block of statuary marble for my *Idol*, our illustrious Liberator. I have not done yet with that locality, as I have to return shortly to examine the block, previous to its shipment for the Eternal City, because I intend to have the marble of his colossal statue immaculate, to resemble more closely his own pure and noble heart.”

And in a letter dated about a month later, we read:—

“I have been at the caves of Saravezza again, and have purchased a magnificent block of that costly marble for my *Idol's* colossal. I expect it here shortly; and shall work on it *con amore*.”

It was indeed a magnificent block, of an immense *grosezza*: and Hogan has told how, the moment he saw it on the mountain side, he was able to perceive within the rough contour of the huge mass, his intended colossal figure of the Liberator. It seemed as if concealed from all eyes but his own, within the vast block, just hewn from the bowels of the mountain. When *purgato*, that is, cleaned from the worthless portions, it was shipped for Rome. The immense mass was dragged from the Ripa Grande, on the Tiber, through the city by a long train of oxen, and representations were actually made to Hogan about the danger of injuring the streets, by dragging over them so weighty a mass. Hogan had to make an addition to his studio, to enable him to execute this statue; he took another adjoining apartment of Canova's range of studii, broke open a door between it and his old quarters, and had to make a breach in the outer wall to get in the gigantic block.

The progress of the work was watched with great interest, both by Hogan's friends and by the lovers of art, at that time sojourning in the city of arts. The correspondent of the Art Journal, taking notes, which indeed may be truly

called notes of admiration, of the Hibernia just finished, alludes to the O'Connell, "a grand figure," then in progress; testifies that the likeness is striking, and that "as a work of art, it will add much to the artist's fame." The Reviewer then goes on to say, that, "The marble, for its size, is of most extraordinary quality; its colour is beautiful, and without a speck, and so hard, that, as they chisel it, it rings like a bell."

And here is the testimony of one who, though he loved not the hero, must for all that do ample justice to this triumph of art:—

"John Hogan's colossal statue of O'Connell is in a similar state of forwardness. This tremendous figure, twelve feet in vertical height, carved from a spotless block of white Saravezza marble produces an effect (apite of every reminiscence connected with the individual represented) of unmixed and unaffected grandeur. Dignity of attitude, consciousness of power, and indomitable energy are in the extended arm and protruded leg of the orator. There is a slight shadow of sadness with a half suppressed twinkle of roguery perceptible in the countenance. It is the very image of the man. The gigantic folds of the broadly flung mantle are in the boldest style of masterly art, and there stands no pedestal in the British Islands bearing a statue in marble of such dimensions at all approaching the merit of this work, a production of unmistakeable native genius which is understood to be ordered by the managers of Conciliation Hall. If they thus expended all the funds levied from the duped multitude none would cavil at their extortion, for when all the brawlers will be silent in their graves and the follies of the present hour forgotten, this proud monument of well directed patriotism will yet gladden the eyes of millions."*

There is no denying that this magnificent work, portrait and ideal at once, was greeted with its meed of admiration, when Hogan brought it over to his native land. Nevertheless, not knowing perhaps what to do with so *great* a treasure, they stowed it away into the obscurity of the now walled up Hall of the Royal Exchange—a proceeding somewhat like enshrining the Portland vase in one's dingy back pantry. The civic magnates ining and outing during office hours, and the worried clerks of the Paving Board in their reluctant morning entrance, and hurried evening retreat, may cast a glance that way, with a feeling, more or less appreciatory of art or patriotism. But the mass of the Dublin population never have their eyes rejoiced by so fine

* "Facts and figures from Italy," by Don Jeremy Savonarola.

a sight ; neither, if they do know anything of the existence, or local habitation of that great colossal, is it otherwise than in a traditionary sort of way. If Hogan, however, had forgot his hero, and his people, and had thought only of gratifying personal, not to say artistic vanity, he could not have managed better than to select just that situation for his two beautiful works. O'Connell and Drummond stand in company with productions of the chisels of Smith and Chantrey. The Englishman's "Grattan" is thrust into a corner, and looks more dead than alive—with hollow eyes, passionless attitude, a cold unmeaning hand laid flat upon a parchment, and a heavy, rigid, folded cloak, needlessly weighing him down. The figure of "Lucas" is full of animation, but it is the animation of the dancing Dervis—the face is puckered and wrinkled with excitement, the veins start out of the hands, every button is accurate, every ruffle is "made up" in the nicest style, and the whole figure is poised, with wonderful adroitness, on three toes.* How different the two stately, noble, life-like figures in the opposite dark corners ! The grand sweep of O'Connell's arm, the nervous energetic *retenué* of Drummond's action, are testimony enough of Hogan's genius and success.

It is we think rather generally believed, that this colossal figure of O'Connell was not paid for. The impression is unfounded, in one sense. The statue was paid for according to the bond. Hogan received £1,600 for the commission. The price commonly received by English artists for a colossal figure is £2,000. As people here seem to have no idea whatever of the enormous expenses a sculptor has to undergo in bringing a work of the chisel to perfection, we shall give the items of expenditure incurred by Hogan, before that great colossus was placed, a perfect work of art, in the place of its (we should still hope, temporary) desti-

* A writer in the *The Citizen* (Dec. 1840), makes the following excellent remarks when alluding to this statue :—" Its defects belong to the style which was then in vogue everywhere, but especially in France ; its merits are the sculptor's own. It was daring enough in a mere Irishman, to think of modelling a statue at all ; but had Smith been guilty of the further insolence of forming a design upon his own pure ideas of what sculpture ought to be, he knew that he probably would have been openly reviled and scoffed down."

nation. The items are found in Hogan's book of receipts and expenditure, a book kept with a regularity and neatness worthy of a merchant's office.

	s.	d.
1845, 8th July.—The marble, including the carriage to Rome, cost	888	5
10th August to 5th April, 1846.—Labour in roughing out the block	422	23
1846, February 14th April.—Finer Work on the statue	208	11
February 10th.—Work on Plinth	25	24
	<hr/>	
	Scudi	1543 64
	which is nearly £350	
Expenses, Freight and Insurance £147 8s. 8d. in all about £500		

RECEIVED.

1843, 3rd October	...	£250	0	0	
13th Do.	...	150	0	0	
1845, Feb. 13th	...	500	0	0	
1846, 3rd Nov.	...	700	0	0	for balance due in full.
		<hr/>			
		£1600	0	0	

When we consider therefore that this figure of the Liberator cost the artist two journeys from Rome to Ireland, one for the purpose of making the model, the other for placing the figure—two journeys to the caves of Saravezza, representing about a thousand miles, without aid of railway—an increased rent of studio—and his own labour of nearly three years, it is easy to perceive that the net profit of the commission can hardly have paid for bread for his family, while the work was in progress. We in Ireland think it a great thing to give some hundreds of pounds for a statue. Let us reflect a little on what it costs to create such, out of a rude block, hewn from the mountain side. Hogan seldom calculated nicely in his own favour. He set to work in a generous fashion, sparing no expense. His good fortune in these splendid blocks of marble, which should rather we think be put down to the account of his extreme care and scrutiny, was the wonder and envy of other artists. Dannecker's Ariadne is speckled over, as some one says, like a Stilton cheese: Canova's Venus has a black line across the bosom; many of Thorwaldsen's statues are in a bluish grey marble, which gives them, we are told, a chilly, frost-bitten air.

But the material Hogan worked in is *immaculate* indeed. Finding that the enormous block for O'Connell would admit of it, the artist cut the figure fully two feet higher than was proposed. Certain friends of his, knowing well that every additional inch, cost something in the material itself, as well as in the workmanship, wished him to represent this fact. In what form the application was made for additional payment we are not aware, but it was completely unsuccessful. It was not inserted in the "bond" that the figure should be enlarged, consequently the fact of its being so was ignored in the settlement. Famine times had come too, and disposable resources were needed for other calls.

To show what a centre of attraction, to Irishmen as well as foreigners, Hogan's studio had now become, we take a fine passage from a work already quoted.—*

"The rumoured demise of Mr. O'Connell raised a slight ripple on the surface of society here, and the principal effect was to attract visitors to Hogan's studio, for a glance at the colossal model of the statue, now placed in the Dublin Exchange. The *locale* which forms this sculptor's workshop, (once tenanted by Canova) presents just now what may be termed a sort of Hibernian Walhalla. There stands the sainted effigy of the late Bishop Doyle, imploring divine mercy on a suppliant figure of ill treated Erin, the right of whose children to legalized relief he argued in vain; the voice of hollow turbulence, alas! prevailed over the honest accents of him whose crozier whilom swayed "Kildare's holy shrine."—There stands the statue of Drummond, who first directed the energies of Dublin Castle to the amelioration of the neglected peasantry. There beams the mild and kindly countenance of Archbishop Murray, ever averse to ecclesiastical strife, and the unseemly exhibitions of political churchmen. Again the allegoric figure of Erin clasps in fond embrace the bust of her aged patriot, Cloncurry. Close at hand, in a spacious monumental bas-relief, Bishop Brinkley, of Cloyne, rests one hand on the celestial globe, while with the other he turns over the pages of holy writ. From another quarter the bust of Father Mathew looks forth redolent of Christian philanthropy; on the same shelf is seen the mirthful brow of Father Prout. Tom Steele himself has a niche in this Irish temple of celebrity, and truly somehow, the cranium of the "head pacificator," seems identified with the reading of the riot act. The late venerable Mr. Beamish, of Cork, as well as his meritorious partner, William Crawford, both models to any mercantile community, have their representatives here, with several Murphys from that city, worthy men and knowledgeable in their generation * * * Just at present, the sculptor is engaged on a vast design, a sepulchral alto-relievo to the memory of

* "Facts and Figures from Italy."

the late Peter Purcell, the lamented founder of the Irish Agricultural Societies, who gave for the first time, a practical direction to the spirit of association, long applied in Ireland to mere moonshine purposes, or the selfish aggrandisement of individual ambitions. The form of the deceased worthy is accurately, yet ideally portrayed. He has fallen in the midst of his favorite pursuits. The plough is alongside the body of the departed husbandman; a shepherd's dog guarding his feet, while the genius of agriculture crowned with ears of corn, presents a palm branch from above to the votary of food-creating industry."

As the original casts of their works are always preserved by Sculptors, their studii are generally places of considerable interest. In Rome they are the common resort of all travellers, literary people, and persons of taste. Not much introduction is required, as respectable persons on presenting their cards are invariably admitted, the privilege being but rarely abused by idlers. If the artist himself be not occupied with his living models or sitters, he generally receives his visitors, and either accompanies them or, at least, gives them perfect liberty to inspect his works. Among the visitors at Hogan's studio were often to be seen a group of Irish students, from the celebrated National Franciscan College of St. Isidoro, or from the Irish Augustinian House of Santa Maria in Posterula; or of Irish Dominicans from San Clemente. Students from the Irish Secular College of St. Agatha also found an occasional moment from their harder application to drop into their countryman's studio, where the majestic figure of a Dr. Doyle, or of an O'Connell, or a beauteous representation in allegory of their beloved country, or the bust of a Mathew, or a Mac Namara, or of some countryman whose name was familiar, met their eyes. His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, when President of the Irish College, which attained so high a character and so important a position under his fostering care, sometimes endeavoured to steal a moment from his arduous duties to look in at Hogan's studio, and all the Irish prelates and clergy in their visits to the Threshold of the Apostles, the centre of Christianity and of art, honored the Irish artist's studio with more than a passing glance. Among the distinguished Irish Ecclesiastics who did not confine themselves to the friendly visit and the respectful salutation, but who endeavoured besides to encourage native art by whatever amount of patronage was within their power, we should

not omit to mention the Right Rev. Dr. Mullock, the present Bishop of Newfoundland. During his long residence in Rome, and repeated visits there, whether as an humble, bareheaded Franciscan friar, or as a mitred dignitary of the Church, this eminent man was a constant habitué of our countryman's studio. It is hard to say whether patriotism or love of art, both characteristic feelings of Dr. Mullock's mind, were uppermost in their influence on those occasions ; but when raised to the Episcopal dignity, and with funds at his disposal, he gladly entrusted several valuable commissions to our artist.

Besides those already mentioned as friends and patrons of Hogan, we might mention a few more, who, in their dealings with Hogan, were considerate and liberal—among them the O'Farrell family of Dublin, Mrs. Redington and Mrs. Purcell.

But of all people on earth the Irish are—we will not say the least national—but, at all events, the least exclusive in their patronage of art. Hence, while Englishmen flocked to the studii of Gibson, or Theed, or Wyatt, with their commissions ; and Scotchmen gathered round Macdonald ; and Americans kept the chisel of their countryman Crawford occupied ; and Frenchmen, Prussians, Spaniards, and Italians, were sure to bestow *all* their patronage on the representatives of their respective nations among the artists of Rome ; Irishmen, generally stingy and circumspect in giving any patronage to an art so expensive as sculpture, very frequently carried their commissions to the more fashionable studii of the Englishmen, or the more economical ones of the Italians. With Hogan they too often drove a hard bargain ; and too often, we fear, the hard labour with the chisel, which the scarpellino should have been performing for his couple of dollars a-week, was done by the artist himself, in those early mornings we have referred to, in Hogan's studio, more from pecuniary than from artistic necessity. It was often doubtful whether the artist or the tradesman were the better paid of the two on those works. We have already mentioned some of Hogan's public commissions in which this was more especially the case—in which, in fact, it was impossible for him to pay the common workmen that were necessary, and in which he was therefore obliged to perform the most slavish drudgery himself.

The complaint of being "infernally cut down" did not apply exclusively to Irishmen, for we come occasionally on a note which shows that certain rich English bankers and merchants were not over liberal. The many instances which have come under our notice of the way in which Hogan was defrauded by certain of his own countrymen in their "individual capacity," we forbear to mention. The chronicle would be a rather scandalous one—and, as it has been remarked, there is opportunity now afforded of making restitution.

In spite, however, of the serious drawbacks alluded to, Hogan's life in Rome was a happy one. He possessed, to use Thomas Carlyle's forcible expression, "perennial fire-proof joys, namely, employments:" he enjoyed an honourable reputation, and his family was growing up in health and peace about him. He has been heard to say that he wanted nothing in Rome. But the disastrous Revolution was at hand, and in the conflict and wrong doing of that time, the peaceful artist must be torn from his quiet and his work and suffer with the rest.

The Roman Revolution forms a gloomy epoch in the life of Hogan. Among the many evils of which it was the cause, we must ever reckon this one—that it drove Hogan to a home where he was neglected. There is no doubt that some people, perhaps through ill feeling, perhaps in mere idle talk, spread the rumour that Hogan had been implicated in the Revolution, and was, therefore, obliged to fly from Rome after the expulsion of the Triumvirate. Any one intimately acquainted with the artist's character would be apt to smile at such a statement, if its mischievous tendency had not been equal to its injustice; but it was unfortunately injurious to Hogan's interests as well as it was utterly devoid of truth. The Civic Guard was enrolled in 1847 by the Pope's own government. Hogan, a Roman citizen by his marriage, as well as by a residence of twenty-four years in the Eternal City, was enrolled with the rest. His talents had been employed in the service of religion, and of patriotism; it did not cost him much now to serve the Father of the Faithful, whose character he held in such reverential estimation. The following passages from a letter to Lord Cloncurry, explain his sentiments and his position at this time:—

156 Via de Babuino, Roma, October 12, 1847.

My Lord,

What a change has taken place in this once *e per sempre* quiet city; we are all turned soldiers. Nothing is heard or seen from morning 'till night but drums and trumpets, drilling, manœuvring and mounting guard. Their *montura* is peculiarly martial, and graceful withal, especially the helmet, which is essentially Roman. We muster a considerable force in the Eternal City, being upwards of 20,000 on the roll. I must say that Rome, during my *dimora*, was never so free from crime as it is at this period, owing perhaps to the vigilance of the civic guard. Pius the Ninth is most deservedly beloved by the people, for the many just acts of his public life, as well as for the countless judicious regulations enforced by him since the memorable day which placed the Pontifical Tiara on his brow.

In Hogan's account-book we find entered, December, 1847, the charges for "*Montura per la Guardia civile.*"

A year later we find a different and a most disastrous prospect. Hogan, though not unwilling to serve in the Civic Guard, had a very decided objection to take rank in the *Guardia Nazionale*. That was a very different affair, and was organised for a far other purpose. When, in the course of events it became likely that he was in danger of being enrolled, he left Rome with his wife, and retired to Carrara, there to wait until such a time as he might safely return to his busy artist life. Unfortunately he was obliged to leave his retreat too soon. It was hard to be patient when his studio was full of workmen, his daily bread depending upon the speedy completion of his numerous commissions, and his children hostages in the terror-stricken city. He had no sooner returned to Rome than he was seized and enrolled in the National Guard. In a later letter to Lord Cloncurry we find the following passage, in which allusion is likewise made to the direful condition of Ireland at that time:—

Rome, October 4th, 1848.

My Lord,

I feel that it would be quite unnecessary to mention to your Lordship anything relating to the state of Rome or Italy in general, as you probably will not only hear of the past, but *even forthcoming events* from the Rev. Dr. Ennis. One thing I must say, that throughout this land, although a prey to war, anarchy, and bloodshed, not a single human being has been known to die of want; bread having been carefully supplied by the different States to those in need of it. Alas! how different is the lot of Italy when placed in juxta position with our own distracted and impoverished country where millions now expire annually, for want of food and *mancanza* of labour; may God, in his mercy, send us better days, and better prospects.

Every man found within the walls of the city during the siege was of course compelled to bear arms in some shape or other; but while the fighting men were sent to the walls and the out-posts, the revolutionary government contented itself with thrusting muskets into the hands of unwarlike artists, and other professional men, and making them do police duty in the streets. Such was Hogan's fate in common with the rest of his fellow residents within the walls of Rome; and the half doleful, half comic looks which he must have exchanged with his friends Tenerani, or Fabris, and the rest of them—his fellow members of St. Luke's and the Pantheon—as they met on patrol in the Corso, must have afforded a kind of grim amusement. But who would call this dire necessity to which he was subjected, an implication in the revolution?

Among the scenes of the period which he used to describe was one in which he assisted to protect the Pope from the pressure of the multitude in one of those ebullitions of popular enthusiasm of which the benignant Pius IX. was the object previous to the outbreak of the revolution. The National Guards among whom Hogan was obliged to act, formed a line, and holding their muskets with fixed bayonets high against the wall near which they stood, they thus constructed a gallery through which the Sovereign Pontiff was obliged to pass in order to escape from the crowd of his too enthusiastic and too fickle subjects.

Our countryman used also tell how during the siege a brother artist fled to him in the utmost dismay, telling him that a cannon ball had just perforated the wall of his apartment within a few inches of the bed in which he was lying. It is easy to conceive how little sense of security could have been felt in Rome under such circumstances. The guns thundered away almost incessantly, and it was difficult to obtain a few hours rest even during the night. The streets were entirely deserted except when parties of armed men marched by, or mobs of sanguinary Trasteverini passed along with frantic shouts and gestures.

To one of Hogan's character such scenes were simply appalling, quite unredeemed by any illusion. The inconvenience caused to himself was very serious. His men used to be called out of his studio, at first once in two or three weeks, but much oftener when the terror and confusion increased; and on these occasions he was obliged to

support them while on duty. He himself seems to have escaped on the whole very well, and not to have been very often required to mount guard in the streets, though the fear of being called out was always unpleasantly before him.

In spite of all, even the occasional withdrawal of his men, the work in his studio seems to have been scarcely interrupted for a day during this fearful time. From December 17th, 1847, to August 25th, 1849, he was busily and anxiously engaged on the following works:—Monuments to Rev. Justin Foley Mac Namara—Miss Curran—P. Purcell; a Bas relief of the Transfiguration; and two Angels for Mrs. Ball. Of the work done on all of these there is an entry in his account book almost every day between the dates quoted above. But it was impossible to work in peace in the midst of so thunder-charged an atmosphere, and Hogan being entirely without sympathy with the excitement and desperation of the time, found no relief on any side.

Our countryman was no politician. He loved his own country well, and his sentiments were those of a free and generous heart; but he knew nothing, and cared nothing about political systems. He was no republican. The plots, and schemes, and blood-sheddings of foreign revolutions were abhorrent to his really innocent mind. He had all the enthusiasm of genius, but his enthusiasm was confined to his art. Outside that he was timorous in the extreme. Beyond his art he scarcely ventured to form an opinion. Often while repudiating the idea that he was implicated in the Mazzini revolution has he exclaimed to friends;—"My God! I am a poor artist; I am no politician, and I never was!" But although none of the sin and blood of the revolution of 1848 has stained the soul of Hogan, that ill-omened event was a source of much misfortune to him and to his family. When that diabolical conspiracy against God and man broke out in Rome, the doom of the city seemed to have been sealed for ever. Art as well as religion was driven from its shrine. With the Papal government fled the patrons of art, and Vandalism and Atheism were the order of the day. The thunders of the French artillery, and the tumbling of houses

by cannon balls in the centre of the city, hardly made things better, at least to the mind of an artist.

For a long time after the siege the state of Rome was melancholy in the extreme. It was doubtful when the Pope could return; whether another outbreak would not take place; or whether the French republicans who had conquered could be relied on in the cause of order. Some thought they never would see a sculptor's studio again flourish in Rome. In all periods of public gloom we see people thus yielding to despondency, and Hogan was only one of many who felt so.

It is little wonder if in the midst of this infernal fracas and hopeless scene of strife and destruction, our Irish artist should turn his longing thoughts towards his native land—towards the country which ought to be his home. This was Hogan's misfortune. It was, however, no new thought with him. He had often expressed his determination to have his children educated in Ireland. They must not be foreign, not even Roman in character and manner, they must be thoroughly Irish, as their father was. Seven years earlier he had spoken of his resolution to settle ultimately in Dublin. Now many things made it convenient to make the contemplated change. But it was an evil day when he left a country to whose climate and manners he had long been naturalized; in which it is easier than elsewhere to support a family upon limited means; and where, as in questions of art the mind naturally turns to Rome, patronage would have more surely found him. In very truth it was an evil day when Hogan stowed away among the casts of his great works such articles of property as he did not care to remove from Rome, and giving the key of his studio to his good friend Giovanni Benzoni, turned his back on the beloved second home, and led his wife and young Italian children to that far off, cold, and cruel motherland.

Hogan came amongst us in the character of a great artist; and moreover with the distinction of being, as we said before, the great Irish artist. Among many who receive honour even now in other lands, and whose talents place them in the highest class of artists, are Irish names not a few; but it is curious that not one of them can be

designated an Irish artist. Why? For the very good reason we think, which made a French writer decline to number Roubiliac among French sculptors,—because he worked for another country, and had performed nothing for the decoration of his native land. They have all fattened on the bread of strangers, until they have fairly become strangers themselves. Ireland may boast of them in her chronicles because she gave them birth, not because they remembered or honored her. In their prosperity they have worshipped strange gods. We pass the painters—let us glance at the sculptors. Young Irish Foley is a splendid genius; there is grace, and a most natural beauty in his groups and single figures: he is native born in quickness and variety of talent. But nothing more congenial to the soil is to be found in his studio, than groups of Ino and Bacchus, bathers and nymphs, and fine manly statues of English Hampden and Hardinge. Mac Dowell, our Belfast man, can handle a chisel with the best; but he dips into Roman history for a theme, or haunts the outskirts of Olympus for studies of the godlike. The Kirk brothers too, are more at home with Homer and Shakspeare, than with the lights and shadows of Irish feeling and of Irish history. But in Hogan's studio we find no Venus, not a single Psyche, though a studio must look, one should say, somewhat lonesome without these divinities. He was as severely classic as any, but the antique grace we find in his Eve and Erin, and the very essence of classic tragedy in his Pieta and crouching Hibernia. His magnificent statues are the memorials of the greatness, the worth, and the glory of Ireland; and his studio, as we have seen, is her *Rheumshalle* or hall of Heroes. Even now, though the great artist himself be gone, the first object which catches the eye as we enter his studio, is the finished cast of Hibernia and Brian Borrumha,*—the presiding deity is still the same.

* It would be a mistake to suppose that this noble group is a repetition of the Cloncurry Hibernia, or that the only change consists in the removal of the bust or *hermes* of Lord Cloncurry and the substitution of the figure representing Brian Borrumha in his boyhood. In fact little more than the idea of the large allegorical figure is retained, every detail in the *motivo* of the drapery and in the accessories, besides most important points of the attitude being altered, and, as we should say, most materially improved. The design of this new

This was Hogan's great characteristic that he went abroad, and lived abroad, and came home an Irishman. And of how few can this be said whether distinguished in arts, or arms, or literature! England is full of Irish talent in all these departments. Her press and periodic literature are rich with the fruits of the quick intellect and ready wit of Irishmen. Those who know London life well, know where to find the Irish element in that huge Babel. Year after year hundreds of quick witted sons of Erin are swallowed up in that huge wild vortex, corrupted, and destroyed. Where talent is required the clever children of Ireland are ever at hand, but unfortunately, where conduct and character are indispensable, they are not so surely to be found. As a rule there seems no medium for the expatriated Irishman. If he preserve his love of country, all well, but if he let that be taken from him, he becomes at the best, more English, or more French, or more American than the natives of these countries; or, which is a more frequent consummation, in becoming denationalised he becomes demoralized, and the very talent which he owed to his birth-right as an Irishman, he uses as the instrument of his hireling occupation—a sharp cutting weapon to wound the character and the interests of his country and his people. All honour to those who have fought the good fight, and gone through the trial, and come out unharmed!

Hogan was hero enough to go through any ordeal. But then to be sure Hogan's foreign home was in Rome: and it is the Irishman's privilege, more perhaps than that of the native of any other country, that he need never feel in

group is as much a creation of the artist's imagination as the material work is that of his hands. History affords us no evidence that the early aspirations of Brian had any intimate connection with his crowning triumph over the enemies of his country; but Hogan imagined, and therefore insisted, that the hero of Clontarf must have been a patriot from his infancy, and hence the early resolution to defend his country against the invader which the symbolism of sculpture has found so beautiful a mode of expressing as we see done in this fine work of the Irish sculptor. The group was finished rather hastily for sending to the great Paris Exposition of 1855, but the place assigned to it in that exhibition was not the most favourable, as it stood between two pillars, which, although they contributed to its dignity, prevented some of the best points of view, and a close inspection of the details.

Rome the shame of banishment, the chill of exile. Going to Rome is to the Catholic like drawing nearer to the bosom of his mother. Rome is the true centre of Christianity, and every member of the Church rejoices in her greatness, sorrows in her passing trouble, and glories all the more in his own nationality that it is a part of her larger sovereignty. An Irishman meets hundreds of his compatriots in Rome. The life blood of his country flows to that beating heart. Ireland deserves a place of honour, there at least, in right of her sufferings, her sorrows, and her martyr-like fidelity.

With such claims on his country one would fancy that Hogan should have been met with a very cordial greeting, and should have been honoured in no mean measure. The coldness with which he was received in Ireland will by and by seem strangely difficult to account for. When he had come as a casual visitor, he was fêted, as we have seen, and made much of in their coarse fashion. Now he came to take up his abode in Ireland, not to be *lionised* but to be employed. There was a difference, however, between *feeding* a genius and commissioning a sculptor. To be sure if a man would only make himself agreeable, and give and take according to the custom of society one might now and then do something for him! Some little jobs might turn up from time to time; and if he only knew how to improve opportunities, and had tact enough to push himself on judiciously, he might not be so badly off in the end! But Hogan had no talent at all for getting on, in this sense. As he had said himself long before, he was "determined to get on by talent in spite of the Devil." Every kind of party work was distasteful to him: jobbery simply disgusting. He was a proud man too—there is no denying that. He knew that he possessed genius, as well as the prophet knew that his lips were touched with fire. His works proved that, he thought, sufficiently; he cared for no other mode of assertion. He was too disdainful, we grant—for his own interest. Mediocrity with pretension revolted him. He would associate himself with no clique. He wanted nothing but justice—common, even-handed justice: neither party favours, nor paltry honours. Those whom his high spirit stung were amply revenged. When Hogan would sometimes in a moment of confidence complain of the injury done him by the manœuvres of certain parties who should

have been friendly, we have known a friend endeavour to turn away the bitter thought, by playfully reminding him that he may have been the first to give offence, by the grand way he would draw himself to his full height when some professional honour was offered him, and with all the pride of a member of the Pantheon decline the proffered distinction. Doubtless many would have liked Hogan best at a comfortable distance: sham art, or sham anything, has a curious glare beside the true metal. And many, we are quite convinced, though they were not among Hogan's rivals, would have valued him more if he had made his home elsewhere, and they had had to send "abroad" for their statues. We know one laughable instance, in which serious remonstrances were made to the artist, because, having got an order to make plaster casts of two original figures, he thought well to execute the commission during a temporary stay in Ireland. His enlightened patron had no idea that having got a commission to work in Rome, he should take the liberty to do it in Ireland: and we more than suspect that the work, in consequence, was never fully paid for.

Perhaps the old evil had most to do with the disasters of Hogan's latter years. "Hogan," says the artist's true friend, Lady Morgan,* "was a Catholic, but the Catholic

* When the Athenæum, announcing the death of Hogan, dismissed him with a cold paragraph, Lady Morgan, mindful of the artist's claims, and of the honour of their common country, wrote the following letter, which appeared in the Athenæum, April 10, 1858. We omit the allusion to his early struggles at home, and to his later distinction in Rome, as well as mention of his figure of the Dead Christ:—

11, William-Street, Belgravia, April 8.

* * * * *

"Other works of his found their way to public notice. One was presented to the writer of this note, a shepherd sleeping by his dog, which obtained the suffrages of all who were highest in the Irish metropolis—but his reputation fell into the sere and yellow leaf of utter neglect, from the want of patronage—the patronage of party, which he had no means, or did not seek to obtain. He worked on hopelessly and helplessly in that country, of all others in Europe, the one where native talent is least noticed and the least rewarded—where an Irish Lawrence would not have thriven, and an Irish Sheil could not remain. He worked, drooped, sickened, and died within the last few

gentry, high born, are poor patrons, and the Protestant supremacy has no sympathy with papist genius." It was wonderful how cool people grew about figures and monuments when they found the artist not a mere conventional, but a thorough Roman Catholic. On one such occasion, a gentleman who was actually in treaty about the execution of some work, being struck by an expression the artist used, said to him "why, is it possible you are a Catholic?" The answer was such as one would expect from Hogan—decided and to the point, with a gesture and an air of a man proud of the confession. But the treaty was at an end, and in some miraculous way the idea of the sculpture went quite out of the gentleman's head on the moment. And then the Church from which Hogan had a right to expect patronage was at the time of his return in no condition to commission great works. Famine had depopulated and impoverished the land, and the clergy, who have no unfailing tithes to count on, no comfortable perspective of quarter day to cheer them on to works of enterprise, found themselves in this state of things quite unable to think of, still less commission, works of art.

To crown all, many thought that because Hogan came fresh from Rome he must have been a red republican; and fancying our peaceful countryman, with the cap of Liberty on his head, and the sword of License in his hand, they doubtless thought it safest to have nothing to do with the bug-bear they had created for their own dismay. For a long time after his return Hogan was quite ignorant of the wretched slander alluded to, and could in no way account for the slight with which he was treated by former friends, whom nothing but a too credulous belief in that most mischievous lie, would have ever induced to turn away in coldness from the true-hearted artist. It is folly to say that no one need be uneasy about lies—that truth always conquers, and so on. Truth conquers too often with miserable slowness. It is terribly difficult to crush a lie. Those who

weeks, leaving behind him a still young Italian wife, and eleven children unprovided for.

Hogan was a Catholic, but the Catholic gentry high born are poor patrons, and the Protestant supremacy has no sympathy with Papist genius. Still pity may give ere patronage begins, and both pity and love of Art are called on for one of Ireland's most eminent and most neglected children."

SYDNEY MORGAN.

knew Hogan well, know how wronged he was, and how deeply he felt the baseness of these imputations. It is very like Hogan—the proud, shy, sensitive nature, that he suffered these slanders in silence, at least as far as the public was concerned. In the seclusion of his home he poured out his heart freely, but he made no sigh before the world. At a time that it was propagated by his enemies, and fully credited by many, that he could not return to Italy, he actually went to Rome, about the affairs of his profession, and at a time too when the state of things was not fully re-established in that much afflicted city. In a letter, written at this time, and which never was seen by other eyes than those of his beloved wife, until after his death it became necessary to free his memory from evil insinuations, there is a most affecting and most characteristic allusion to the injury which had been done to his reputation by his cowardly enemies :—

Roma, 26 Maggio, 1857.

“ Mia Cara Cornelia,

It is a great satisfaction to be able to prove that the calumny spread by my enemies in Ireland, that I could not set foot within the States of the Church, is false and envious. It is an infamous slander, put into the heads of a certain class in Ireland, who, I believe, would be very well pleased if I were put in prison. * * * I assure you, Cornelia, that I have been received, even by the police, with the greatest respect, and even on getting my passport, my trunk was not searched in Rome. * * * Little I care for the atrocious remarks of my enemies. Integrity, in the end, always conquers. Blessed is he who in this world is unjustly accused and neglected !”

The great mass of the people knew neither Hogan nor his works. How could they ? If they had, rude though they be, the nation's artist would not have been cheated of his great reward—a people's love and gratitude. Doubtless many a poor forgotten wretch whose home is in the garrets of the Meath Liberties, and who can find in the whole world no spot of temporary refuge from noise, and suffering, and vice, but in the sanctuary of the ever open Church, knows very well those figures over the high altar of Francis-street. But he does not know them as a *Pieta*, as a “work of art ;” he only knows that there is some virtue about them which attracts his wandering eyes ; and that from the contemplation of so divine a representation he goes forth again into the struggling, miserable, hard world, with

some consolation and more strength. Doubtless it sometimes happens that a lonely stitcher from the fetid lanes round Clarendon-street, says her prayers all the more fervently because her eyes are fixed, not on the blank wall or the stuccoed ceiling, but on the figure of the Dead Saviour which rests within the sanctuary; and she too may go forth into the infected streets shielded from some nameless evil. Little they know how the grand thought, the efficacious comfort came—from Heaven—to the artist's soul—through the work of his hands—even to their hearts. Mount O'Connell as he should be, twenty feet high in our widest thoroughfare, and see if the people would understand that. Why, you could scarcely keep them from giving three cheers for the Liberator, and perhaps one cheer more for the wonderful man who cut such an august presence out of stone. None of the fine arts can speak to the people like sculpture; there is something solid and life-like about a statue, at the same time that there is a death-like solemnity and stillness; the sense of reality, and a feeling of awe combine in a way that affects the most ignorant as well as the most cultivated. But what can the people know or feel when there is nothing, we shall not say taught, but shown them?

It will always seem very strange that Hogan should have been passed over on so many occasions since he came to Ireland. The cases are too well known to be dwelt upon; suffice it to say that an order for a figure of the B. Virgin, for one of Ireland's fine new Cathedrals, was given quite gratuitously to Giovanni Benzoni, the Roman sculptor, though Hogan was at hand here with his genius, and his marble, and his tools. Our countryman often said that "poor old Benzoni," would never have taken the commission if he knew there had been a treaty with him about it. For another Church an ungainly figure of the Redeemer by some French sculptor was purchased, and a companion figure obtained which we fear causes more distraction than edification. Dr. Murray's committee, that is to say, the committee entrusted with the charge of erecting a monument to the memory of that revered prelate, preferred a copy of a well-known type to any one of the original models in Hogan's studio. And the Moore Testimonial!—

Hogan not liking the way things of this sort were managed in Ireland, when there was a question of a monument to Moore, did not think of sending in a model for competition. A friend, however, who could not believe that in an affair of so much trust and responsibility, there could be any jobbing, or tinkering, or avowed disregard of public honour, urged Hogan to make a model. "Oh!" said he, with that quick gesture peculiar to him, and which made a wave of the hand more significant than many words, "what use?—They know *me*, they know what I can do. If another man has interest in C—— House he will get the commission!" Lord Cloncurry, too, urged the artist to put in his claim. Here is a short note on the subject, which tells a great deal:—

LORD CLONCURREY TO JOHN HOGAN, ESQ.

" *Muretimo, 14th March.*

"DEAR MR. HOGAN.—Interest is making to erect some kind of Testimonial to Moore—perhaps a statue.

"His namesake has great influence with Sir Philip Crampton and others, and for a bust he is first-rate. I, however, think that no person but you could do justice to a statue for the Poet of Ireland; therefore stir yourself. I will give £100 if you get the job—only £50 for any one else.

"Yours—though I so seldom see or hear of you—

"CLONCURREY."

The model was sent in, and rejected. It was resolved in a Committee consisting of Irish noblemen, gentlemen, and artists, that Mr Christopher Moore should get the commission. Now we think that in Mr. Moore's peculiar department none excel him. Hogan himself did not perhaps equal him. But then to put a sculptor of portrait busts to design and execute a grand monumental figure, would be like desiring Hogan himself to build up a Minster. It was absurd. They call that heap of metal in College-street a monument to Moore: we think it a monument to Hogan. Who ever passes it now, without a tacit act of homage to the real genius who would have placed upon that pedestal a poet in bronze:—the upturned gaze, and rapt expression bespeaking the singer of a nation's joys and sorrows: outline and attitude instinct with inspiration. In Hogan's Dublin studio are two models for a Moore Testimonial. In one the poet

holds a lyre, and seems to be pouring forth verse and music into the ears and hearts of a people. In the other he rests against a bank, and the listening, heaven-directed look makes it felt that the torrent of song is flooding his own soul. Poor Hogan! This was hard to bear. But he is avenged. The commonest mechanic wags his head as he passes that ungainly figure: and foreign nations laugh at this example of our patriotism, our judgment, and our art.

Such instances of stupid ignorance or wilful malevolence told with sad effect on the sensitive, anxious temperament of the artist. The disappointment caused by the decision of the Moore Testimonial (for, in spite of all, he did entertain hopes that one of his own beautiful models would have been selected) was something terrible. It looked so like a set plan to ruin him. His family were growing rapidly about him; all depended upon the work of his right hand; and the circle was narrowing. Was he to be left without work? His friends well remember the attack which he got about this time, and which is alluded to in William Carleton's terrible letter. The hemorrhage from the nose was something fearful; but it may have been the means of saving him at that moment.

In the evil day, when those about him were cold and forgetful, his faithful friend of better times, Dr. Mullock, now the Right Rev. Bishop of Newfoundland, was not unmindful of his gifted countryman. He entrusted to him the execution of two mural monuments, and gave him a commission for a figure of the Redeemer after death for the Cathedral of St. John's—commissions to the amount in all of £1150. Kilkenny gave Hogan a commission to execute a bust of Banim. In the Infirmary of Maryborough, he erected a monumental bust and tablet to the memory of the Hon. James Grattan. Cork, which seems to take an honorable pride in encouraging and commissioning native genius, employed no foreign or second-rate artist, when the living were to be honored or the dead commemorated; and Hogan was employed, since his return to Ireland, on several busts for natives of that city; and on a monument to the memory of the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy.—“the good Bishop,” whose name we found so often in his letters, and who deserved well of the

artist for the early and kindly encouragement he gave the young genius, and for the disinterested and ever constant kindness he showed to the members of Hogan's old home—the father and sisters—who without that faithful guardianship would have been forsaken indeed. And when there was question of a grand monument to O'Connell, for the city of Limerick, there was no hesitation about the man who was worthy to be entrusted with so national a memorial. There is no doubt that Hogan received great annoyance, while in treaty with the Committee about this statue. We are inclined, however, to exonerate from blame both the citizens of Limerick and the Committee, as a body, and to conclude that the letter or paragraph intimating that a statue of the Liberator could be got (just as one would speak of the second-hand wares of Mary's-lane,) for the much more reasonable sum of £600, was the spontaneous production of some individual, who thought, by a clever "dodge," to get a bargain of a priceless production of genius. The effect, however, was terrible on Hogan. The shock induced a fit of incipient paralysis, which it required all the skill of his devoted friend, Dr. Wilde, and the physicians whom he brought about him, to bring him through. For some months the artist's right hand was powerless, and his appearance became so changed, his whole frame so shaken, that old friends could scarcely recognise him. The Davis testimonial, and three busts were, we believe, the only works that Dublin could afford to give Ireland's greatest artist, during the nine years he had his home and his studio in the capital.

For all the works above enumerated Hogan was sufficiently and promptly paid. But how small was the profit, scattered over so many years! He might have borne injustice, neglect, and poverty, with a bold front if he had been alone. But his Roman wife, who, in a moment of mistaken trust, he had severed from her country and kindred, and his children, whom he worshipped, were all depending on him. A man so little vain we never knew, but he was proud even to excess; he would support his loved ones; he would not leave them to friends, or to charity, or to the nation—he would die rather. Some true and influential personal friends, who saw how hard the struggle was, thought it would be well worthy the government to grant a pension,

which would enable the sinking artist to keep his family in comfort, and educate his bright sons and lovely Italian daughters as became the children of such a father. When the matter was suggested to Hogan he would not hear of it. "I want nothing," he said, "but work." To us it has seemed a miracle that Hogan kept his family as he did. To think of a man so straitened supporting his household in comfort, meeting every engagement with punctuality and honour, and dying absolutely without debt. He found means, too, to be munificent, as only the prudent can be, and a glance into his books shows that he was ever ready to lend and to give. We know one case in which he directed parties who were to receive payment for one of his monumental works, to keep apart £20 for the poor of Cork.* But with what rigidity of self-denial all this was accomplished, who shall tell? Soon after his arrival in Dublin, he built his fine studio in Wentworth-place, but until a short time before his death it was not boarded. When urged to do so, on account of the injury he was likely to suffer from standing all day on the clay floor, he used to say, "I cannot do it; I cannot bear to take the money from my children."

His wife and children were the whole world to him; the more his heart was wrung with anxiety and bitter care, the closer he drew them about him. "If I could only live to see my children settled in some way," he used to say to a very

* The following letter, written on the occasion, is too characteristic of Hogan's kindness of heart to be omitted:—

Roma, January 29, 1847.

My dear Sir,

Hearing such dreadful and awful accounts of the misery, and daily deaths by starvation of hundreds of my poor but honest fellow-countrymen, in the County of Cork, I hasten without further prelude to address these few lines to you, and beg that you will comply without loss of time, in this my most earnest and solemn request, which is—that you hand over, for my account, £20 to the Mayor, or apply it to the funds collecting for the relief of those poor famishing people, who are most in want, either in Skibbereen or Bantry, and you will oblige me everlastingly. The sum is small, and will be but as a drop of water in the ocean, in comparison to the thousands who are in need. However, to be conscious of saving only one poor soul from suffering the horrible death of starvation, will be a source of the greatest consolation to your sincere friend and well wisher,

JOHN HOGAN.

John J. Lacy, Esq., Cork.

dear friend, to whom his hopes and his sorrows were ever freely poured out, "If they were safe, for my own part I would be delighted to go to my God." To his children, even if he had left them thousands, he would be an infinite loss; he kept them so carefully, watched over them with such vigilance. They are children in years, but far more so in guileless bearing. They were kept apart from the world, as from all evil, by the jealous care of their father. He himself could not bear to be away from them. When he accepted an invitation, he was never at rest until he got back again. It was a very odd time indeed that he was to be met with in society. Occasionally he attended a soiree of the Provost of Trinity College, or was a guest of Dr. Wilde; but the latter, who all through Hogan's latter years showed him such constant and disinterested kindness, as we have seldom known, and Mrs. Wilde, who seems to love everything in the shape of talent, were trusted and valued friends of the artist. Lord Cloncurry, calling on Hogan one day, found him at dinner, seated, according to his custom, at the head of the table, with one of the younger children at each hand, and the rest ranged in order along the sides. The noble Cloncurry lifted up his hands in amazement, and said it was the finest sight he ever saw; and next day, how like him! he sent under some pretence £20 to Mrs. Hogan, rightly judging that the mother of such a race could be at no loss to know what to do with a gift of the kind. In the evening it was the artist's custom to sit with his family; and while the children were engaged with their studies, he would read some amusing book; now and then as some passage struck him, translating it into the sweet native Italian for his wife. At nine o'clock the whole simple household was dispersed for the night; unless when some special occasion, as one of the great festivals of the church, occurring, he would have more particular family devotions. During the school holidays he always occupied himself in his studio, in teaching his two eldest boys to draw from the round; and we may add that his pupils showed an aptness for their task not unworthy of an artist's sons.

After all we must not pity Hogan. He had joys which a prince might envy; and in his trials he knew where to turn for consolation. Many a sleepless, restless night the care-worn artist passed in his quiet little room. It was his

habit when he could not sleep to light a lamp and read a chapter of his favourite book *De Imitatione Christi*. Many a poor way-farer "in a desert place where there is no way and no water," has sought and found in that divine book more comfort and peace than all fortune's gifts could give him. He would often get up, and wander about the hushed house. On one occasion it was discovered by mere chance that he had left his room and had gone down in the middle of the night to his studio, where he was found kneeling in prayer before his own figure of the dead Saviour. What a picture ! And what a vindication of true art ! From the unseen world those inspirations had visited his soul, which in the vigour of his genius he had wrought out in the hard marble. He had been faithful to his ideal, making it take form—we had almost said take life ; and so, the spell still unbroken, in the day of his trial, his soul was once more led heavenward, even by the work of his own hands. It was this same work, which more than twenty years before, our readers may remember he told his father was greatly admired by the artists in Rome, and though his own work had sometimes affected himself.

But the artist was to have a splendid dream before he went. The installation of the O'Connell statue in Limerick was a bright spot in his latter years. He was there himself, and was received in a manner worthy of him. He had spoken to the people, and they had understood him. The poor country folk coming in on market days lifted up their hands in admiration, or sunk on their knees before the statue of the Liberator, and said, "he is not dead ! he is not dead !" The people of Limerick found what it was to make an appeal, and teach a lesson in that way. And they were determined to have a statue of Sarsfield, the hero of the Treaty :—and Hogan should make it. And there were intimations that other cities and towns were astir, and that Tipperary, Ennis, Kilkenny should also have their statues ; and there was no longer a doubt who should be their artist. The metropolis should at last inaugurate a statue of Oliver Goldsmith, and it was believed that no clique would, in this instance, be able to rob the writer or the artist of due honor. Cork sent an order to have models prepared in Hogan's studio for a statue of Father Mathew. Lord Carlisle took care that one of the works in bas relief

for the Wellington Testimonial should be entrusted to Hogan ; the subject—the Duke's concession to civil and religious liberty. And—a great sign of the times—the Friars preachers are building a beautiful church in Lower Dominick-street, not for a fashionable congregation, or for the wealth and rank of Dublin, but for the poor, devout, toil-hardened population of Britain-street, and Liffey-street, and the nameless lanes and alleys that intersect those thoroughfares. And this church is to be no barn-like square building, with decorations of *ormolu* and tinsel ; no tame, chilly, mock Grecian structure ; but from the long line of pure stone pillars, arches spring aloft ; and windows, and vaulted roof, are rich with intertwining traceries. An Irish architect has planned this worthy temple—and one* whose munificence rivals the splendour of the Medicean era, has commissioned Hogan to execute a *Pieta* for the high altar of St. Saviour's !

The era which he had so longed for seemed at last to have dawned—what he foresaw nearly thirty years ago as the certain result of Emancipation was about to be accomplished, and the arts should now be “pushed on gloriously in Ireland.” He had often counted over with his friends the different cities, towns, churches and convents of Ireland which possessed works of his. He took a secret pleasure in this ; presently the bead roll should be increased, and his country the richer of his works. Now indeed there is something like hope. “If I live but two or three years,” said Hogan, “with heaven's blessing I shall leave my family independent.” The very thought of Sarsfield was a joy to him. He had designed in sculpture some type of every other character of worth and value which Ireland had produced in these latter years. The patriot, the prelate, the apostle, the poet ; the man of literature, the princely trader. Now he was to have the soldier with his chivalrous bearing, his action of command, and that magnificent Jacobite uniform ! It was easy to know what was to be done. He would go to Rome where his studio was still undisturbed, and filled with the casts of his great works ; and in the old ground where he had lived and toiled so many years, and near his dear good friend

* Mr. Higgs of Abbey-street.

Benzoni, and with his bright-eyed boy—his sculptor son*—he would work once more on noble themes, with noble aims, and a heart full of thankfulness and hope. He had a vision of the promised land—No more.

He may be said to have been dying during the last year. He was quite broken down; and the grandest light that ever shone on human eyes could not scare away the death shadow. In the latter end of March he lay down to die. The Sunday before his death he left his bed and stole down to his studio. He looked round on his unfinished works, and pausing before the *Pieta* for St. Saviour's, he said to his son, and to Mr. Cahill his assistant, "finish it well, boys, I shall never handle the chisel more!" He was done with art; and yet not quite. Its power, in its most spiritual and subtile influence, was still over him. When he lay down, he directed search to be made for an engraving which he had stowed away somewhere, and which they did not know he possessed, and he had it pinned to the wall, for it was not framed, in such a way that he could see it from the position in which he lay. The subject was Thorwaldsen's figure of the Redeemer. He said that figure alone would have immortalized a sculptor, and he was never tired looking at it—the gently outstretched arms and whole attitude so well expressed the idea—*Venite ad me omnes*. Without a murmur, without one appeal for life, he felt the last hours approaching. He had received the sacraments of the Church. There was nothing more

* How early Hogan dreamt that this son should inherit his genius with his name, is touchingly shown in a letter to one of the artist's sisters dated Rome Nov. 22, 1842. The citizens of Cork even so far back thought they ought to have some portrait or memorial of the great sculptor. Hogan was the least vain of men, and there is neither in painting nor in sculpture a representation of his noble head. A very fine photograph by Glukman is the only portrait to be found. However, when the wishes of his Cork friends were made known to him, he returned the following characteristic answer:—"It (the request) is certainly very complimentary, and would be highly gratifying to any one desirous of ambition. I hereby acknowledge my gratitude to him (Sir Thomas Deane) and my other friends who have been desirous of such an object. But at present I cannot spare time for such silly trifles. I must reserve that commission for my darling son and Roman boy Giovanni, when he is competent to undertake such a work, and when I am persuaded through the merits of my productions that I am worthy of sitting for my portrait."

to be done on earth. From time to time he spoke with the faithful friends who were around his bed of times long gone by, of those especially who were gone before him to Life Eternal. He talked of his father, of his saintly mother, of the only brother who died early, and of the sister who had given herself to God. He spoke of them as if they were not far from him. And then he would pray for his children, and taking his wife's hand assure her that he would "watch over her—most certainly watch over her." He knew not how to realise that anything could deprive her of that guardianship. For some hours he seemed insensible, except that when they read the prayers for the dying, he audibly made the responses; and for a long time the only words he uttered were—"beautiful! how beautiful!" Some recollection, or some blessed anticipation kept away the death chill; and without one struggle, one uneasy movement, he breathed his last—and the soul of the artist was with God.

Thus on the 27th March, 1858, Ireland lost one of the best and greatest of her sons. Three days after, the remains of Hogan were carried to Glasnevin Cemetery in a hearse open at the sides, so that as the procession passed through the city it was seen that on the coffin lay the hat and sword, scabbard and sword belt, worn by members of the *Virtuosi* of the *Pantheon*—the insignia of the honours which our countryman had won and worn with pride in the city of arts. His four sons followed, and a long train of men distinguished in every calling, members of the bar and the press, and the medical profession; literary men and artists—and representatives of the secular clergy, the Friars Preachers, and the Jesuit Fathers. For, as the *Europe Artiste* says:—"Genius has its triumph even in the vain, shallow city of Dublin, and the funeral car of Hogan, the great sculptor, who died poor as he had lived, was yet followed to the grave by a file of private carriages long enough to cover two of the Boulevards of Paris." The students of Trinity College, two hundred in number it is said, to their great honour be it remembered, without any orders from the superiors of the University, when the procession approached the college gates, issued two by two from the inner entrance, and wearing academic cap and gown, and headed by Professor Shaw, F. T. C. D., and

Professor Carmichael, F. T. C. D. took up their position in front of the procession, lifting their caps as they passed the hearse in respectful reverence for the dead, and headed the mournful cortege in its passage through the city. The Committee of the Glasnevin Cemetery had offered a plot of ground gratuitously in any part of the Cemetery which should be chosen for the grave of Hogan; and within the "O'Connell circle," and near the resting place of the Liberator, all that is mortal of the great sculptor awaits the Resurrection.

Where it will be asked were the Lord Mayor, and the Corporation? Where the organised and palpable body of the Royal Dublin Society? Where the Hibernian Academy. And the Royal Irish Academy? It is not here as in other countries where such associations think it one of their common duties to honour genius while living, and show the people that even its memory is the inheritance of a nation. When Rauch, the Berlin sculptor, died some few months since, we read how the Dresden artists decorated his coffin with flowers and laurel wreaths, accompanying it with honour to the railway station, and how the Berlin artists and members of the Royal Academy carried the remains to the "Trauerkapelle" where Professor Kiss (sculptor of the Amazon) had arranged a mournful decoration of candelabras, and tapers lighting the dead sculptor's statues of Faith, Hope, and Charity; and the winged Victories; and we said to ourselves, how *un-English*! We might not have crossed the channel for a word. When Schwanthaler died, the King of Bavaria had him laid in his own sepulchre side by side of a royal race, because the magnificent tomb he was building for his great sculptor was not yet finished. And when Thorwaldsen was carried to the grave, the streets of Copenhagen were lined with military, and the different companies of trades. All the members of the Academy of Fine Arts followed the hearse headed by their President the Crown Prince. And at the entry of the Church, his Majesty the king awaited the arrival of the corpse, and the Queen and Royal Princesses assisted at the funeral ceremony. *We have something to learn yet.*

But there is one thing we can do—and Heaven help us if we don't do it! We are a famous people they say at *post mortem* tributes. There is more now to be done than

a late regret might urge, or a vain shame compel. We have waited to honor Hogan till he died. Let us not delay to take his wife and children to our heart until we have to grieve for having deserted them.

If Hogan could have only thought that generous noble hearts would have taken these loved ones to their own, and that the Irish nation would have been proud of their adoption, his last earthly thought would have been a happier one. This consolation was not vouchsafed him. But let us do what he, even in the shadow of death, thought he must still be able to do. Let us protect his wife who is a stranger amongst us, and cherish, educate, and establish in life, his sons and daughters. It is scarcely to be believed that a government pension will not be obtained for Hogan's family. Lord Eglinton, our present respected Viceroy, the Lord Chancellor, and the Attorney General, have surely influence enough to have this, at least, secured. But why the delay? If Lord Carlisle were in office now we should not have to ask this question. But then he knew Hogan well; he knew his talents and his worth. The noblemen and gentlemen now in office have not perhaps had the like opportunities; but as this is no party question they would surely listen to representations properly made. Where are the Irish members? Why are they not united for once, to claim, or solicit, some provision for Hogan's eleven children?

While we await an answer to these questions, we must consider what more remains to be done. A government pension, according to our usage in this country, would go but a little way in such extremity. It would in fact be little more than an acknowledgment of a claim on the nation. Some men of public spirit, who well understand the necessity of freeing the country from an accusation of disgraceful supineness, have formed themselves into a committee for receiving in the City of Dublin subscriptions to the Hogan Fund. Thomas O'Hagan, Esq., Q.C., the eloquent advocate of many a good cause, and Dr. Wilde, who, a rare exception, finds time in the midst of a busy professional career to give aid when public good and national honor are concerned, hold the responsible office of secretaries; and members of many parties, and of every creed, have given valuable assistance, whether as subscribers or

as members of the committee. Suffice it to mention the names of His Grace the Most Rev. Doctor Cullen, the Lord Chancellor, the Provost of Trinity College, the President of Maynooth College. There are some who have not waited to join a public demonstration, but have at once commenced to do good service. Dr. Stokes has generously undertaken to educate Hogan's second son in the medical profession; Trinity College is to make him free of its course; and the Jesuit Fathers have two of the children attending their college, Great Denmark Street. It gives us great pleasure to add that Madame Croft, Superioress of the Convent of the Sacré Coeur, Roscrea, has most kindly intimated that the first vacancy which occurs in that establishment shall be assigned to one of Hogan's daughters. We trust these noble examples will speedily be followed by other institutions.

In spite of these individual instances, Dublin is tame enough in Hogan's cause. We are sure the provinces will do better. The City of the Treaty, the scene of the great sculptor's latest triumph, will not be backward. After honoring the father the citizens of Limerick will not forget to protect the children. Cork is working well in the cause, and her liberality takes not the air of a late restitution, but is only the continuance of an enlightened patronage. The first work of Hogan's son is now certain to be a monumental statue of Father Mathew for the great artist's early home. There is plenty of true Irish blood in the cities and towns of England; shall the cause be an alien one to them? We think, if the press try, it shall be found not so. And America—where we turn so sadly yet so trustingly when the hard time presses—will the Irishmen, prosperous yet exiled, who labour in the wild plains of Canada, and toil so honorably in the cities of the States, will they, we say, turn a deaf ear when we speak of the sorrow and the need of the children of so great a countryman? Let the press, many-voiced and trumpet-tongued, try again. Hogan's family must be the wards and cherished children of the people, no matter where the Irish race be scattered—and another bright young genius must be sent to Rome, to study and to work, and to walk in his father's footsteps, that Ireland yet may boast she possesses, in her long line of great names, a second JOHN HOGAN.

ART. V.—LIFE IN A TUB.

1. *The Water Cure in Chronic Disease.* By James M. Gully, M. D., London: Churchill.
2. *The Water Cure.* By James Wilson, M. D. London: Trubner and Co.
3. *Hydropathy.* By Ed. Wm. Lane, M. D. London: Churchill.
4. *Confessions of a Water Patient.* By Sir E. Bulwer Lytton., Bart.
5. *A few Facts Forgotten by the Faculty.* By S. B. Birch, M. D., London. H. Baillière.

Perhaps there is nothing more characteristic of the march of intellect of the present day, or more indicative of a healthy tone of mind, than the suspicion with which the public in general, and many physicians in particular, are beginning to regard the use of drugs as curative agents—that chiefest engine of the allopathic physician for the relief of suffering humanity.

The freeing of the mind from old and preconceived ideas—from practices, with which we have been familiarized from childhood—the looking with distrust upon a system which since the times of *Æsculapius* and *Hippocrates* has held undisputed sway, arrogating to itself the name of *Orthodox*, and dubbing its opponents as *quacks*—such a change in public opinion is of good or evil omen, according to the causes from which it springs, whether from a calm investigation of the question presented for examination, in which strong arguments, based on scientific principles, and supported by ocular demonstration of effects, are found to preponderate in favor of a new system, or from a revolutionary love of novelty, indicative of versatility and want of faith in established institutions, a love of change which would espouse and propagate any doctrine irrespective of its merits, merely because it was new.

That this change of opinion to which we refer, viz., the want of confidence in drugs, is not altogether frivolous, would appear from the following confession of Dr. Forbes, a distinguished allopathic physician, who thus sums up the experience of a long professional career.

“Firstly. That in a large proportion of the cases treated by allopathic physicians, the disease is cured by nature and not by them. Secondly. That in a lesser, but still not a small proportion, the dis-

ease is cured by nature in *spite* of them ; in other words their interference opposing instead of assisting the cure, and Thirdly, that consequently in a considerable proportion of diseases it would fare as well or *better* with patients, if all remedies, especially drugs, were abandoned."

Again, one of the most eminent of living medical writers says,

"When healthy properties are impaired, we know of no agent by which they can be *directly* restored, when vital action is perverted or deranged, we possess no means of *immediately* rectifying it, but we must be satisfied with using those means under which it is most likely to RECTIFY ITSELF."

It is the knowledge of these facts that has produced discontent with the usual mode of medicinal treatment, and has encouraged the belief, that it does more harm than good in cases of disease. Dr. Gully states :—

"By it (the drug system) the body is placed in the most unnatural position, and its efforts at relief constantly *thwarted*. Disease, which is quite as natural a process as health, is not allowed to go on as nature would ; the internal organs whose morbid action alone can cause death, are made the arena for all sorts of conflicting and inflicting medical stimulants ; and between the action which these excite, and that which originally existed, their vitality fails, their efforts towards restoration flag, and their functions are at last extinguished."

The British and Foreign Quarterly Journal—the leading journal of drug medication—thus writes :—

"This mode of treating disease (Hydropathy) is unquestionably far from inert, and most opposed to the cure of diseases, by the undisturbed processes of nature. *It in fact perhaps affords the very best evidence we possess of the curative power of art, and is unquestionably when rationally regulated a most effective mode of treatment in many diseases.* Still it puts in a striking light, if not exactly the curative powers of nature, at least the possibility—nay, facility—with which all the ordinary instruments of medical cure, drugs, may be dispensed with. If so many and such various diseases get well entirely without drugs, under one special mode of treatment, is it not more than probable, that a treatment consisting almost exclusively of drugs may be often of non-effect—sometimes of injurious effect ?"

Dr. Headland, in his prize essay on the action of medicines on the system, thus writes :—

"On no question perhaps have scientific men differed more than on the theory of the action of medicines. Either facts, essentially opposed and incompatible, have been adduced by the disagreeing parties, or which is nearly as common, the same fact has received two distinct and opposite interpretations.

Such quotations as the above show that enquiry is abroad amongst the medical profession, and that some at least of its members are dissatisfied with the truth of the system which

would consider drug medication an essential instrument in the cure of disease.

As the mode of treating disease promulgated by the followers of Hydropathy, in consequence of the great success which has attended its practice, has perhaps mainly contributed to that change in the public mind to which we have alluded, we propose very briefly to direct the attention of our readers to its mode of action, and by investigating the principles which it advocates, inquire whether it can fairly lay claim to public support, and how far it can prove the title which it lays claim to of being a *true, rational, and natural mode of curing disease*.

The most eminent physiologists of the present day agree in regarding disease in general, as an effort of nature to relieve the system of matter injurious to its well-being: this being the case, the natural and common sense mode of *curing* disease, would obviously consist in assisting nature in its efforts to expel the morbid substance from the system, and thus relieve it from the danger which threatened it. Now this is exactly the principle on which Hydropathy proceeds; it aids, encourages, and strengthens the efforts of nature to heal herself, instead of irritating, thwarting, and weakening those efforts, by the pernicious administration of drugs.

To render the foregoing position intelligible to our readers, it is necessary to premise, that the action of all active medicines depends upon the principle, (admitted by all physiologists,) that nature ever makes a continued effort to cure herself, never ceasing in her attempts to relieve the body from whatever injurious matter may be present in it; and it is this effort of nature to expel the irritant matter from the system, which makes the drug produce its effect: thus when a preparation of sulphur is administered, as a medicine, nature in her effort to get rid of the sulphur, opens her pores to expel it. This is proved by the resulting perspiration, and by the circumstance that everything in contact with the patient is found on analysis to be largely impregnated with the constituents of the medicine;—the well known fact of all articles of silver about the person, being tarnished, being an illustration of this effect; in addition to this the stomach is weakened and irritated by the medicine which has been poured into it; and further, if the dose is repeated, nature getting gradually accustomed to the intruder, ceases from her inhospitable exertion to expel it, and as a consequence the medicine fails in producing

its intended effect. We have here referred to the *successful* administration of a drug, but in many instances it entirely fails to produce the desired result, acting injuriously upon other organs of the system, quite contrary to the effect intended. We will now compare this treatment with the hydropathic mode of producing the effects aimed at by sudorifics; their usual appliances consist of the lamp and Turkish baths, and the result is this, that by their method a most powerful effect is produced on the skin in the course of about half an hour, after which the patient feels lightened, strengthened and invigorated, no deleterious substances are passed into the stomach, irritating its membranes, and the process may be *repeated* as often as may be necessary with undiminished effect. Who ever saw a patient recovering from the perspiratory process according to the orthodox allopathic mode of treatment, who was not weakened and somewhat dejected, whilst buoyancy of spirits and invigoration of the system, are the usual accompaniments of the hydropathic process. Take another example from the process of wet-sheet packing, and examine its effects in subduing inflammatory and febrile affections; by this simple process the pulse is often reduced from 120 pulsations per minute to 65, in the short period of three-quarters of an hour, the circulation equalized throughout the body, and a soothing effect produced on the patient, which it is almost impossible to describe: what no drug or combination of drugs in the whole of the pharmacopeia, is capable of producing; in this case again little lowering of strength is produced, and the stomach is again saved from the injurious and irritating effects of Tartar emetic and other drugs; instead of the fever raging for a period of three *weeks*, it is generally subdued in as many *days*, when the patient goes forth, but little reduced in strength, instead of being weak, miserable, and emaciated with the prospect of some six weeks elapsing before he is restored to his wonted strength. Sir Lytton Bulwer thus describes from personal experience the process of wet-sheet packing:—"The sheet after being well saturated is well wrung-out,—the patient quickly wrapped in it—several blankets bandaged round, a down coverlet tucked over all; thus, especially where there is the least fever, the first momentary chill is promptly succeeded by a gradual and vivifying warmth perfectly free from the irritation of dry heat,—a delicious sense of ease is usually followed by a sleep more agreeable than anodyne ever produced. It seems a positive cruelty to be taken out of this magic girdle in which pain is lulled and fever cooled, and watchfulness lapped in slum-

ber." In the effect of wet-sheet packing in cases of congestion of the liver and other internal viscera, we fear an unfavourable comparison must again be drawn between the effects of the allopathic and hydropathic modes of treatment; in these cases the object to be effected is to relieve the oppressed and congested organs from the superabundance of blood with which they are gorged, and it appears to us that this effect is produced more certainly, more quickly and more permanently, without subsequent injurious effects, by the wet-sheet packing, and other hydropathic appliances, sitz baths amongst the rest, than could possibly be effected by all the drugs in the Apothecary's Hall: in fact hydropathy appears to possess greater power in *controlling the circulation and regulating the currents of the blood* than any other system of therapeutics at present revealed to us; it can stimulate the circulation when low, reduce it when excited and disordered, determine it from the head in cases of apoplexy and cold feet, and drive it to the surface of the body in cases of visceral congestion; an engine capable of producing these effects *without weakening* the constitution, and possessing in addition the power of bracing and stimulating the nervous system when weakened, and of soothing and allaying irritation wherever it may exist, more effectually than any opiate; such a system we say, must ever occupy a high, if not the foremost place amongst all existing systems of Hygiene. The physiological effects of wet-sheet packing are thus described by Dr. Wilson:—

"It fulfils many indications according to the various phases of disease; if you revert to what I have said of the specific actions and effects of the packing process, you will see sufficient ground for our using the invaluable aid of the wet sheet in chronic disease. We often want heat to be abstracted in these diseases, we want the nerves soothed, the circulation equalized, muscles rested, fatigue removed, a movement of the fluids to be determined to the surface, interior congestions to be disgorged, the equilibrium of the fluids established, secretions and exhalations to be promoted, ill-conditioned solids to be broken up and eliminated, the tissues of the skin to be soaked, its capillaries to be emptied and cleansed, its sentient extremities to be soothed, and through them the brain to be quieted on the one hand, and the ganglionic* system to be roused on the other."

* The ganglionic nerves are those which cover the stomach, and regulate the digestive organs: they are also called the "*Iolar Plexus*."

How many lives have been sacrificed by the practice of bleeding in feverish and inflammatory cases, from the non-adoption of wet sheet packing, which causes no loss of strength, and leaves behind none of the debility and consequent long convalescence, which bleeding and strong medicines necessarily occasion; it is to us indeed inexplicable how so insane a process as bleeding can still be resorted to in this 19th century, a process which deprives nature of her vital fluid, and lets flow the stream on which our *very existence* depends.* How can this cutting of the strings of life be defended when an expedient for lowering inflammation without reducing the strength, presents itself for adoption by the physician, one which by its action purifies the blood, reducing fever by the abstraction of heat and by the removal of the serum or watery constituent of the blood, which contains all its impurities. Will the public any longer place confidence in the physician who when invited to cure them, would weaken them by bleeding, and assist the operations of nature by depriving her of that vital stream on the existence of which her self-restoring properties depend? will they prefer a system which ensures a long convalescence to the patient, to that in which he recovers from his disease without any sensible diminution of his strength, or injury to his constitution? The system of wet sheet packing is so extraordinary, and satisfactory in its results, that he who refuses to make use of it must lag behind, whilst success will attend the efforts of him who judiciously applies it in the cases to which it is suited.

The compress and hot stupe, next demand our attention; both are usually applied to the stomach; the latter consisting of a vulcanized India-rubber bag filled with hot water which is laid over a towel, the under folds of which are moistened and placed next the body, a most efficient and convenient form of fomentation; these remedies are applied in the treatment of nearly all chronic diseases, where there is morbid action of the stomach, liver, or kidneys; this form of stupe, Dr. Wilson calls the "*ne plus ultra*" of poulticing, soothing and derivation being by it most perfectly obtained, and in the greatest degree. Each operation has on deep seated chronic

* The late melancholy case of Mr. Stafford O'Brien is an instance of this injurious practice; that gentleman was copiously bled, doubtless that he might be the better enabled, in his so enfeebled condition, to resist the action of a powerful poison (opium) afterwards administered with deadly effect.

irritation, as one of its qualities, the advantageous effect of a mild blister or mustard plaister, without any of its drawbacks, and in acute inflammations, in all nervous or neuralgic pains, in the sufferings of colic, biliousness, or sickness of the stomach, or other digestive derangements from dietetic errors, and in the malaise ushering in fevers and inflammations, in sore throat, &c., or affections of the lungs and air tubes, it is then found to be the most agreeable and potent anodyne and equalizer of the circulation." It in effect accomplishes the most salutary operations of opiates, without any risk of congesting the liver, or producing that sickness and atony of the stomach, and all but paralysis of the lower bowels which result from the use of narcotic drugs. "No nervous irritations," says Dr. Wilson, "no visceral congestions, especially if of recent formation, but are soon relieved by this powerful *revulsire rubefacient* and *anodyne*. With the dissipation of those interior congestions comes the solution of pains and spasms, or flatulence which may have risen to a severe state of suffering, the release of bilious and nervous headaches, neuralgic pains, asthmatic fits, &c. These have all their origin near or remote in visceral obstructions, congestions, &c. In most cases where for a longer or shorter time any organic action has been embarrassed, sleep banished or disquieted, and the patient irritated and exhausted to the last degree; by aid of the fomentations, in a brief time organic calm takes the place of organic tumult, ease succeeds to agitation, and the whole apparatus feels to work normally and with renewed alacrity. What I have just described, you may frequently hear repeated and descanted upon in the same strain by my patients."

The effect of hot-stupe in the removal of irritation from the viscera, the immediate cause of dysentery, &c., is very remarkable, and from our knowledge of its effects, we have often regretted, that so simple and rational an expedient was not resorted to, in the treatment of those diseases by which our noble army was more than decimated in the late Crimean Campaign. On this subject Dr. Wilson, remarks, "so strong was my conviction, that I wrote to my good friend Lord Rokeby, requesting him to offer my service through Mr. Sidney Herbert. I offered to go and remain there (at Scutari,) entirely at my own expense, not as a "water doctor," but as an ordinary medical practitioner, willing to lend a hand, and make himself generally useful. I stated that I had almost lived in hospitals

for seven years, had afterwards witnessed the practice of nearly every great hospital in Europe, and could undertake simple operations, and any amputations with little preparation: had been twenty-five years in practice. After some weeks I received a polite letter thanking me, but fearing it could not be done, not being quite the custom. About this time there was an outcry for medical men, those at the hospitals were too few for the work, they were worn out with fatigue.”—Further on he adds—“I have had a great many patients suffering under Chronic diseases from climate, exposure, and want of care, &c., patients from India, Ceylon, and the Antipodes, with long continued diarrhoea, dysentery, and intractable fever of an intermittent character. From the success of this simple treatment in those cases, I have not ceased to regret that I did not go to Scutari on my own account without permit or introduction. I might have introduced the practice gradually, being sure that it only required a trial to have been adopted by the medical staff with great satisfaction.”

We join Dr. Wilson, heartily in this regret, as it would have led to the introduction of this remedy if proved efficient, and silenced its advocates if it proved a failure. Nowhere could the two systems have been more severely and satisfactorily tested, and we should all have benefitted by the result; the relative merits of the two systems would have been decided, and the public no longer left to hang in doubt between them.

The sitz bath and foot bath next claim our attention, the former acting with marked effect in cases of congestion of the liver and other internal organs; by abstracting heat from the surface of the body submitted to its influence, a transference of fluids takes place from the centre to the exterior, and the congested organs are relieved from their excess of blood by its being thus determined to the surface; this effect, at first temporary becomes *permanent*, when the use of the bath has been persevered in for some time. Let us now compare the effects of this bath, in the cases of congestion of the liver, with the treatment usually pursued by the orthodox physicians; their remedies consist in dosing with Calomel, or Taraxicum, or in the application of leeches to the affected region; the two former stimulate the action of the liver, in spite of the congested blood which oppresses it, but they do not attempt to deal with the causes of this congestion, the result of which is that the liver being weakened by its unnatural exertions consequent on the unnatural stimulants which have been administered to it, sinks—

after the effect of the unnatural stimulus has worn away,—into a more enfeebled and exhausted state, and the original cause of the congestion remaining unremoved, matters become worse than at first ; in the case of leeching the topical bleeding relieves the affection *for a time*, but this is a remedy which cannot be REPEATED in consequence of the weakness it engenders, and when the bleeding is given up, how do matters stand?—the disease remains in statu quo; not so, however, the constitution, for this has been weakened by the bleeding, and nature being consequently less able to cure herself *chronic* disease of the liver results. On the other hand the hydropathic treatment necessary to determine the blood from the congested organ to the surface, and so remove the disease, can be repeated as often as desirable, with renewed effect, until permanent relief is afforded by a perseverance in the treatment, and the patient improves in general health, *pari passu*, with the cure of his particular disease. The effects of the sitz bath, are it appears either tonic or relaxing according to the length of time during which it is administered ; if a tonic effect is desired, a period varying from 10 to 15 minutes is prescribed—if a relaxing or derivative effect is to be produced, the period is extended to half an hour or 45 minutes.

As regards the use of the foot bath, we may observe that the theory of its administration subverts all our preconceived ideas as to the proper mode of treating those affections for which it is usually prescribed ; for instance the old mode of proceeding in affections of blood to the head, or in cases of cold feet, was to apply cold to the head and warmth to the feet in the shape of hot flannels, hot bricks, and stupes ; now the modern mode of proceeding is the very reverse of this, viz. to bathe the head in tepid, and place the feet in cold water to about the depth of three inches, up to the ankles : friction of the feet should accompany their immersion, the whole being continued for about ten minutes. Let any person suffering from cold feet try this remedy, and they will satisfy themselves of the truth of the practice which enjoins it : its rationale is as follows. The application of warm water to the head of the same temperature as the body, does not increase the flow of blood to it, whilst the subsequent evaporation from the moist and warm surface of the head cools it gradually, and so diminishes the flow of blood to it, whilst the cold application to the feet, has “for a secondary result the attraction and retention in those parts of great quantity of blood, and consequently of increased temperature there. In fact,” continues Dr.

Gully, "a cold foot bath of 12 or 15 minutes *followed* by a walk of *half-an-hour*, is the most certain way to warm the feet that can be devised; just as per contra, the most certain way to *ensure cold feet*, is to soak them in *hot* water. The same applies to the hands. When the patient is in a condition to take it, a walk is necessary to obtain the circulating reaction alluded to:" he adds, "the warmth remains for several hours. Very frequently I have heard persons say that they have not known cold feet since they began to take cold foot baths."

We would next make some observations on the different modes of treating that fatal and mysterious disease, which has so long baffled the curative efforts of the most eminent physicians of their day, we mean pulmonary consumption, and it is gratifying to find that a great step towards a rational and successful mode of treatment based on sound physiological principles has lately obtained in the case of this disease, which mode of treatment we hope soon to see generally adopted by the medical profession.* The unsuccessful treatment of this disease has hitherto cast a slur on medical science, and it is not to be wondered at, that little success should have attended on the old mode of treatment, since recent observation, and matured experience have shown, on physiological principles, that no *worse* mode could have been devised for curing it, nor a surer one adopted for producing an aggravation of its symptoms. This new view of the matter is very ably set forth in Dr. Lane's work, which we heartily recommend to the perusal of our readers, as a sensible and modest statement of the benefits resulting from Hydropathic treatment in cases of this description. Dr. Lane looks upon consumption as essentially a *blood* disease, in which opinion he is confirmed by the first physiologists of the day, and by those physicians who have had most experience in the treatment of that particular disease, Sir James Clarke, Professor Bennett, Dr. Balbyrne, and others. These physicians all agree in stating that indigestion or derangement of the stomach and digestive organs is a universal forerunner of pulmonary consumption, and without this derangement, consumption cannot exist; consequent on this diseased state of the digestive organs, imperfect blood is assimilated, *defi-*

* We do not pretend to assert, that consumption is curable when ORGANIC disease of the lungs has actually been established, but we maintain that the disease is *perfectly curable* in its incipient stages, though not by drugs, nor banishment to a foreign clime. The latter may somewhat prolong the disease, but will not cure it unless by *accident*, when of a very mild form.

cient in its oleaginous elements, and containing an *undue* amount of albuminous materials, that in consequence of this deficiency of oleaginous elements, the blood is incapable of being converted into true cellular tissue to replace the effete material of the lungs, and the superabundant quantity of albumen has a tendency to exude upon the lungs on their exposure to cold in the form of tubercles, which process is unaccompanied by inflammatory action; these facts are based on long observations and direct chemical analysis of the substance composing the tubercles, which consist of almost pure albumen, and on this theory the wonderful effects of cod liver oil in consumptive cases, and the great emaciation of body which results from the disease are satisfactorily explained; in the one case, the cod liver oil supplies in a light and digestible form the oleaginous element in which the blood is deficient; in the other the system has recourse to the fatty or adipose matter of the body to supply the oleaginous principle, but now the question arises, supposing that indigestion is the universal precursor of consumption, from what does this indigestion, and consequent imperfect assimilation of the blood proceed? this question Dr. Lane does not touch upon, but we believe that Dr. Barter, the well-known Hydropathic physician of Blarney, considers that it arises from defective vitality* in the blood, caused by deficiency of oxygen in the system, more immediately proceeding from defective capacity of the lungs and imperfect action of the skin. The skin and lungs, it must be remembered, are supplementary organs—stop the action of *either*, and death inevitably ensues, and on their perfect or imperfect action, perfect or imperfect health depends. This view of the disease is illustrated by the history of the monkey; in its wild state, the best authorities state, it never gets consumption, but domesticate the animal, so inducing bad action of the lungs from want of sufficient exercise, and wholesome air, and imperfect action of the skin arising from the same cause, and it usually dies of this disease; these observations equally apply to all cases of scrofulous degeneration, which physicians estimate as carrying off prematurely 1-6th of the whole human family.† Of this terrible

* The temperature and vitality of our bodies depend upon the continued and rapid combination of oxygen with the oxydizable products of the blood; if the necessary supply of oxygen be interfered with, the vitality of the system flags, and disease results.

† The very name of scrofula points to the origin of the disease, it being derived from the Latin *Scrofa*, a pig, in allusion to the condition of the skin in those persons in whom a scrofulous habit has been engendered.

disease, the scourge of the human race, we may here observe, that consumption is merely a form of it, and that it is moreover *hereditary*, thus showing it to be a true *blood* disease.

Having referred to the fact of the lungs and skin being supplementary organs, the principal duty of both being to aerate the blood, it may be interesting to lay before our readers the following extracts from the results of experiments bearing on this point, which have been made by Monsieur Fourcault with the view of ascertaining the effect of the suppression of transpiration by the skin, in animals, by coating their bodies with an impermeable varnish. The committee of the French Institute thus describes these experiments.

“The substances which he used were givet-glue, dextrine, pitch and tar, and several plastic compounds, sometimes the varnish was made to cover the whole of the animal's body; at other times only a more or less extensive part of it. The accidents which follow this proceeding, are more or less complete or incomplete, general or partial. In every case the health of the animals is soon much impaired and their life in danger. Those which have been submitted to those experiments, under our observation, have died in one or two days, and in some cases *in a few hours only*.”

“In the opinion of the committee, these experiments are full of interest for the future,* * * * * the experiments of M. Fourcault cannot fail to throw a new light upon the physiological and pathological phenomena, depending upon the double function of *inhalation* and exhalation of the cutaneous system.”

Monsieur Fourcault himself, thus writes:—

“The mucous membranes were not the only parts affected by the artificial suppression of the insensible perspiration. We also observed the production of serous effusions in the pericardium, and even in the pleurae. These effusions thus demonstrate that dropsies are found in the same body as mucous discharges. Several dogs died with paraplegia, and could only drag themselves along on their forepaws; some died *atrophied* and their lungs contained miliary *tubercles*, which appeared to me from their whiteness, and softness to be of *recent* formation. It was therefore, now impossible to doubt the influence of the suppression of the insensible perspiration of the skin upon the changes in the blood, the mucous and serous exudations, and finally upon the development of local lesions.

"But the results of these experiments differ *in toto* according as the plastering is partial or general, or as it suspends the action of the skin incompletely or completely. In the first case the alteration of the blood is not carried so far, as to cause the dissolution of its organic elements; it can coagulate, and present, in some few cases, a buffy coat of little consistency, bearing some resemblance to that which is found in inflammatory blood. As to the tissues affected, they however appear to me to present the anatomical characteristics of the consequences of local inflammation.

"But when the application of very adhesive substances upon the whole of the body quickly suppresses the cutaneous exhalation, and consequently prevents the action of the air upon the skin, death takes place much more speedily, and appears to be the result of *true asphyxia*. The breathing of the animals experimented upon is difficult, they take deep inspirations in order to inhale a larger quantity of air than usual; their death is violent, and is often accompanied by convulsive movements. On dissection, we find in the veins, and the right cavities of the heart, sometimes also in the left, but very rarely in the arteries, a black diffuent blood, forming sometimes into soft and diffuent coagula, and coagulating very imperfectly when exposed to atmospherical air. This dissolution of the blood from the formation of large ecchymoses and of effusions into the lungs and other organs; the capillary vessels are usually injected. One can see that the alteration of the blood has been the true cause of the stagnation of the circulation in this order of vessels.* * * *

"It is important to state that man, in the same way as animals, dies from *cutaneous asphyxia* when his body is covered by impermeable applications. I shall detail, in another work, the results of my researches upon this subject, and facts which still belong to general history will enter into the province of medicine. Thus at Florence, when Leo X., was raised to the pontificate, a child was gilt all over, in order to represent the golden age. This unfortunate child soon died, the victim of a physiological experiment of a novel kind. I have gilded, silvered and tinned several guinea-pigs, and all have died like the child at Florence."

Monsieur Fourcault in summing up his researches remarks as follows :—

"Nasal catarrh, diarrhoea, paralysis, marasmus, convulsive

movements, and finally the phenomena of *asphyxia* are also the results of the same experiments. Cutaneous asphyxia may cause the death of man and animals ; in this affection the blood presents, in the highest degree, the refrigerant, and 'stupefying qualities of *VENOUS** blood."

The above extracts are our answer to those superficial medical objectors, who would argue, that death is not occasioned in the above cases by the exclusion of atmospheric air from the system, but by the suppression of poisonous salts secreted in the skin ; the effects of the suppression of the most poisonous and irritating of these is well known to the physician, but the phenomena which they present bear no analogy to those presented in the case before us, which exhibit all the symptoms and appearance of true suffocation ; if however the evidence of these experiments be not sufficient to convince him, we will be prepared to meet him, on a more convenient battle field, where arguments which would only prove tedious and unintelligible to the non-professionable reader, may be adduced without reserve, in support of our position.

Now if it be conceded that the main cause of consumption (tracing the disease back to its earliest stage) is to be found in an insufficient supply of oxygen to the system (which certainly the success attendant on the treatment, based upon this theory would lead one to suppose) we would ask our readers seriously to reflect how can consumption be cured by drugging, and how can the much required oxygen be supplied to the system by any such proceeding ? We think that the results of such a system afford a satisfactory answer to this question ; failure marking its course wherever it has been tried. Again as regards the fashionable remedy of going abroad, how are we likely to get more oxygen supplied to us abroad than at home ? A mild climate may certainly prove less irritating than our native air to a diseased and disordered lung and the suffering and uneasiness consequent on the irritation may be thereby allayed, but we are not a whit nearer being cured, nor have we properly gone to work† to remove the main spring and origin of the disease.

* When blood is overloaded with carbon, and deprived of its necessary supply of oxygen, the term " Venous" is applied to it.

† Where consumption has been relieved by residence abroad, the benefit derived must be attributed to the action on the skin produced by the hot climates to which the patient is usually ordered, but recovery in this way has been confined to very mild forms of the disease, and cannot be looked upon, as a scientific mode of treatment ; the

Let our readers bear in mind the following aphorism of Dr. Hall; "Close bedrooms make the graves of multitudes;" let them recollect that impure blood is the origin of consumption, and that *impure* air, causes *impure* blood.

Acting on these principles, in curing consumption, Dr. Barter would use all means to place the system in a favourable condition to receive a full supply of oxygen, first by a direct inhalation of a mixture of oxygen and atmospheric air through the lungs, secondly by enjoining a large amount of active exercise in the open air, when practicable, and sleeping at night with open windows, and thirdly by inducing a healthy action of the skin,* and consequent supply through it, of oxygen to the blood, by the intervention of the Turkish bath; this mode of treatment has, we believe, proved most successful, whilst the old mode of treatment, of which it is the very antipodes, viz., keeping the patient in a heated and impure atmosphere, and applying a respirator to the mouth, has proved most unsuccessful and fatal: how it could ever have entered into the brain of a physician to recommend the use of a respirator as a cure for consumption we are at a loss to imagine, a more ingenious mode of shutting out the pure atmosphere essential to our existence, and exchanging it for one loaded with carbonic acid, (thus aggravating the disease which it seeks to cure,) could not possibly be devised. Man in a state of health requires pure air as a condition of his existence, and can it be supposed that in a state of *disease*, he will be able *more successfully* to resist the effects of poison on his system, than when in a state of health. Will he in a state of disease be strengthened and improved by the loss of that, on a due supply of which, when well, the continuance of his health and strength would depend? Does the experience of our readers furnish them

improved action of the skin deserving to be considered rather as induced *accidentally* than by design; as otherwise more attention would have been paid to so important a matter, and there would have been no necessity for ordering the patient abroad, as similar results could have been obtained much more easily and effectually, by keeping him at home; the use of the Turkish Bath conferring all the benefits of increased temperature, followed by the tonic effects of cool air and water, by which the debilitating effects of *continual* residence in a warm climate are obviated.

* Dr. Hufeland remarks—"The more active and open the skin is the more secure will the people be against obstructions and diseases of the lungs, intestines, and lower stomach; and the less tendency will they have to gastric (bilious) fevers, hypochondriasis, gout, asthma, catarrh and varicose veins."

with a single case of recovery from consumption caused by the use of a respirator, or does it not, on the contrary, supply them in every case where it has been resorted to with instances of the bad effects attendant upon its use?

In support of the view taken by Dr. Barter, we would observe that *narrow and contracted lungs, an impure atmosphere, uncleanly habits, sedentary occupation, indulgence in alcoholic liquors, and over eating*, all directly tend to the overloading of the blood with carbon, and they are also the most frequent causes of consumption; but the success attending this treatment is the argument which will have most weight with the public, and tend to its extension and adoption by the profession at large; when this takes place we shall not have consumptive patients sent abroad to seek restoration of their health,—“to Nice, where more *native* persons die of consumption than in any English town of equal population,—to Madeira, where no local disease is more prevalent than consumption,—to Malta, where one-third of the deaths amongst our troops are caused by consumption,—to Naples, whose hospitals record a mortality from consumption of one in two and one-third of the patients,—nor finally to Florence, where pneumonia is said to be marked by a suffocating character, and a rapid progress towards its final stage. Sir James Clarke has assailed with much force the doctrine that change of climate is beneficial in cases of consumption. M. Carriere, a French physician, has written strongly against it. Dr. Burgess, an eminent Scotch physician, also contends that climate has little or nothing to do with the cure of consumption, and that if it had, the curative effects would be produced through the skin and not the lungs, by opening the pores, and promoting a better aeration of the blood.”

Before leaving this subject we would entreat our readers seriously to consider the observations here addressed to them, and the facts which have been adduced in support of the mode of treatment which we have advocated. The subject is one of fearful moment, as on this disease being rightly understood, the lives of millions of our countrymen depend: if a rational mode of treatment be adopted, its fearful ravages may be successfully encountered and stayed, but if not, the pallid spectre will stalk, as it has hitherto done, unchecked, through the length and breadth of our island, bearing death to millions of her sons.

With regard to water drinking, an important part of the hydropathic process, and against which much prejudice exists,

the following extracts from the pen of the justly celebrated allopathic physician, Sir Henry Holland, will not, we hope, be considered out of place. In his work styled "Medical Notes and Reflections," treating of "Diluents," he thus writes :—

"Though there may seem little reason for considering these as a separate class of remedies, yet I doubt whether the principles of treatment implied in the name is sufficiently regarded in modern practice. On the Continent, indeed, the use of diluents is much more extensive than in England; and, under the form of mineral waters especially, makes up in some countries a considerable part of general practice. But putting aside all question as to mineral ingredients in water, the consideration more expressly occurs, to what extent and with what effects this great diluent, the only one which really concerns the animal economy, may be introduced into the system as a remedy? Looking at the definite proportion which in healthy state exists in all parts of the body between the aqueous, saline, and animal ingredients—at the various organs destined directly or indirectly, to regulate the proportion—and at the morbid results occurring whenever it is materially altered—we must admit the question as one very important in the animal economy, and having various relation to the causes and treatment of disease. Keeping in mind then this reference to the use of water as an internal remedy, diluents may be viewed under three conditions of probable usefulness;—first, the mere mechanical effect of quantity of liquid in diluting and washing away matters, excrementitious or noxious, from the alimentary canal;—Secondly, their influence in modifying certain morbid conditions of the blood;—and thirdly, their effect upon various functions of secretion and excretion, and especially upon those of the kidneys and skin * * * The first is an obvious benefit in many cases, and not to be disdained from any notion of its vulgar simplicity. It is certain, there are many states of the alimentary canal, in which the free use of water at stated times produces good, which cannot be attained by other or stronger remedies. I have often known the action of the bowels to be maintained with regularity for a long period, simply by a tumbler of water, warm or cold, on an empty stomach, in cases where medicine had almost lost its effect, or become a source only of distressing irritation. The advantage of such treatment is still more strongly attested, where the secretions taking place into the intestines, or the products formed there during digestion, become vitiated in kind. Here dilution lessens that irritation to the membranes, which we cannot so readily obviate by other means, and aids in removing the cause from the body with less distress than any other remedy. In some cases where *often* and *largely* used, its effect goes farther in actually altering the state of the secreting surfaces by direct application to them. I mention these circumstances upon experience, having often obtained much good from resorting to them in practice, when stronger medicines and ordinary methods had proved of little avail. Dilution thus used, for example, so as to act on the contents of the bowels, is beneficial in many dyspeptic cases,

where it is especially an object to avoid needless irritation to the system. Half-a-pint or more of water taken when fasting at the temperature most agreeable to the patient, will often be found to give singular relief to his morbid sensations * * * In reference to the foregoing uses of diluents, it is to be kept in mind, that the lining of the alimentary canal is, to all intents, a surface, as well as the skin, pretty nearly equal in extent; exercising some similar functions, with others more appropriate to itself, and capable in many respects of being acted upon in a similar manner. As respects the subject before us, it is both expedient and correct in many cases to regard diluents as acting on this internal surface analogously to liquids on the skin. And I would apply this remark not only to the mechanical effects of the remedy, but also to their use as the medium for conveying cold to internal parts;—a point of practice which either the simplicity of the means, or the false alarms besetting it, have hitherto prevented from being duly regarded."

Again he writes :—

" Without reference, however, to these extreme cases, it must be repeated, that the use of water, simply as a diluent, scarcely receives attention and discrimination enough in our English practice."

And again :—

" As I have been treating of this remedy only in its simplest form, I do not advert to the use of the different mineral waters farther than to state, that they confirm these general views, separating as far as can be done, their effect as diluents from that of the ingredients they contain. The copious employment of some of them in continental practice gives room for observation, which is wanting under our more limited use. I have often seen five or six pints taken daily for some weeks together, (a great part of it in the morning while fasting,) with singular benefit in many cases to the general health and most obviously to the state of the secretions. * * * These courses, however, were always conjoined with ample *exercise* and regular habits of life; doubtless influencing much the action of the waters, and aiding their salutary effect."

With this quotation we take leave of Sir Henry Holland, merely observing, that no hydropathist could say more on the subject than he has done, and that the continental practice referred to, of drinking large quantities of water conjoined with ample exercise and regular habits of life, is precisely that practice which hydropathy enjoins.

It may not be uninteresting to observe, that under Hydropathic treatment, chronic disease frequently becomes acute, for as the body improves in strength the more acutely will any existing disease develope itself, and for the following reason: pain is caused by an effort of nature to relieve the system of some morbid influence residing in it, and the stronger the constitution, the

greater efforts will it make to remove that morbid influence, and therefore the greater will be the pain; but on the other hand, when the body is enfeebled, its efforts to relieve itself, though continual, are weak and inefficient, and the disease remaining in the system, assumes the chronic and less painful form. Now with these facts before them, we have been amused at hearing physicians observe, in their efforts to decry the "Water System," "Oh it is good for the general health, but nothing more." When speaking thus they do not however reflect, that they are affording the strongest possible testimony in support of the system which they seek to decry, inasmuch as every physiologist, from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, admits the principle, that the cure of disease is to be sought for in the powers of the living organism *alone*, and it must be evident that the more you strengthen that organism, the more you increase its powers to cure itself, and diminish its liability to future disease.

Having trespassed thus far on the attention of our readers, we would conclude by inviting them and the medical profession generally, to a calm and dispassionate investigation, as far as their opportunities allow, of the relative merits of the allopathic and hydropathic modes of treating disease, approaching the investigation with a mind devoid of prejudice and bigotry. Their duty to themselves and to society demands this enquiry from them—two antagonistic systems (we use the term advisedly) are presented for their acceptance, which will they lay hold of? To assist them in determining this point we would recommend for their quiet perusal, either or all of the works alluded to in this article, the study of which will be found interesting and profitable. If they conclude that drugs are wholesome let them by all means be swallowed, but if they are proved to be injurious, deleterious and unnecessary, then away with them; if opiates are innocuous let them be retained, but if they congest the liver, sicken the stomach, and paralyse the actions of the vital organs, the sooner they are erased for ever from the Hygienic Pharmacopeia the better—let them gracefully retire in favor of the improved system of hot stupes, fomentations, and the abdominal compress.

We would ask the medical profession of Ireland to reflect on the fact, that Dr. Barter's establishment at Blarney contains at this moment upwards of 120 patients, with many more frequently seeking for admission within its walls, most of whom leave the estab-

lishment ardent converts to Hydropathy, determined for the rest of their lives to "throw physic to the dogs," fleeing from it as from some poisonous thing. It will not do for them to pooh pooh the system, and tell their patients, as many of them do, that it will kill them; such language only betrays ignorance on their part, and will not put down a system which daily gives the lie to their predictions by affording ocular demonstration of its efficacy, in the restored health and blooming cheek of many an emaciated friend. Men are too sensible now-a-days to pin their faith on the dictum of a medical man, who runs down a system without fairly investigating it, and examining the principles on which it acts, to say nothing of the prejudice he must feel in favor of his own particular system; but if a mode of treatment be rational, producing cures when every other system of treatment has failed, and recommend itself to the common sense and reason of mankind, we believe such a principle will make its way despite of all the opposition it may encounter, and this very progress the water cure is at present making.

The very simplicity of the processes of the water cure, which people cannot believe capable of producing the effects ascribed to them, has chiefly militated against its more universal reception, by the lay public, together with the belief (ingrained by long habit,) in the absolute necessity for drugs, in curing disease; but this belief, if not rationally founded, will soon give way: were the condition, however, of affairs reversed, and Hydropathy become as old a system as the Allopathic, this belief, in the efficacy of an old school, might be securely entertained; for no one would think for a moment of exchanging a system, fixed, intelligible and certain in its action, as based on scientific principles, and consonant with the laws of physiology, for the uncertain, groping, empirical, and injurious practice of drug medication.

Διογένης.

ART. VI.—“ WIGS ON THE GREEN.”

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

If it be true that there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous, there may yet be hope for the Board of Trinity College. Their next step may possibly raise them to the sublime, for their last has made them supremely ridiculous. Having been exposed to the fire of formidable batteries on all sides from north and south, English and Irish, daily, weekly, and monthly, they in solemn conclave resolve to open fire in return and thereupon they plant with mighty preparation, a pop-gun. But we fear, though

“ ——— Facilis descensus Averni,
Sed revocare gradum,—
Hic labor, hoc opus est—”

A brief narrative of events will introduce our remarks. Since Dr. Shaw's questions on the hustings in April last, drew public attention to the affairs of the college, the newspapers of Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Liverpool, and other places, have kept up and increased that attention by a continuous series of articles. The public and the board were equally amazed, the former at the state of things now discovered for the first time, the latter at the revolutionary audacity which was not overawed by the venerable aspect of the sacrosanct seven. In their dimes they cast about what to do. Oh, that they could trace some of those sharp missives and a collegiate hand! the arrow marked specially “for Alexander's eye,” should be returned with envenomed barb. At last they hit upon a grand move which should, as they hoped, crush the rebellion in the bud. They remembered that two of the Fellows had actually written and signed two letters in the newspapers. To be sure the letters were of the most innocent kind, but that would only render the example more telling. These gentlemen, therefore, were summoned before the board and censured. They were informed that the statutes forbid any one member of the college from prosecuting another in an external court, *on pain of expulsion*. It was inconsistent with the spirit of this statute, they were told, to write on College affairs in the public papers. This smells of casuistry. It was

at all events, as the *Saturday Review* justly remarked, the queerest recognition on record of the jurisdiction of the press. The Board were ill-advised when they resolved to strain an ancient restriction on the side of strictness. These rusty fetters have a trick of snapping, if screwed too tightly. The fact is, that just as an old woman of eighty will call her grandson a boy after he has passed two score, the worthy seniors are accustomed to regard the non-tutors as mere schoolboys whose youth, in fact, excludes them from tutorships, and who will be frightened out of their wits, and come down on their knees at an angry look from a senior, glad to get off without a whipping. These schoolboys, however, are old enough to be bishops, and many of them are not younger than senior fellows themselves used to be in olden times. So the Board found they had caught a couple of Tartars. The fellows censured appealed to the visitors, and presently after, an article was announced to appear in the *Dublin University Magazine*, which would at once carry the question into the London press. Here was a pretty pickle! what on earth was to be done? The first move was to establish a censorship of the press. The publishers were requested to cancel the article. This of course they could not do. Perhaps, however, the Lord Lieutenant would do them the favor to require the author's signature to every article published, in which case collegiate discipline might be brought to bear again. All in vain. The article appeared, sharp and decisive, and as was expected, the London papers immediately took up the question. New plans were mooted from day to day. Should they reply? To do so in their own names, would make matters worse. Should they prosecute some one paper for libel? Some member of the Board better acquainted than the rest with modern facts and ideas, reminded them that the law of libel had been changed. At last a move was actually adopted, that the supposed author should be summoned, and required to confess. We will not venture to affirm that a rack was obtained from the museum to have its persuading powers tried. Fortunately accident prevented the monstrous scheme from being carried out immediately, and the following day (which was Sunday,) brought with it wiser counsels. But something must be done to shew that the Board is not to be trifled with with impunity. Εὐρηκα! the publisher of the Magazine being also bookseller to the University, was informed that he could not retain both

offices ; no senior Fellow could be expected to enter a shop, in which the first object to meet his senses would be that nasty Magazine with the shocking mass of corruption, which had been stirred in its pages. Thus the only sufferer from the vengeance of the Board hitherto has been a bookseller. With respect to the censure of Messrs. Shaw and Carmichael, the visitors will probably decide before this is published, whether it was justified by the statutes. They will of course make every allowance for the Board, who as a plain matter-of-fact body, could not understand that the phrases "tribunal of public opinion," "verdict of the press," &c., were not to be taken literally as implying a recognised court. It will be a strong temptation to the Archbishop of Dublin, one of the visitors, to read them a lecture on the influence of words on thought. We shall expect to see this notable instance exposed in the next edition of his Grace's Logic. As the Board, however, have recognised the existence of a public tribunal, we hope they will feel bound to respect its decisions.

If the visitors should decide that writing in the newspapers is within the meaning of the statute what will be the result? First it is to be observed that the punishment enacted by the statute is, academically speaking, *capital*, nothing short in fact of expulsion. And we may note that if the board believed two of the fellows to have been guilty of such an offence, they might have told them plainly that the next offence committed after warning would be visited with expulsion. Would the tribunal of public opinion tolerate such a punishment for such an offence? The Board in fact have been endeavouring in their usual antiquated fashion to follow the example of some of the Grecian States, who used occasionally to fortify a law by making it capital to propose its repeal. They have chosen an unlucky precedent, and an unlucky occasion for its imitation. Their attempt must utterly fail. There is no need to sign letters in the newspapers, and the Board will gain little by changing avowed into anonymous publications. They will talk of course of "anonymous scribblers" but with little effect, as long as they make it penal to quit the anonymous. They must then revive the "question" to compel authors to confess, and this they have shown they are at least prepared to attempt. But moreover, one can surely plead in any court by word of mouth, as well as by writing ; and that no less in that court which the Board have just recognised than in the Queen's Bench ; the

Board must therefore either shut up the fellows in cells to prevent communication with the outer world, or must have its system of espionage, its Dionysius' Ear which will convey to its august presence the murmurs of the whole city.

The nearest approach to a violation of this now noted statute which we can call to mind occurred in 1852, before the University Commission, which had some claim to be regarded as a Royal Court, though not judicial, and the authority of which in respect to collegiate matters, the Provost and Senior Fellows expressly declined to acknowledge. Before that court, however, the Provost brought against the whole class of non tutor Fellows, the charge of being useless and a "nursery of discontent."*

The Board might have had some ground for their censure if they had charged the two fellows with a violation of that clause in the fellow's oath, which binds them to promote the health, peace, dignity and comfort of the Senior Fellows. Were they silly enough to imagine that the dignity and comfort of the Senior Fellows would be promoted by the publication of their college affairs? They know the Board long enough to be aware that publicity is the last thing it desires. Now that the proceedings of former years are being raked up, doubtless the next step will be to demand the regular publication of all proceedings of the Board for the future: alarming foreboding! Why, how could those nice little arrangements of which Senior Fellows now reap the fruits ever have been adopted if publicity had been necessary? The Board have a vested right to secrecy.† Without it their power is incomplete, even in cases

* About two hundred years ago, the Irish Parliament found it necessary to inquire into the conduct of Provost Chappels, and issued a commission for the purpose. The scholars alleged that the statute bound them not to give information, but the Parliament made short work of the objection, by suspending the statute. We mention this partly to show that a commission such as that of 1852, would according to precedent be understood to come within the meaning of the statute.

† This line of argument suggested in jest, has been actually adopted by the Counsel for the Board. If he had read the oath he would see that the clause cited binds every fellow to promote the welfare, &c. of the College, and of every member thereof, especially the Provost and Senior Fellows. It therefore binds the Senior Fellows to promote the welfare and dignity of the non tutors or scholars. Have *they* (to borrow Mr. Brewster's polite phrase) forgotten their oath?

with which the authority of the Board alone is competent to deal, a sharp watch would be kept upon their innovations by the other members of the College, if their proceedings were known. This would of itself serve as a check. There are other cases, however, in which the intervention of the visitors or of the crown is necessary to give validity to the measures of the Board. With the help of secrecy this little obstacle is easily surmounted. An apparently innocent resolution comes before the visitors or the government, for their assent; it is not opposed by any members of the College, for its existence is unknown to them, but of course this silence appears to the visitors or the crown, to imply consent, and consequently the resolution becomes law. It may not be discovered until it is too late to be easily remedied. Probably it may only be the small end of a wedge, the pressure of which is not felt until the sanction of immemorial usage is alleged against those who complain of being crushed. The remedy is publicity.*

Do these remarks seem in any degree exaggerated? we would ask our readers to recollect that it is only a few years since the Board of Trinity College, concocted a statute intended to be a sop to the members of the University who were beginning to ask for a constitution. This statute affected the rights and privileges of some two thousand persons, now masters of arts, besides all future graduates, yet not a hint of its preparation, much less of its contents, was conveyed to any of those persons or to their parliamentary representatives. It was discovered quite accidentally by one of the fellows, as our readers may remember, in the printing office, where it had lain printed and undergoing corrections from time to time for two years, and it finally obtained the Royal sanction, without an opportunity being offered to any member of the University to examine or to discuss its merits, or to suggest amendment.

* It may be worth while to notice the argument put forward on behalf of the Board, that the candour with which they offered every information to the Royal Commissioners proves that they do not shrink from publicity, and contrasts favorably with the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Now many of the Colleges in these Universities *did* give full information to the Commissioners; and those which refused did so on the ground that they were private foundations, and forbidden by their founder's statutes to acknowledge the Commissioners authority. Trinity College, Dublin, is a royal foundation, governed by royal statutes, and wholly subject to the royal authority, to refuse information asked by the founder would be absurd.

No; that would interfere with the object of the Board which was, seeing that the University was likely to obtain some constitution, to secure for themselves alone the power of framing it, and thereby of neutralizing by subtle clauses, any apparent privileges which might be granted. The measure which resulted from this notable policy, was characterized by the clearness and exactness familiar to all students, of board-room literature. As to the grammar of it, we should like to know whether the Civil Service Commissioners would consider a man qualified to be secretary to an important board, who after two years devoted to preparation of his exercise, should write of "all such power as to the Provost, Fellows and Scholars, have been given granted or possessed." But there is a more serious fault. In the opinion of a great lawyer, the letters patent, if understood in the only sense which the words naturally can bear, would be of necessity *wholly void*. The words must be taken in a non-natural sense, if they are to have any force at all. In this a device intended to familiarize the Dublin Students with "non-natural" construction? But in whatever sense the words are taken, the letters patent, according to high legal authority, do not accomplish what they were intended to do, but something wholly different, and what they have done has been executed in such a manner as to leave unsettled the most important practical points of detail. To complete the insolence (we can call it no less) of this proceeding of the Board the letters patent when obtained were not communicated to those concerned; we dare say the Junior Fellows of Trinity College were favored with a copy, but the members of the University Senate or those entitled to become such, were left in ignorance of the new law affecting them.

Another instance less noticed is the Queen's letter of 1851, giving compensation for renewal fines. It is probable that the renewal fines were divided by the Provost and senior fellows, at an early period; the fact is, the amount was formerly too small to cause any dispute, and moreover, from the secrecy of the Board, no one else could know what estates were leased, or what fines were received. We cannot discover in the statutes any justification for this distribution, other than the negative one that it is not prohibited. The Statutes provide "in order that the intention of increasing the salaries, may be carried into effect," that in all College leases, "the Statutes of

Ireland in such cases made and provided be fully observed, namely, that one half of the annual value be reserved as rent. Now the statute of Charles I., here referred to was enacted with regard to all colleges, hospitals, ecclesiastical corporations, and bishops, for its intention is expressly stated to be, to prevent the future revenues of such corporations from being anticipated; to prevent, for example, a bishop from leasing the see lands in such a manner as to leave to his successor only an insignificant annual rent. It was not implied so far as we can judge, that governors of hospitals, or of colleges, had the right of appropriating the fines to their own private use. If it had been so, the intention expressed would have been, to preserve a sufficient revenue for the general purposes of the respective corporations. And the very same observation applies to the intention expressed in the college statute, which is to provide for future increase, and to prevent the Senior Fellows from absorbing the entire of the College revenues. The reader may naturally ask, how is it in other foundation. In Trinity College, Cambridge, which in many respects resembles Trinity College, Dublin, the fines are divided according to a fixed proportion among all the fellows. In Brasenose, Oxford, the senior fellows * divide the fines, but the commissioners state that they do not consider the arrangement justified by the statutes. The Dublin statutes make no special mention of fines, but they provide that if the revenues of the College should admit of an increase in the salaries then enacted, the same proportion should be preserved. Whether this clause determines the distribution of the fines, as well as the rents, let the reader judge. However, that may be the Board put the matter, as they supposed, beyond question, by obtaining in 1851, (*while the University Commissioners were sitting in England,*) a Queen's letter, granting them £800 per annum each in lieu of the fines which they resigned to the common chest. Of course, nobody stepped forward to say to the Government, Let not the question of the legality of the distribution of the fines, be prejudiced by this commutation,† for the whole matter was arranged

* It may be worth notice that the Senior Fellows of Brasenose, are, at least some of them, actually junior in College standing to the non-tutors of T.C.D.

† We of course, have not seen the letters patent, but we suppose that legally they do not prejudice the previous question.

privately. Now we do not want to have this part of the Senior Fellows' revenue disturbed; they ought to have a pretty good salary, and this is now the most unobjectionable part of their income. But there are one or two points to which we would direct attention; first, we have here a manifest confession, that the revenues of the College have admitted a very large increase in the original statutable salaries; but in violation of the statute, that increase has been, since 1758, wholly given to the Senior Fellows. Their fixed income has increased nine fold since that date, while that of all other officers in the College has remained the same. That increase, however, does not by any means represent the augmentation of their whole income. There are sundry other sources of revenue not yet sanctioned by Royal Letter. There are the Degree Fees, of which a good deal has been heard lately. There are the Decremments, under which head the Senior Fellows receive an amount which, doubtless to suggest its insignificance, they reduce in their answer to the Commissioners to a weekly sum. Each Senior Fellow, say they, is paid three farthings a week by each pensioner. They might, one would think, have done the thing respectably when they were about it, and made it a penny a week, with the customary sod of turf. Then there is an additional fee paid to each Senior Fellow in turn as Senior Lecturer, and passing over the minor fees, there is lastly, an income tax of five per cent. on the whole College revenues paid to each Senior Fellow in turn, as Receiver's Fees. All these fees are alike unsupported by the statutes, all alike were introduced, no one knows how, and all were condemned by the Commissioners. How soon it may please the Board to obtain a royal letter, granting them a fixed annual compensation in lieu of these fees, we cannot tell; perhaps they have done so already. We rather think, however, that the publicity which has been given to College affairs lately, will interfere with any comfortable settlement of this kind. A royal letter will hardly be granted, without some little inquiry; and if the compensation for renewal fines, had not been obtained by an able stroke of policy, before the Dublin Commission sat, it is probable that it would not have been tacitly submitted to, without some stipulation as to the other items to which we have referred.

We have observed that the period at which these several fees were introduced, is unknown, but unless we are mistaken,

we can point out at least, a limit, and not only so, but the event which probably led to the adoption of these innovations. The documents accessible to the public are but few, so that we are obliged to pick out and follow up the slightest traces, as much as if we were investigating the early history of Rome. It is not necessary, however, go back much more than a century.

We need not remind the reader of the clauses in the Caroline Statutes directing that when the College revenues should admit of it, an augmentation of the salaries of fellows, &c., should be made in the same proportion as was thereby assigned; the Board, with consent of the Lord Lieutenant and Visitors, having power to make such augmentation. Now the first recorded increase is that to which the Prince of Wales, as Chancellor, gave his assent in 1721. We should expect, therefore, that the salaries recited in his letter as then existing, should be the same, or at least, in the same proportion as those enacted by Charles I., or else that allusion should be made to some former augmentation. Not so: a reader of the letter would indeed necessarily conclude that it contained the very first augmentation, and that the salaries were those originally fixed, but on a comparison, we find that at some previous period, an increase had taken place doubtless by decree of the Board, in consequence of which the salaries of the Fellows now appear tripled, while those of the native scholars were not increased at all. Further, the salary of the Senior Lecturer had now reached four times its original amount, while that of the Sub-lecturers at first equal to it, had been only doubled. The Chancellor's letter augments all these salaries in such a manner, as to restore exactly (except in the case of the Provost,) the original proportion.* In order to do this, it was necessary to add two pounds here; twenty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence there; twenty-five shillings to a third, and so on. That this shews a desire to restore the old proportion, is manifest, yet this intention is not stated. This rather looks as if the statute had been violated before, but that it was better to remedy the mischief quietly, than to take any notice of the illegality. But who took the pains to have it remedied?

* Most of the salaries of the officers had been doubled, except those of the Senior Lecturer, and the of Deans, which had been quadrupled; those of the Fellows, tripled; of the scholars, not natives, increased two and a-half times. The letter of the Prince of Wales, made all the salaries five times the original amount.

In the first place the scholars were the party chiefly aggrieved, but without help from those in authority, they could do little. The Senior Fellows were not likely to give them this help of their own mere motion. But in the second place the Provost was Dr. Baldwin, then but recently (four years before) appointed, and his character is better known than that of almost any other Provost of former times. He is known to have been constantly in opposition to the Senior Fellows; he nominated Fellows more than once, and scholars once, against the will of the majority of the Board; and on one occasion even procured the expulsion of a Senior Fellow. This Provost, Baldwin, is traditionally reported to have been a kind governor to the scholars and students generally, and of his popularity with them, after the period now referred to, we have a lasting proof in his portrait which to-day hangs in the dining-hall; and which was procured "by voluntary subscription of the scholars as a mark of their respect;" such an honor was never paid to any other Provost, and we think it goes far to prove that to him the scholars were indebted for the recognition and assertion of their claims.

The next and last augmentation took place in 1758, also in the Provostship of Dr. Baldwin, and only a few months previous to his death. He fixed the salaries of the Senior Fellows at £100, of the Juniors at £40, and of the Native Scholars at £20. Although the value of money has fallen considerably since that date, the nominal salaries remain the same. It was probably after this time that the method of augmentation by fees was adopted, for it does not seem probable that any trouble would be taken to increase the Bursar's salary from twenty to fifty pounds, if he were in receipt of five per cent in the College Revenues, or that a paltry sum of four pounds would be added to the salary of the Senior Lecturer, if the salary formed an insignificant part of his income. But as long as all the Junior Fellows were Tutors, deriving the greatest part of their income from the fees of their pupils, there was no sufficient motive for objecting to the fees which the board might resolve to exact for the improvement of their own incomes. The scholars in fact were then the only party who had reason to complain, and that solely on the grounds which we shall presently mention. The foundation of Non-Tutor fellowships altered this. On the impolicy of that act we shall not dwell. But we may observe that the object at which it aimed was of itself sufficient to condemn it. That object we are informed

was to induce the junior men by the pressure of poverty to accept the college livings, and thus to ensure a succession of vacancies. No means of securing the acceptance of livings could well be more objectional; and supposing it to succeed the only circulation resulting in the body of Fellows would be in the tail, the motion in the upper members being as sluggish as ever. The proper means to have adopted would have been a diminution of the great inequalities of a Fellow's income in the different stages through which he passes. At present every ten years added to a Fellow's life actually increases considerably the value of his life interest in his Fellowship, the nearer approach to the great prizes much more than counterbalancing the diminished expectation of life. On the contrary the value of any office with a fixed salary is of course continually lessened, and by this double action the Fellows become more and more permanently fixed, the higher they rise in the list. Moreover, this inequality is in fact increasing, and therefore we may expect a still smaller number of vacancies in future, and a still slower promotion (on an average of many years) of Non-Tutors. Then gentlemen will of course devote their energies to some non-Collegiate occupation, and the best years of their lives will be wholly lost to the College. They cannot apply themselves to study and research such as would make them, as they are well qualified to become, distinguished ornaments of the university. No; if some reform is not effected the existence of this body of ill paid Non-Tutors through the six steps of which every Fellow must pass, will ruin the efficiency of the College. This is no exaggerated statement; we are sure of this, that the more the reader reflects upon it the more will he be amazed that such a monstrous arrangement should be allowed to continue, the effect of which is in short to prevent the College from obtaining any benefit from ten or more of the best years of each Fellow's life. Even this does not represent the whole evil, for it must be remembered that teachers are required in subjects not studied for the Fellowship examination, but when is the future lecturer to prepare himself for these? While he is a Non-Tutor, his time is occupied in making a livelihood by means of the knowledge he has already acquired, and when he becomes a Tutor at middle-age, is he then in favourable circumstances for commencing the study of a new subject? Is he even likely to commence at that late period, to apply himself to original research in the subjects of which he is already master?

Those who are most experienced in the work of private tuition will be best able to answer. Who can say what would be the result of a contrary system, one which would enable every fellow for the year or two following his election, to improve himself by foreign travel (as Bishop Berkeley did), or by the study of some special branch for which he might have some taste? It is needless at present to dwell further on this point. The Scholars' case demands a brief notice.

The case of the scholars as we would put it, is briefly this. It is desirable that a clever and industrious young man should be able to obtain for himself a maintenance at the College expense during his preparation for the business of his profession, if not during the whole of his undergraduate course. But it is not desirable that by a single success early in his career, he should secure such a maintenance for any lengthened period, as this would in most cases tend only to encourage him in indolence ever after. The latter proposition will not we presume be denied; with respect to the former it is sufficient to observe, that in every College in the realm, except Trinity College, an able student may by his own exertion in the pursuit of his ordinary collegiate studies, obtain an income sufficient at least to render resort to school teaching or the like unnecessary. In Trinity College, Dublin, a scholar on the foundation of one of the royal schools may do the like; but students from other schools, however industrious or accomplished, will not be rewarded by the College with a public maintenance. We shall not argue that philosophically speaking it is desirable, especially in a poor country like this, that ample provision should be made for such students. We are mistaken if the country will not think itself entitled to demand it.

But for those few persons who approve of leaving things as they are we would observe, that other Colleges, as we have shown, do make such provision; and multitudes of students who are not rich, but give good promise of future distinction, will be infallibly attracted to those Colleges where whatever merit they have is sure to be recognised, not by a piece of parchment but by the more satisfactory honor of one or more scholarships, worth from five to one hundred pounds a-year, which will both encourage and enable them to apply themselves to their studies with increased diligence, so that they may throw lustre on their College, and thus give it a new attraction for future students. This is the manner in which the existence

of such prizes promotes the prosperity, and, therefore, again increases the revenues of the College which is liberal enough to found them. It is a most short-sighted policy which cuts down the prizes in a great place of education, such as Trinity College. But it is said, the present scholarships are good enough for the class of men who obtain them, considering the moderate attainments which the examination requires. A manufacturer might as reasonably decline to introduce an improved article into the market on the ground that the existing article was fully equivalent to the price paid for it, and satisfied the demand. But he knows that a better article may command a better price and bring a better custom to his own establishment. And one would think it equally plain that the nature of the competition must be determined by the nature of the prize. It will not be long before the Fellowship Examination furnishes an illustration of this obvious principle. True, reply the Board in 1843, but increased competition is much to be deprecated ; a greater number of students than at present would be drawn off from their ordinary studies to read for scholarships, and would be seriously injured thereby. We protest we are amazed at this statement proceeding from the heads of the College. Reading for scholarships has positively, they tell us, an injurious effect on the education of the students, and of course it follows that the only benefit to the successful candidate is the small pecuniary emolument. If this be true, the sooner all examinations for College prizes are swept away the better. But in accordance with the second principle mentioned above we think it would be very unwise to raise all the seventy scholarships to a value much larger than the present. If the old distinction of native and other scholars had been retained, the salary of both classes being increased, if not exactly in their original proportion as provided by the statute, yet so as to preserve a considerable advantage to the native scholar, then these more profitable places might very well be disposed of by appointing to them those scholars who were most distinguished at their Degree Examination. This distinction was abolished, indeed, in 1828 ; but there is no reason why some measure should not now be adopted which would have a similar effect. It is not necessary to found new Scholarships, it is sufficient to carry out the principles laid down in the Statutes themselves, and make thirty of the existing Scholarships of much higher value than the rest. Scholars who distinguished

themselves at the Degree Examination or at the Theological Examination should be eligible to these places, and should hold for a period to be fixed by the Board. And we are not sure that the Board might not adopt a hint of another kind given by the ancient practice of the College. It was formerly the custom, before each examination for Scholarships, to read over the list of the existing scholars in the higher classes, and remove those who had been most neglectful of their studies, so as to increase the number of vacancies. Now we do not wish to leave such a very arbitrary power in the hands of the Board. We know that in former times it was much abused; but it is not very difficult to fix some definite standard of the distinction which every scholar should be required to attain in order to be entitled to retain his Scholarship. A provision of this kind is actually enforced with regard to the Bell's scholars in the English Universities, and with respect to Queen's scholars (elected from the Royal schools) in our own. These last are required to obtain a certain amount of distinction every year, but in the case of the University scholars we should enforce this rule only in connection with the Degree Examination. We would make a scholar's salary after that period depend wholly on the distinction he had obtained. But in the case of Undergraduates also there ought to be a sufficient number of exhibitions or other prizes to raise the income of the most distinguished and meritorious students to £50 a-year. An Exhibitioner from the Royal schools may have £50 in addition to his Scholarship and other offices, and in many cases may enjoy an income of £80 or £90, but this is a peculiar privilege of the students from those schools. It may be said that the foundation of Exhibitions may be left to private munificence. We regret indeed that Dublin College has not enjoyed to a greater extent the benefits of private foundation. But if the funds of the College itself are adequate, as we believe they are, let a portion of them be devoted to this purpose. No better investment could be made, for a tenfold return will accrue to the College in the way already suggested, and through the College to every member of it. A liberal and judicious distribution of rewards, fitted to attract men of first-rate abilities, to develop their powers and to retain them in the College, will do more for its prosperity by a thousand times than a few paltry successes in lists which a great University ought not to condescend to enter.

But we are often told the Scholarships and Fellowships of Trinity College are really superior in value to those in the English Colleges. This is an example of the fallacy of averages. By a similar fallacy it might be inferred that if one hundred new scholarships of ten pounds a-year, and ten of fifty pounds, were formed the College would, on the whole, be worse provided than it is. It is true that the average salary of each scholarship in Oxford is about £15, and in Cambridge about £17, but in the Colleges of the former University there are altogether about four hundred scholarships, and in the latter nearly eight hundred. The low average value is caused by the vast number of foundations of small value. But it does not follow that the average income of each scholar is as above stated. On looking at the Cambridge University Calendar, we find that in one College alone (Pembroke) chosen at random, one student holds three scholarships worth, together £90, another four worth £108, and so on. Thus, even places of small value being held simultaneously, may make up an important prize. But there are also scholarships of large value. There are some of £60, £70, £100, and upwards. The College (Brasenose ; Oxen) has 15 exhibitions of £120 each, with £35 worth of books. But without multiplying particular examples, we may observe that in Oxford there are at least fifty scholarships worth on an average £78 per annum,* and at Cambridge, there are 116, worth on an average nearly £50. These sums are exclusive of free commons. As to the fellowships, a similar observation may be made. If the average salary is low (about 220) it is partly because their number is great, 557 in Oxford, and 431 in Cambridge. They are given without examination (except in two Colleges) generally as the reward of merit, which when the total number of vacancies is fifty or sixty yearly, is not, except in the great Colleges, required to be very high ; the reward being, in fact, proportioned to the merit. They entail no duties, not even residence ; they may be held with remote benefices, schools, or other preferments, and they entitle the holder in his turn to the valuable College livings.† A fellowship in

* Not including the Eldon Law Scholarship, which is £200 a-year for three years, or the Snell foundation at Balliol.

† Here again to anticipate the fallacy of averages, it is necessary to mention that each University has between 70 and 80 livings, whose nett value (given in the Calendar) is over £600, and a proportionate number above £400.

Dublin, in similar circumstances, is worth exactly £40 Irish. The fellowship in Dublin is made valuable only when combined with a Tutorship. And as most of the fellows are Tutors, it is common to compare the income of a Tutor in Dublin, with that of a non-resident fellow without duties elsewhere. The fact is, that the Tutors in Cambridge have very large incomes, in some of the Colleges, we believe, £800 or £1000.

Now see what a prospect is open before a man of ability in one of these Universities; from the very year of his matriculation, he may obtain as the reward of his diligence and attention, prizes amounting to over £100 a-year; this enables him to apply without interruption to his University studies; he obtains, perhaps in addition to his College prizes, a University Scholarship worth £75 a-year; he distinguishes himself at his degree examinations, and obtains a further increase of income besides the certainty of election without further examination to a Fellowship worth from £200 a-year upwards. If he chooses to devote himself to any professional occupation he is unfettered by any Collegiate restrictions; if on the contrary he should prefer remaining within his College, he has no duties to interfere with his pursuit of literary studies, or if he choose, he may in various ways increase his income, a Tutorship, for example, if he should be appointed to it giving him a very large income indeed. And lastly there is a large number of more or less valuable livings,* of which he has, in his rotation, the refusal. He may be elected Head of his College, there are nearly as many heads in Oxford as Junior Fellows in Dublin, or University Professor; in short a man of ability has himself to blame if he is not in a position to choose the occupation most congenial to him.

Contrast with this the circumstance of the Fellowship's candidate in Dublin, the most distinguished man of his year, who nevertheless has never been provided by his *alma mater* with a sufficient maintenance, pursuing his studies under difficulties, obliged perhaps to take pupils by day, and read for Fellowship by night, ultimately, perhaps, after years of toil, disappointed in his aim, not for want of merit, but because no vacancy has

* Besides the livings in the patronage of the College, those in the neighbourhood of Oxford and Cambridge, are usually as a matter of courtesy supplied from men of distinction in the respective Universities.

occurred for him, failing, when it is too late to commence studying for a different profession, and then perhaps settling down as assistant in a school. Or if he does succeed finding himself fixed for several years in a position in which he feels his energies cramped, and his efforts for self-improvement checked; a position which precludes him from taking professional employment out of College, and yet does not provide him with regular occupation within, at least not on terms which would render it prudent for him to accept it. If the value of a fellowship is diminishing and the opportunities of obtaining it becoming rarer, while the path to success in all other professions is being made more open to men of ability, we may, without Beranger's magic glass, see the future Fellows gradually becoming *Les Infiniment Petits*.

ART. VII.—STEPHEN COPPINGER.

Within the last five months have passed away three veteran soldiers in the ranks of the old Catholic Association which, organised by the great leader, O'Connell, fought and won the glorious battle of civil and religious liberty. Without aiming to emulate the diamond wit and showy flowers of Sheil, or the vehement eloquence of "Honest Jack Lawless," the names of Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, Eneas M'Donell, and Stephen Coppinger, formed at one time an important engine of concentrated oratorical strength which accomplished some very remarkable cases of political conversion, and no doubt had considerable effect in breaking down the hostile policy of our rulers.

In the midst of life, and of health, and of happiness, we are in death. On Friday, May 28th, we met Mr. Coppinger, and while the sensations of heart and hand, produced by the hearty "shake" with which he usually greeted his friends, were still vibrating, we heard of his sadly sudden death. Mr. Coppinger departed this life on Saturday morning, May 29th.

As Coppinger may be regarded as the last of an important national band, we may, perhaps, be permitted to indulge in a few words of tribute to his memory.

Born in 1795, of an old and respectable family in the County Cork, of which the patriot prelate, Dr. Coppinger of Cloyne, was a member, Mr. Coppinger received the advantages of a sound early education, and a subsequently successful course through Trinity College, Dublin. His father, Thomas Stephen Coppinger, of Leemount, in the County Cork, observed some indications of talent in the boy, and spared neither pains nor expense in developing it.

Mr. Coppinger was an alumnus of Alma Mater during the struggle between John Wilson Croker and William Conyngham Plunket for the representation of the University; and Mr. Coppinger was stored with interesting anecdotes illustrative of that exciting contest. Amongst the number, we have heard him tell the following. Croker, although a high Tory, advocated the question of Emancipation as warmly as Plunket himself; and Dr. Sands, the Provost, (afterwards successively Bishop of Killaloe and Cashel), a man of liberal and enlarged

ideas, wavered as to whether he should support Plunket or his conservative rival. A recollection of the very virulent tone of Plunket's speech on the trial of Robert Emmet, gave Dr. Sands a personal distaste towards Plunket, and the Provost finally decided upon giving his vote and interest to Croker. Plunket heard some rumours of the operating cause of Dr. Sand's dislike towards him, and relying upon his great powers of logic and persuasion, he sought and obtained an interview with the Provost in order to explain his conduct on the memorable state prosecution in question. "Here," said Plunket, drawing a document from his pocket, "here is the report of my speech, *verbatim* : read it, and test by ocular demonstration, whether the language expressed by me upon that occasion has not been grossly exaggerated." "Sir," replied Sands, "I HEARD it, and that is enough!"*

Early in 1828 the plan of the Catholic Association was struck out by O'Connell and Sheil at Glancullen, the residence of the late Christopher Fitzsimon, Esq., Clerk of the Hanaper. This powerful confederation soon assumed a decided shape, attitude, and tone; and amongst its first adherents we find the name of Stephen Coppinger. He had only a short time previously been called to the bar—namely, in Hillary Term, 1819—and he well knew that in openly joining what the government of the day regarded as a treasonable convention he bade adieu to all hope of professional advancement. Mr., afterwards the Right Hon. Anthony Richard Blake, a Catholic barrister, had just been appointed to the high office of Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer, an event which had no small effect in fanning the flame of ambition in the Catholic bar, especially among the young and ardent members of that body.

It was not, however, until the year 1824, that Mr. Coppinger became a frequent and a fluent speaker at the meetings of the Catholic Association; and from that date until the achievement of Emancipation his name is continually met with in the

* It is right to add that Mr. Charles Phillips, in his interesting anecdotal work, "Curran and his Contemporaries," mentions that Plunket remonstrated with Dr. Sands in language of such force and eloquence that the Provost at length relented, and eventually became one of his most devoted partisans. No version of Mr. Coppinger's anecdote on the subject has ever been published before the present occasion.

records of their proceedings. To render the popular organization if possible still more irresistible, O'Connell devised a series of aggregate and fourteen days meetings which he kept constantly working in connection with the Catholic Association at the more advanced period of its existence; and of this important adjunct Mr. Coppinger always acted as secretary. He also discharged the duties of this office at the principal provincial Catholic meetings of the period, as the following extract from Mr. William John Fitzpatrick's "Life and Times of Cloncurry" shews:—

"The reader will be amused to see that Lord Cloncurry's 'unalterable conviction' at this period was, that emancipation never could be obtained, nor would it be worth obtaining, save from an Irish Parliament. As the following extract from a letter of Mr. Coppinger's to the author is introductory to his lordship's communication, we subjoin it:—'In the Autumn of 1827, a great provincial meeting of the Catholics of Munster was held in Cork, to which I was appointed secretary, and subsequently a grand public dinner at which the present British ambassador at Athens, Mr. Wyse, presided. As secretary, I sent invitations for the meeting and dinner to several Protestant noblemen and gentlemen, Members of Parliament and others, who were most distinguished for their support of Catholic emancipation; and, foremost among those friends of civil and religious liberty, was the late patriotic and lamented subject of your forthcoming memoir, to whom I addressed a warm invitation, and received in reply the letter which I now enclose.'

LORD CLONCURRY TO S. COPPINGER, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

"Lyons, Celbridge, 28th August, 1827.

"DEAR SIR—I am sorry to be so circumstanced that I cannot avail myself of the kind invitation of the Catholics of Munster for the 30th inst. Pray make my most grateful acknowledgements to them, and assure them of my unalterable devotion to their cause as founded in justice, and vitally essential to the best interests of my country.

"Ireland can no longer be despised; she can no longer be plundered with impunity of her wealth and her rights. Her voice will be heard, and her cause respected, in every quarter of the globe. How glorious will it be to the Catholics, if to them their country shall owe her restored prosperity! if, forgetting whatever is personal, they demand their own rights as

part only of what is due to Ireland. Does any man doubt that a resident legislature would long since have emancipated the Catholics? Does any man recollect famine, contagion, or death by starvation in the midst of superabundance, whilst we had to resist Parliament, corrupt as it was?*

"I am an enemy to half measures. That they are not only dishonorable but useless is, I am certain, at this moment felt, and will be so by the great statesmen of England, who have lately sacrificed so much to the hope of doing good. Much as I love my Catholic countrymen, I would not have voted for the Union as the price of emancipation; and I am strongly of opinion that emancipation never can be obtained, or be worth obtaining, but from an Irish Parliament.

"These, my unalterable opinions, have, under every circumstance, given me the comfort of an approving conscience, and have gained me what I value above all earthly possessions, the love of my countrymen.

"I beg leave, my dear sir, to return very many thanks for your most obliging letter, and remain, with great respect, &c.,
"CLONCURRY."

Mr. Coppinger's speeches read well; but he had too strong a Cork accent to render his oratory pleasing. His articulation however was distinct, and his voice sonorous, which always made him heard and understood with ease. Before closing this paper it may interest some of our readers to quote as a specimen of Mr. Coppinger's style and matter, one of his speeches at the Catholic Association. We have opened the file of the *Freeman's Journal*, for 1828, and merely select the following at random. It by no means merits to be regarded as Mr. Coppinger's best speech, but, most assuredly, it is not his worst.

After long and anxious watching on the part of the Catholic body, for some relaxation of the Penal disabilities under which they labored, a glimmer of light and hope at length, in 1828, radiated for an instant the clouded horizon of Ireland's destiny. Many able speeches, and some remarkable conversions, were made in the Houses of Lords and Commons,

* This phrase must, we think, include some typographical error. Ought not "to resist Parliament" be "*a native Parliament*"? And yet we find no notice of this obvious inaccuracy in the errata of the work.—Ed. I. Q. R.

and as an indication of the improved tone of the public pulse in England, the *Courier* newspaper, which for twenty years had labored with virulent and unflinching perseverance, to retard the Catholic cause, of a sudden changed its tone, and sought to qualify what it had so long been saying.

England it will be remembered was, at this time, threatened with the ambitious fury of the Czar.

Mr. Coppinger rose and said :—

“ When the official account of the Battle of Waterloo, and the subsequent surrender of the late Emperor Napoleon, first reached London, the organ of the English Government, the *Courier* newspaper, in the insolence of its triumph, vauntingly exclaimed, in the words of the French officer on seeing Charles the Twelfth dead in the trenches before Frederickshall, ‘ the play is over, let us go to supper.’ (Hear.) Was this announcement hailed by the Catholics of Ireland with similar feelings of exultation and of joy? No, my Lord, and with good reason; they felt that England was after obtaining a great victory, but not a glorious one, for it was a victory over public virtue, a victory over a people’s liberty; and they felt and foresaw it was a victory over their own. For thirteen years has the *Courier* been enjoying its blood-stained repast; for thirteen years has it been waving the oriflame of despotism over the ruins of European liberty; for thirteen years has it been incessantly proclaiming to the Catholic people of Ireland that the term of their bondage is to be eternal—that for them no ray of hope shall ever break in upon the political horizon; in a word, that they must for ever lie down as slaves in their native land; that hope, which comes to all, shall never come to them, while their only motto must be—

‘ *Una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem.*’

But, my Lord, when the *Courier* thus announced that ‘ the play was over,’ it forgot altogether that the *afterpiece* was yet to come. (Hear.) It forgot that although the curtain was dropped for a while, the theatre was still open—it forgot that although the great performer was removed from the stage, other actors may appear from behind the scenes—it forgot that there was a spirit and an elasticity in the hearts of Irishmen that no pressure could break down, no length of suffering abate or destroy. (Cheers.) At length the curtain has been raised once more—the note of preparation has been sounded—and, ere long, we shall doubtless see the different performers in their respective places; nay, the very trumpet of war has already blown, the sword is drawn—the Rubicon has been past—and from the banks of the Neva to the Guadalquivir, all eyes are now fixed upon the operations of the Russian army. In this state of foreign relations, the genius of Ireland stands forth, waving her green banner aloft, and proclaiming, in accents of joy and congratulation, that the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty has gained another triumph in the last vote of the British House of Commons, which, after a long and protracted debate (if that can, in truth, be called a debate in which

all the reasoning, justice, and eloquence, were exclusively on the side of Ireland) has agreed to take our sufferings into consideration. (Hear.) To celebrate, as it were this triumph in a manner worthy of a great people, have we assembled upon the present occasion, and although, my Lord, I am not among the number of those who indulge in any very sanguine hopes of success in the present session—although I cannot bring myself to think that the citidal of bigotry and corruption will at once surrender, merely because we have succeeded in carrying one of the outworks, yet I am not the less rejoiced that the first assault has been successful : and, trusting in the swelling tide of events, aided by the eternal and immutable justice of our cause, I am convinced the day is not far distant when Ireland must be free. (Cheers.) Indeed it is impossible to read the different speeches reported to have been made during the discussion on Sir Francis Burdett's motion, without feeling satisfied of this, and at once perceiving the high and commanding position on which we now stand, and from which, to use a metaphor of the late Lord Castlereagh, unless 'we turn our backs upon ourselves'—unless we desert our posts, or meanly make a surrender or compromise of one iota of our rights, not all the power of our enemies will be able effectually to dislodge us. Nothing could be more irresistible or convincing than the eloquent and powerful reasoning of our advocates ; nothing more flimsy or miserable than the sophistry employed against us ; and here, of course, I am only speaking of what appears in the London newspapers—as we are presumed not to be acquainted with what passes in the honourable House, and it would be well for the fame of some of its members, if this fiction of law was well founded in point of fact. The campaign was opened against us the first night by the English Solicitor General, Sir Nicholas Tyndal, with no better supporter to sustain him than the member for this City, or, more correctly speaking, the representative of all that is illiberal in Dublin, Mr. George Ogle Moore, '*par nobile fratrum*,' twin brothers in eloquence and liberality of sentiment. But, perhaps we should not be surprised at the conduct on this occasion of Sir Nicholas Tyndal, for, having himself ratted to each successive Administration that was formed during the last twelve months, he concluded he could not better atone in certain quarters for his repeated desertion of his friends and colleagues, than by pronouncing a tirade against Catholic Emancipation. But his special pleading about the Union and the Treaty of Limerick, was so completely blown into the air by the stubborn facts, so eloquently and forcibly put forward by the Knight of Kerry, that it would be a waste of time to say a single word upon the subject, and, as to poor Mr. Ogle Moore, whom some wag in the *Evening Mail* describes as a 'leading speaker' in the House of Commons, '*lucet u non lucendo*,' his speech was only remarkable for the colours in which he held forth the late King, George the Third ; for he assures us that his Majesty consented to the Union in the hope that it would put an extinguisher for ever upon the prospects of the Catholics, although, at the very same time, his Minister was secretly pointing to it as the *avant courier* of Catholic Emancipation ; so that Mr. Moore was holding up George the Third,

not merely as a stupid bigot, but also as a finished hypocrite—and this I suppose he wou'd call backing his friends.

The enemies of Catholic Ireland were not more successful in their plan of operations on the second night of the debate than they had been on the first; for, although Sir Robert Inglis, and Mr. Leslie Foster, true to his unvarying principles of intolerance as the magnet to the pole, endeavoured to make a rally, they were successively driven from all their positions, and compelled to quit the field discomfited and defeated. (Hear, hear.) Even all the artillery of reasoning that Mr. Peel himself could bring to bear upon the question, made no better impression upon the house, although he was as determined as ever in his oppositions to our claims.*

The third night of the debate exhibited our opponents in no better plight than either of the preceding ones had left them; and although the Attorney-General, Sir Charles Wetherell, attempted to cover the retreat of the no-popery combatants the roars of continued laughter with which he is reported to have been received, prove the little value set upon his arguments or assertions. But, to turn to a more pleasing theme—'look on this picture, and on that'—how gratifying is it to reflect upon that brilliant array of talent that was so generously marshalled on the side of civil and religious liberty, and which triumphantly sustained a well fought day. (Hear.) Sir Francis Burdett led the way in a powerful and impressive speech, judiciously bearing in mind that the first onset was half the battle; and ably was he sustained by the Knight of Kerry, the Solicitor-General for Ireland Mr. Doherty,† whose speech Mr. Brougham describes as a masterly production; by Lord Leveson Gower,‡ Mr. Lamb,§ Mr. Charles Grant,|| Mr. Brownlow¶—by such men as a Horton, and a North, a Wallace, and a Brougham, not forgetting the spirited eloquence of a Stuart—the honest and powerful arguments of that real representative of Dublin, Mr. Grattan (loud cheers)—the reasoning of a Huskisson—the youthful liberality of an Ennismore, or the masterly and unrivalled eloquence of a Mackintosh (cheers), whose vast and comprehensive mind, richly stored with philosophic lore, brings to his subject all the penetration and foresight of a statesman; while, whatever he touches, he is sure to delight and instruct all around him. (Hear.)

With such a host of talent on our side, were the question of Emancipation to be decided by fair reasoning, justice, and argument, it must have been at once carried in our favour by an overwhelming

* It is a remarkable but notorious fact that in exactly a year from that date he succumbed to the thunder of the Catholic claims.

† The late Chief Justice Doherty, whom O'Connell so often ridiculed and reviled as "Long Jack Doherty from Borrisokane." Though a staunch advocate for Emancipation Mr. Doherty was one of O'Connell's most formidable and implacable political foes.

‡ The late Earl of Ellesmere.

§ Afterwards Lord Melbourne.

|| Now Lord Glenelg.

¶ The late Lord Lurgan.

majority ; but, such is the hostility still existing against us, such the infatuation of our opponents, that the motion of Sir Francis Burdett, which was merely to take our sufferings into consideration, was only carried by a majority of six—and, even this majority, small in itself as it was, I have no doubt, on my own mind, was caused by the intelligence which arrived in London the morning of the deviation, and which was nothing less than a declaration of war against Turkey by the Emperor of Russia. (Hear.) That declaration, although long expected, came like a heavy blow upon the English cabinet—it placed England in a dilemma out of which she will find it difficult, if not impracticable, to escape at least with honour or security to herself. Well may the battle of Navarino be described as an ‘untoward event,’ in the King’s speech to Parliament, drawn up by his Grace of Wellington ; for ‘untoward’ it certainly was in the eyes of those who hoped to be able to perpetuate the degradation and slavery of Catholic Ireland. (Hear.) But, my Lord, it was something more ; the first cannon fired on that glorious day by the gallant Codrington, blew for ever into the air the flimsy structure of the ‘Holy Alliance ;’ it threw the game which she so long desired completely into the hands of Russia ; it gave an opening to the young and ambitious Nicholas to carry into execution the favourite project of aggrandisement, so long cherished by the great Catherine the Second. And who is there so short sighted as to suppose that he will now stop short in the middle of his course—that he will be satisfied with anything short of the possession of Constantinople—that he will allow the crescent to wave in triumph over its four hundred mosques—in a word, that he will be so weak as to enter into a treaty with the Porte, which declares that it only enters into treaties in order, like *other* countries, to break them when it has the power ? England, he well knows, is too crippled in her finances, too broken in her internal resources, to be able to offer him any effectual opposition. The time is gone by when she might say, ‘thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.’ Remonstrate and complain she may ; but, beyond this the Russian Emperor may exclaim to her Ministers, ‘*ulterius tentare veto*’—by the by, my Lord, these vetos are sometimes very dangerous things to meddle with. (Hear.) But this is not all—for, not content with the subjugation of Russia, the ambitious Nicholas, flushed with the European conquest, may be induced to turn his eyes from the Bosphorus to the Ganges ; and, perhaps, ere long, England, stripped of her oriental dominions, the spell of that power which she long exercised over seventy millions of Asiatic subjects being broken and dissolved for ever, she may at length see verified in the person of the Russian Emperor, the words which the Roman poet applied to another Emperor, the great Augustus—

—“*Super et Garamantos, et Indos,
Proferet imperium.*”

Nor is the prospect, my Lord, for England more cheering and encouraging in the West ; Canada is full of discontent, is already ripe for revolt, and only pants for an opportunity to be admitted under the fostering wings of the Republican Eagle. (Hear.) To what, then, has England to look to as her last resource ; to sustain and

stand by her in the hour of difficulty and of danger which has now come upon her? To Catholic Ireland, and to Catholic Ireland alone. How may she secure her fidelity and support, even at the eleventh hour? Simply and solely, my Lord, by an act of strict justice, by granting unqualified and unconditional emancipation. This, and nothing short of this, can, or, I trust, ever well satisfy or content the Catholic people of Ireland. (Hear, hear.) Since the first moment of their connection with England, the hour of her difficulty and distress has been to them the only one of hope and relief. The first relaxations of the penal code, 1778, followed the glorious struggle that terminated in the triumph of American independence; while it is well known that the concessions of 1793 were only extorted through the fears of the French revolution. England has not less reason to indulge in fears at the present moment than at either of the periods to which I have referred; and unless her councils are really guided by 'worse than madmen,' she will listen, before it is perhaps too late, to the voice of Ireland, which exclaims to her, in these emphatic words, 'be just and fear not.' (Cheers.) But whether success or defeat shall now attend us, the people of Ireland have one consolation to sustain them; they have borne persecution for centuries; they have clung to their holy and venerable religion with a desperate fidelity, 'through evil report as well as through good report.' This religion is doubly dear to them, as being the only remaining monument of their former greatness and prosperity. Let no considerations induce them to have what the sword and gibbet could not destroy, filched away from them by the wolf in sheep's clothing. And while the second duty of every true Irishman is to achieve the liberty of his country, let him never forget that the first and most sacred obligation imposed upon him from above, is to preserve and maintain inviolate the purity and independence of his religion.—Mr. Coppinger sat down amid loud and continued cheering.

O'Connell felt it necessary as leader of the great organization to assume at the National Council, perhaps more of the demeanour of a dictator than was calculated to make him a favorite with the minor labourers in the cause. Hence his split with Jack Lawless, Eneas Mc Donell, Lord Cloncurry, and in the subsequent agitation for Repeal, with Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and others. Coppinger appears to have been one of those who assumed an independent attitude whether rightly or wrongly, we shall not now pause to discuss. We have heard him say that in 1827, O'Connell requested him to give up "the Washington Motion," in the Catholic Association—a move upon which Coppinger had set his heart, and already given notice. "In fact," said the great Tribune, "His Excellency, Lord Wellesley particularly desires that you should: and if you persist, Lord Killeen, Sir Edward Bellew, and the whole of the

Catholic aristocracy will desert us." Coppinger argued the point with O'Connell, but was unable to convince him. Nothing deterred however by antagonism so influential, he made "the Washington Motion," and prefaced it by a very unequivocal speech.

A few other differences of opinion as to policy occurred between O'Connell and Coppinger, until at last they burst into open battle on the question of Catholic burial grounds. Coppinger objected to some points insisted upon by O'Connell, who revenged himself by sallies of that retaliative vituperation for which the great man was remarkable. "Boys," he said, addressing an auditory which was plentifully sprinkled with coal porters—boys did you ever see such an ugly, or a more hungry looking fellow? Stingy Stephen refuses to give us the light of his countenance—*oh wirrasthrue*." And, following up this line of retaliation, O'Connell subsequently nick-named him "the Knight of the Rueful Countenance."

We have heard Mr. Coppinger say that immediately after the achievement of emancipation, O'Connell met him and exclaimed, "well Coppinger you see I have emancipated you." "Rather," replied Coppinger half in joke, and half in earnest, "rather say that notwithstanding all your efforts to the contrary we succeeded in obtaining the blessings of emancipation."

Mr. Coppinger was stored with anecdotes of an exclusive character, and the writer of this paper thought it worth while, a few years ago, to note a few of his conversations. Speaking of Dr. England, the late Bishop of Charleston, he said that he possessed a greater fluency in writing than almost any man he knew. He had been editor of an influential Cork paper, and conducted it with great patriotic spirit, and ability. The hierarchy rather feared his influence,—which was decidedly democratic—and a memorial signed by nearly all the Bishops in Ireland, was sent to Rome praying His Holiness to appoint Dr. England to some vacant foreign See. Some of the episcopal body seemed to fear that on the death of the Bishops of Cork, or Cloyne, Dr. England might be elected to the dignity, and whether true or false he was suspected to have been tinged with revolutionary principles. Dr. Coppinger, the venerable Patriot Prelate of Cloyne, entertained a great regard for Dr. England, as well as a hearty appreciation of his talents, and refused to sign the memorial to Rome. This fact was

communicated to the subject of this paper by Dr. Coppinger himself.*

The following anecdote throws some light on the precipitate conversion of the Duke of Wellington to the Catholic cause in 1828, which a short time previously he had vowed to oppose to the death. The Right Rev. Dr. England, Bishop

* Mr. Fagan, M.P., in his *Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell*, thus refers to Dr. England:—

“He was a man of great powers of mind, amazing intellectual energy; possessing, too a masculine eloquence, and a stern, unflinching determination, well suited to a popular leader. He had all the qualities that contribute to the influence, and are necessary to the office, of an agitator. No literary labour was too great for him; no opposition was too powerful. He was, from the first, a decided anti-Vetoist. Indeed, we may affirm, he was the guiding genius of the anti-Quarantotti movement. He was, at the time we write of, Editor of the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, an honest, well-conducted paper; the downfall of which is a lasting stigma on the patriotism of the South. He worked up the movement against the local Catholic Board; and at last forced the members to publish their proceedings. Why was it Ireland afterwards lost the services of that distinguished man? Why was his lot ultimately cast in a foreign land—in the Southern States of Republican America, where his genius burned out, amidst a race of uncivilized slave-owners? He sacrificed himself to the service of religion; but would he not have rendered it more service as a Prelate, in his native land, co-operating with such able and exalted men as Doctor Doyle, in improving the condition of the people, and making Catholicity respected even by its enemies? The endowments of a mind like his, were partly lost in the semi-barbarous sphere of Charleston, and those Southern States of America, of which he became Bishop. The boundless regions of the Far West, presented opportunities too few for the exercise of those accomplishments and gifts, with which he was enriched. Religion might be propagated by intellectual inferior agencies. Amongst the busy, money-loving, pre-occupied, and scattered sojourners in those wild, half-settled territories, one mind, however masculine and energetic, could accomplish little. His profound learning—his theological acquirements fell upon a barren soil—though, as the result has proved, from their intrinsic vigour, they took root and flourished.

It was, therefore, always a source of deep regret, in after days, that circumstances, we believe of a private nature suggested his appointment to the Episcopacy in America.—He who broke down the *veto* spirit in Cork, would have rendered invaluable services in the various subsequent struggles for civil liberty, and social and political amelioration. For his was a master mind; and it was on such a stage, as society in Ireland afforded, that his noble and various attributes would have found material and room for action.”

of Charleston, North Carolina, informed Stephen Coppinger in presence of Dr. Miley, and "honest Jack Lawless," that he almost personally organized, in 1828, a force of forty thousand men, which, headed by General Montgomery, the son of an Irish Refugee, was intended for the invasion of Ireland, had Catholic Emancipation continued to have been withheld. Mr. Coppinger added that the Right Hon. Sir T. Wyse, author of the *History of the Catholic Association*, was aware of this fact; and made an indirect allusion to it in that work: and further, that the Duke of Wellington was in full possession of the Bishop of Carolina's scheme; and to its impending influence, and not to the dread of internal civil war, his Grace mainly succumbed. "This is a very important historical fact," observed Mr. Coppinger, "and not at all known. Even O'Connell himself knew very little about it, although some of his tail did; but the rumour was always hushed up as calculated to lower O'Connell's influence and prestige as the emancipator of Catholic Ireland."

Mr. Coppinger believed Dr. England to have been the spiritual director of O'Connell. * * * *

Speaking of Thomas Wyse, he said that he rattled over the *History of the Catholic Association* with too much rapidity to do anything like justice to the work. Report went abroad early in 1829, that Maurice O'Connell was writing it, and would shortly publish. Wyse and Purcell O'Gorman respectively resolved to have the start of him. O'Gorman obtained the key of the archives of the Association, and carried home with him, without leave or license, the papers necessary for the effective production of such a work. But he was naturally lazy. He procrastinated until his death, near thirty years after, and the work has still to be written. Mr. Wyse corresponded frequently with Coppinger during the progress of his book; and sent him a presentation copy. Mr. Coppinger noted several inaccuracies, and enclosed them to Wyse, who courteously acknowledged the letter, by saying that he valued them more than all the praise he had received from the public press.

Mr. Coppinger was always an intense admirer of the first Napoleon, and occasionally wore a locket, in which some of the great man's hair had been tenderly preserved. Mr. Coppinger could not help ejaculating, "*Et tu Brute*," when he read in Mr. Wyse's work a fierce attack on Buonaparte. Wyse, it will be remembered, is connected by marriage with the Buonaparte family.

At a public meeting in Dublin, in honor of the Bard of Erin, Moore referred in very complimentary terms to Sheil. Sheil

got upon his legs soon after, and made a very brilliant rhetorical speech, but carefully avoided all allusion to Moore. Many persons present thought it had an odd appearance. "I differ with you," said Coppinger, "Moore might speak of Sheil, but Sheil could not afford to speak of Moore."

Some of the rising generation who have seen the great colossal statue to Moore, in College-street, bent and stooped like the top-heavy frame of an enormous old man, may have been inspired with a false notion of Moore's real altitude, which in point of fact was exceedingly diminutive. Coppinger having been invited to an evening party, at Moore's mother's in Abbey-street, sat down on a low footstool to converse with "Bessie" and her caro sposo. Moore was standing, and his face, though in close proximity, was barely on a level with Coppinger's.

Coppinger had some amusing Bar anecdotes, of which he had personal knowledge. Everybody is tired hearing of the jokes of Lord Norbury; but Standish O'Grady, afterwards Lord Guillamore, was quite as much a wit. A well-known Dublin attorney, having practised in early life in the police courts, he contracted, to some extent, the phraseology usually heard before—what a London cockney would designate, "Beaks." Sometime about the year 1820, he became engaged in a suit, tried before Chief Baron O'Grady, in the Court of Exchequer, and addressed the Bench as "your worship," repeatedly during the day. The Chief first smiled at the misnomer, but afterwards waxed testy, and in a burst of irritation exclaimed, "Sir, you have been *worshipping* me all day." The attorney bowed, and sat down, but having occasion again to address the Bench, observed, "My Lord Chief Baron, if I might presume—" "Sir," roared O'Grady, cutting him quite short, "You have been presuming since 11 this morning."

O'Grady once asked Jack Ryan, a well-known solicitor, to dine with him. Ryan paid very marked and continued attentions to the claret. At length the Chief asked him if he would like punch. "No thank you Chief," responded Ryan, "Not being particular, I'll stick to the claret."

But enough of the cap and bells. Some short obituary notices of Mr. Coppinger have recently appeared in the newspapers, the tone of which cannot but be gratifying to his family and admirers. The *Dublin Evening Post* said:—

"Mr. Coppinger was one of the steadiest labourers in the great national movement for religious freedom; and to the last hour of his life, he was sincere, consistent, and really patriotic."

The Freeman's Journal said :—

He was secretary to the Catholics of the great County of Cork, and acquired considerable distinction by the ability and the energy with which he worked the Catholic question in that fine county. Nor was his name unknown in the greater meetings on Burgh Quay, where he occupied a prominent position among the more distinguished Catholic chiefs. Since then, however, Mr. Coppinger withdrew from public life and lived quietly, and unostentatiously, a simple and worthy citizen content to discharge less stormy duties than those which were incident to a more youthful period of his life. He had a great fund of anecdote respecting the public men with whom he was associated in early life, and by his information could supply many a link in the chain of events which have been unchronicled by the few writers conversant with that interesting period of our history.

Mr. Coppinger was an accomplished letter-writer : but it does not come within the objects of this paper to publish any selection from his correspondence. There is one letter, however, written not long before Mr. Coppinger's death, which, as it adverts in touching language to a domestic calamity that no doubt accelerated his end, and embittered his last moments, it may prove interesting to subjoin. The letter is addressed to the author of "*The Life, Times and Contemporaries of Lord Cloncurry.*"

58, *Amiens-street, Dublin.*

Wednesday.

"My Dear Sir,—I was favored at a late hour last night with your most kind and esteemed letter of condolence on the death of my beloved child, conveying in terms at once feeling, and consoling, and such *only* as could flow from the pen of *one* whose writings are so universally prized, the expression of that sympathy, which you, and Mrs. Fitzpatrick so tenderly entertain at the afflicting bereavement it has pleased Providence to visit me with. For this sympathy I feel, be assured, as indeed I ought to do, deeply, and sensibly grateful. That you should think of me at such a moment, when the angel of death had struck my darling child, who was the *pride* of my family, and whose cherished memory can never be effaced from my sorrowing heart, is such a proof of kindness, that I know not how to express my acknowledgements sufficiently. I beg to assure you that I sincerely appreciate this generous sympathy, conveyed in words at once so touching and so

true, and at the same time, so calculated to impart the balm of consolation in the hour of affliction. It was of Gastric fever of fourteen days duration my sweet child died ; and for the last two or three days, we had but slender hopes of her recovery.

“ Requesting you will present my sincerest regards to your good lady, and again thanking you for your very kind sympathy,

I remain with grateful esteem,

My Dear Sir,

Ever yoursmost faithfull y,

STEPHEN COPPINGER.

To William John Fitzpatrick, Esq.,
Stillorgan.”

Mr. Coppinger is reported by the *Freeman* as having been amongst those who paid the last tribute of respect to the remains of Mr. John O'Connell at Glasnevin Cemetery on Friday, May 28th. On the same day he attended the meeting of the Prospect and Golden Bridge Cemetery Board at 17, Usher's quay, and the expression of his face betokened such internal decay and debility that Mr. Matthias J. O'Kelly hired a covered car in which he brought his suffering friend home. In a few hours after he was dead. *Diabetes*—the wasting disease which so suddenly carried off the late Judge Jackson—had-been fatally at work.

Mr. Coppinger having been through life a practical religionist there was no need for a hurried death-bed repentance, and he died calmly and happily. How expressively true are Lander's words : “ Heaven is not to be won by short hard work at the last, as some of us take a degree at the University after much irregularity and negligence. I prefer a steady pace from the outset to the end, coming in cool, and dismounting quietly.’

ART. VIII.—POETS AND POETRY OF GERMANY.

Poets and Poetry of Germany—Biographical and Critical Notices, by Madame L. Davéziés De Pontés.—2 Vols. London, Chapman and Hall, 1858.

The poetry of every people undergoes with the nation to which it belongs, certain changes or phases dependant on the growth of taste, intellect, wealth or power. At first the rudeness of barbarism or tribe-life, produces war songs, or metrical accounts of the achievements of heroes, sung perhaps extemporaneously to excite the followers of chiefs to glorious deeds in battle. Mingled with these, the superstitions of heathenism, whose influence on the mind of man in a savage state is greater than that of any earthly power, are introduced to terrify the wavering or cowardly into the observance of the duties they owe their fellow men, by the idea of unseen agents watching their actions. When the nation has settled down to pastoral life, and abandoned the roving, marauding, or conquering phase, the bucolic era arises, when the delights of country life are sung, the woodland deities are invoked, and a host of kind, beneficent fairies, elves, and nymphs, who protect and watch over the husbandman, are invented. The gathering of men into towns, the building of fortalices, and the consequent strife for dominion, give rise to romances, songs celebrating feats of arms, ladies' love, and a more advanced form of religious superstition, founded on the more agreeable part of the creed of the nation. These forms of poetry alternate with each other until the popular element has gained the upper hand, when songs of the affections, high class lyrics, epics and dramas, in varied order, bring the language to its highest state of perfection.

Among some people the first phase partakes more of the heroic than of the mythological, as among the Greeks and Romans, whose mortals were kept separate and inferior to the deities. In others, as the Scandinavians and Teutons, mythology prevails almost exclusively, or the heroes themselves are turned into Gods. Odin, originally a mere mortal, peoples the Walhalla with his paladins and followers. Thor, the god of battles, seems to have been originally conceived as a blacksmith, with his huge hammer by which he vanquished giants. The second phase is almost completely wanting among the relics of

the Teutonic tribes, the only evidence of its having once existed being the legendary lays of gnomes, kobolds, nixes, dwarfs, and other inhabitants of the woods and fields, who play a very large part in the pages of early German romance. The third phase is by far the most prolific, reproduced at various intervals from the 8th to the 16th century, alternating with the lyrics of minne-singers, the songs and hymns of the meistersänger, and the legendary tales of wizards, witches, and goblins. When all these had died out, and the wars engendered by the reformation had spent their strength throughout the land, the revival of letters in the rest of Europe produced a chastening influence on the literature of Germany. Bodmer and others, by their influence as professors in many of the universities, fashioned taste of the people and them to a due appreciation of the merits of composition. They commenced the era of modern poetry, which has been brought on by various stages of perfection to the writings of Lessing, Klopstock, Wieland, Schiller and Goethe. Whether the German language has yet attained its greatest degree of perfectibility, is a question not yet decided, and probably will not be finally settled for another half century. But the most reasonable theory is, that it being a language, which in its present form has not been fashioned and shaped into general use, for a long time after the principal tongues of Europe had been so, it may still require a vast deal of developement. Certain it is that its literature within very recent times has advanced with giant strides.

German writers generally distinguish three marked periods of their national poetry. The first or heathen extends from the earliest times, when the achievements of Odin and his fellow deities were celebrated in the Edda, down to the twelfth century, when the Hohenstauffen dynasty ascended the imperial throne. The second or Schwabian period comes down to the times of Wieland and Goethe, whose age formed the third epoch, sometimes called after Charles Augustus, Duke of Weimar, a celebrated revivor and patron of letters. The heathen division cannot be said to be properly named, as it includes not only many Saga, dating from before the spread of Christianity in the north, but also many metrical ballads and poems of the middle ages, in which are introduced the superstitions and chivalry of the new religion. This classification is however very convenient, as the poetic power of the German people did not during that great lapse of time, undergo any considerable increase of strength or perfection.

The earliest recorded writer in German prose or verse is Ovid, who states that when he was exiled among the Getae, he attempted to compose a book in their barbarous language.

Ah! pudet! et Getico scripsi sermone libellum.
Structaque sunt nostris barbara verba modis.

It does not appear however what was the nature of the tongue in which he composed, most probably Gothic, resembling very little in structure the modern German. He chose for subject the decease and apotheosis of Augustus, no doubt in order to gain some favor with the emperor and shorten his exile.

From what period the Edda dates cannot at present be satisfactorily ascertained. No doubt it has been added to, and enlarged at various times. The collection of the present poems under that name is chiefly due to Charlemagne. They treat of the achievements of Odin or Wodin, and his heroes of the Walhalla, and indicate a great analogy between the ancient mythology of Greece and Rome, and that of Scandinavia or the Teutonic races. Some doubt has been thrown upon the identity of the divinities of the Scandinavians and Teutons, but we find that the Anglo-Saxons of Britain had the very same deities and traditions respecting them, before the introduction of Christianity, as are mentioned in the Edda. Odin appears to be the Jove although some consider him more resembling Mercury; Thor's "giant strength and redoubtable hammer" have a great affinity with the attributes of Hercules. Balder suggests the idea of the gentle Apollo; and Hertha, who drives through the land in a car drawn by white oxen, disarming warriors, causing the flowers and fruits of the earth to spring forth at her touch, recalls at once the benignant reign of Ceres. Mixed up with the actions of these deities are many legends concerning remarkable personages, the most striking of which, that of Wieland or Veland Smith, brings to mind at once certain superstitions formerly existing in parts of England, and the Grecian fable of Icarus, the Cretan, who gave his name to a part of the sea. Wieland was a cunning forger of metal, who having married one of the *Valkyres*, or maidens presiding over the carnage of battle, is deserted by her at the sound of a trumpet. She flies away from him by means of a robe of feathers which he endeavours to imitate. The King of Sweden seizes him, and compels him to work night and day, having cut his ham-strings in order to prevent his escape. Wieland revenges

himself by slaying the king's two sons, making drinking-cups of their skulls, and breast-clasps of their teeth, as a present for the parents. He flies away afterwards with the king's daughter, having discovered the secret of the robe of feathers, and mocks the king in the distance with an account of his revenge.

Attached to this mythology is a goodly array of spirits of a minor order, Elves, Dwarfs, Gnomes, Cobolds, and Nixes, who peopled the woods, fields, and rocky caverns, in the same manner as the Fauns, and Nymphs did among the Greeks and Romans, and interfered in the affairs of men. The stories of them and their good or evil propensities are innumerable, but the most remarkable are those of the white women, denoting a transition from Paganism to the rites of Christianity.

There are the white women who often appear at early dawn, or dewy evening, with their pale sad faces and shadowy forms; these are the goddesses of ancient Paganism condemned to wander through ages to expiate the guilt of having received divine worship, and sentenced at length to eternal punishment unless redeemed by mortal aid. At certain times they are permitted to appear to human view to seek that which alone can procure them salvation. A fisherman in the neighbourhood of Fieben, suddenly beheld a white woman standing before him; "Home, home!" she cried, "thy wife has brought a boy into the world, carry it hither, let me kiss it that I may be redeemed." The fisherman amazed, hastened to his cottage and found all as the white woman had said; but fearing very naturally to trust his new born infant into the hands of this unearthly being till protected by the holy rite of baptism, he had this ceremony performed, and then bore it to the sea shore where he found the white woman weeping bitterly, for the condition attached to her salvation was, that the child should not be baptized! and still at times does she appear upon the sea shore sighing and lamenting.

The goddess Hertha, mentioned by Tacitus, designated in the middle ages by the name of Perchta, plays a most conspicuous part in these legends. She had been spouse to Odin, and watched over certain districts of the country with beneficent sway, having the privilege of appearing on the feast of the three kings to the inhabitants of upper earth. In consequence however of a slight put upon her and her attendant dwarfs, she withdrew from the neighbourhood, which soon lost its fertility, and became lone and desolate. Some of those fables indicate the influence which the first seeds of Christianity had among the people, and the way in which the priests endeavoured to turn these superstitions to the advantage of the new creed.

The translation of the Scriptures in the Mæso Gothic tongue, done by Ulphilas, Bishop of the Visigoths, in the middle of the fourth century, may be looked upon as the earliest specimen of German literature extant. It is still preserved in the Cathedral at Upsal under the title of the "silver codex," having been brought from Prague by Count Königsmark. It is partially written in metre, and adheres in many passages to the rythm of the Greek version. Thus in Matthew, chap. xi. verse xvii, the original runs thus:—

Ἦλυσάμεν ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ὤρχησασθε
Ἐθρήνησάμεν ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκράσασθε.

The meaning of which is ; "*we have piped to you and you have not danced ; we have lamented and you have not mourned.*"

The Mæso Gothic version of Ulphilas is as follows :—

Swiglodedum izwis, jah ni plinsideduth,
Gaunodedum izwis, jah ni gaigeroduth.

The words of this passage do not seem to have much affinity with modern German, except those "jah ni," which are evidently the first forms of the "ja nicht" of the present day.

After Ulphilas a great hiatus of nearly four hundred years occurs, during which there does not appear to have been any noted lay produced among the German nations. No doubt they had their warlike chaunts and songs celebrating achievements of their heroes, but the first signs of revival are in the eight century, when the Northmen began to form their piratical excursions. One of these "Ragnar the sea king," the terror of the coasts, who was taken prisoner while invading the territories of Ella, King of Northumberland, and perished stung to death by serpents in a loathsome dungeon, has left behind him an ode sung in the midst of tortures. It is composed of short strophes, without rhyme, each commencing with the refrain "we fought with the sword." A series of similar lays, in which may be reckoned the Weissbrunnen Gebet, Hildebrand lied, Walter of Aquitaine and Beowulf, form the Frankish period of German poetry, in which a certain number of characters are constantly reproduced in different views and adventures. They are rhymeless, the measure consisting of a species of alliteration, formed by the accentuation of the principal words in each line commencing with the same consonants. The hero Siegfried, Etzel, or Attila, King of the Huns, Theodoric the Great under the name of Dietrich of Berne or

Verona, Günther, King of the Burgundians, and his vassals Hagan and Hildebrand, are the principal personages running through the whole.

Walter of Aquitaine appears to be the most complete of the series, although the only manuscripts now extant of it are in the Latin tongue. It commences with an account of an expedition by Etzel and his Hunnish army, in which he takes Hagan and Walter, then mere youths, as captives from the Burgundians. When they grow up the former escapes from his servitude, and the other having made Etzel and his court drunk, flies off with the king's daughter Hildegunda and two boxes of treasures. They arrive in the territories of Günther, the King of Burgandy, who sends out Hagan and twelve picked men to seize the maiden and jewels. They are vanquished by Walter and Hagan's son Patafred slain. Gunther and Hagan afterwards attacked Walter together, and fight until one has lost a hand, another an eye, and the third a foot, when they consider it right to make up the quarrel, become good friends, and return to Worms in company. This lay is attributed to a monk of St. Gall, Eckard, who lived in the ninth century. A manuscript copy dating from about that period is still preserved in the library at Carlsruhe. From some passages translated by Madame Pontés it would appear to have been written in a discursive ballad style, and gives a good idea of the manners of that strange age. Walter's declaration of love to Hildegunda, when he persuades her to fly with him, would not disgrace some of the more finished romances of the present day. He finds Hildegunda pensive and alone in the royal apartment, and the following scene takes place :—

Upon the maiden's lips he prest a tender kiss, the first.
Give me a draught of wine, he cried, or I must die of thirst.
Not long the maiden tarried, she loved the hero bold;
She filled with rich and sparkling wine the cup of ruddy gold.

She gave it to the warrior; he crossed himself and drank;
Then clasped in his the maiden's hand, her gentle zeal to thank.
She did not draw her hand away; but fixed on her his eye,
Sir Walter drained the generous draught and laid the goblet by.

I was destined for thy husband; thou wert chosen for my bride;
How often, lovely maiden, has the youth stood by thy side!
And never has a single word those lips of coral passed,
And never e'en a single glance thou hast deigned on him to cast.

But why deny each other in this sad and foreign land,
The only consolation which we can yet command?
But she did not dare to trust him, that fair and timid maid,
Awile she kept her peace, and then looked full at him and said;

"Thy tongue affects a language which is foreign to thy heart;
It is but bitter mockery, in which love has no part;
Young queens of radiant beauty thy hand and homage crave:
How canst thou then think of Hildegand, the captive and the slave?"

Then thus the prudent hero to the damsel made reply;
"Nay, speak to me without deceit, lay empty phrases by;
I have spoken to thee frankly, from my very heart, believe.
It is the truth, sweet maiden, Walter knows not to deceive."

Then at his feet the maiden sank, and cried with trembling tone,
"Command whate'er thou listest, I am thine and thine alone,
No power on earth shall hinder me thy bidding to fulfill;
For Hildegand lives only to do her Walter's will."

We now enter upon the cycle of the Niebelungen, containing several lays all relating to the same personages under different phases, and forming such a train of extraordinary encounters as are read of in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. The first is that of the Horny Siegfried, who may be styled the Achilles of the North, for he owes his extraordinary power to a bath of dragon's blood, which changes the surface of his body into horn, and makes him invulnerable. He delivers Chriemhild, a princess of Burgundy, from the jaws of a monstrous giant, and is married to her at Worms to be stabbed by Hagan, Günther's fierce vassal, in the only spot where he is vulnerable. Thus the termination of the poem is anti-classical, ending in the slaughter of the hero himself.

The Niebelungen lay itself, the crowning effort of ancient German chivalrous poetry, is of such a truculent nature that it is very difficult to conceive how it can have formed the delight of the ladies' bower of those ages of romance. The characters are nearly the same as before; Siegfried is introduced winning Chriemhild, the sister of Günther, by his prowess. The Burgundian king, seeking to obtain the hand of Brunhild, a warlike princess of Isenland, employs Siegfried to overcome her in the combat. A rivalry ensues between the two ladies, and Brunhild obtains the assassination of Siegfried. Chriemhild, for the sake of revenge, marries Etzel, the king of the Huns, and having invited her brother Günther and his wife to a banquet, procures them to be murdered. A general slaughter ensues, only three of the characters being left alive at the end of the poem. The action of the epic extends over a great period of years, nearly thirty, and by some has been regarded as proceeding from several hands, not put together by one composer. There are many passages of great power and beauty, impossible to give in a translation, which have caused

it to be compared with the great Greek and Roman heroic poems, but its unartistic arrangement, prolixity, and truculent termination, depreciate very much its merits as a production of human genius.

Another lay of this cycle, the Gudrune, may be considered to have more interest for our readers, as one of the principal personages is Siegbert, king of Ireland, and Hagan, his son. Hilda, the daughter of the latter, is persecuted by three royal suitors, who carry her off at various times, but she is at length married to her real lover, Herwig. The construction of the poem and verse is said to be much superior to the other lays, while many tender and artistic touches soften the harsher manners of the age portrayed. This, along with the other *Nibelungen*, was preserved in the Castle Ambras, near Innspruck in the Tyrol, by the Emperor Maximilian the First in 1517. It contains some 4,700 verses, of a gentle, melodious kind, well calculated to draw the reader on to a full appreciation of its beauties.

Another cycle, that of Dietrich of Berne, or Theodoric of Verona, contains the *Ecken Ausfahrt*, *Battle of Ravenna*, *Dwarf Laurin*, and the *Rosengarten*. The principal hero throughout is Dietrich, but in the last poem several of the characters of the *Nibelungen* are introduced. It begins thus in ballad style :—

Upon the lordly Rhine, there lies a fair and goodly town,
An antique city and well known to knight of high renown.
Here dwelt a gallant hero, all both knew and feared his sword;
His name was Giebig, and he reigned, a mighty prince and lord.

His gentle wife had given him three sons both fair and brave;
The fourth child was a girl, who brought unto a bloody grave
Full many a noble warrior, as the old tale hath said.
Her name was Chriemhild; never yet was seen a lovelier maid.

A garden of sweet roses was the beauteous virgin's pride;
A mile at least it was in length, and half a mile 'twas wide.
Around, instead of walls of stone, was a silken thread so fine.
No bower on earth, Chriemhild exclaimed, is like this bower of mine.

The bower is guarded by twelve knights, whom Dietrich and his followers engage to overcome. All are conquered except the horny Siegfried, husband to Chriemhild, whom on account of his early friendship Dietrich does not wish to fight. He is induced to do so, however, by a stratagem of one of his own warriors, old Hildebrand, and comes off victorious. There is more of chivalry and knightly bearing in this poem than in the others. It remained a favorite romance in Germany up

to the 17th century, and is the last of the extraordinary ballads celebrating the half barbarian heroes of the middle ages.

The era of Charlemagne from the 9th to the 12th century, did not produce much original composition in the vernacular German, although the conqueror and lawgiver of the Saxons established schools and universities in every direction, to foster the growing desire for learning in Europe. The chief productions were in the Latin tongue, except some few of a religious character in the native dialect, Heliand's Evangelical Harmonies, and the Ludwig's lied, which celebrated the victory of Louis III. over the Normans at Salcourt. The latter was written by a monk named Herschell, who may have wielded the sword and lance, as well as conned his breviary, in the troublous times. There existed however a cultivator of the drama in the person of Hroswitha, a nun of the convent of Gandersheim, founded by Ludolf of Saxony in 859. She imitated Terence, wrote six plays as she said herself "to the glorification of female chastity," six legends on saintly subjects and a panegyric on the Othos. This was the age of mysteries and farces, in which sacred events were represented according to holy writ for the edification of the people.

During the reigns of the Othos, Henry IV. and Henry VI. there does not appear to have been any advance made in literature or poetry by the German race. Their language still partook very much of the Frankish and Gothic dialects, in which almost the only remaining song, the Anno Lied in praise of Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, is written. There succeeded however shortly after a new cycle, or series of poems, similar to those of the Niebelungan, called the Lombard, evincing a more advanced state of civilization, more exclusively Christian belief, and more knightly manners in the heroes. These were Duke Ernest of Swabia, Count Rudolph, King Ruother, Orendel, &c. The last is the legend of the holy coat of Treves, and commences with a detailed account of the Saviour's death. It tells how the coat is thrown into the sea, swallowed by a fish, and found inside the animal. It relates the adventures of Orendel, in searching for it, how he rescues a princess from her rebellious vassals, and is rescued in turn by her, with the aid of a dwarf. The whole is evidently of a piece with the extravagant romances of the middle ages, brought to such perfection in Italy.

With Conrad III., of the Hohenstauffen dynasty, there arose a new spirit of poetry throughout Germany. The cru-

sades had been carried on for some time, blending together the different nations of Europe, and importing the manners of one into the other. The Troubadours and Trouvères of France carried with them a prevailing influence, which changed the habits of the German courts from their semi-barbarous roughness, to an excess of chivalrous and almost effeminate luxury. The minne-singers imitated the minstrels of the other side of the Rhine, almost deified their lady loves. "Frau minne," (love) became the divinity of the age, her favourite haunt being settled in Horselberg, a mountain near Eisenach in Thuringia, and called the Venusberg.

The Minne-singers with rare exceptions belonged to the order of knighthood. Their duty was to protect the feeble, to defend the oppressed. Every knight had his lady-love, who was in most cases, the wife of another. So universally indeed was this usage recognised, that the husbands generally acquiesced without any difficulty, and in their turn benefitted by the privilege. In a Provençal romance, *Philomena*, composed in the 12th century by a monk whose name has not come down to us, Oriunde, the wife of the King Matran, besieged in Narbonne by the army of Charlemagne, chances to see the Paladin Roland, and they become enamoured of each other. In consequence Oriunde most unpatriotically rejoices in the success of the foe, and to the just reproaches of her husband, that her delight is the result of her love for Roland, and that one day she will be punished for it, she replies, "Seigneur, occupy yourself with your wars, and leave me and my love. It does not dishonour you since I love so noble a chevalier as Roland, nephew to Charlemagne, and with chaste affection." Matran having heard this, retired quite discomfited and abashed.

All husbands, however, were not quite so accommodating. The Count de Limousin for instance, not only banished Bernard Count de Ventadour from his court and kingdom, on discovering his amorous devotion to his wife, though we are assured it was perfectly innocent, but actually shut up the poor lady in her chamber, where he kept her a close prisoner for a considerable time. But such instances of exaggerated scruples seem to have been the exception not the rule. That the choice of a knight or a lady-love was regarded as an affair of no ordinary importance, is attested by the ceremonies, with which it was everywhere accompanied. The knight kneeling down before his lady, swore to serve her faithfully until death, while the fair one accepted his services, vowed truth and devotion, presented him a ring, and then raising him, imprinted a chaste kiss on his forehead. Although it was in France, and above all in Provence, that those singular customs took their rise, the Germans as we shall see, were not long behind their neighbours in romantic gallantry.

Of course marriage was reduced to a mere material necessity, with which love was deemed absolutely incompatible. To what

strange anomalies this system gave rise may be imagined; a lady promised one of her adorers to accept him for her knight, if the other to whom she was sincerely attached, was lost to her. Having, however, married the object of her affection, and happening to love him still although he had become her husband, she was somewhat embarrassed when his rival claimed the fulfilment of her engagement, and refused to listen to his suit. But Eleanor of Poitiers, to whom the case was referred, decided it against her, alleging that she had really lost her lover, by accepting him as her lord.

This curious system was not however carried so far in Germany; the minne-singers who were all noblemen attached themselves to the courts of particular princes, by whom they were held in great respect. The dialect in which their lays were written was principally Swabian, from the native country of the reigning family. The first lyric in the German language is referred to Henry VI., son of the great Barbarossa. Spervogel and Wernher von Tegernsee produced devotional verses, and Henry von Veldecke, the most famous of all, wrote a new *Æneid*, in a low dialect of German. Frederick von Haissen was so engrossed by the devotion for his lady-love, that he continually said "good night" for "good morning," and turned his doublet wrong side outwards. He died in the Holy Land in 1190, having rendered his name and that of his lady-love famous by his deeds of valour. The reign of the Emperor Frederick II. may be looked upon as the golden age of poetry in the middle ages. The lays of 160 minne-singers of the period have been collected by Roger Manesse of Zurich, himself a member of the craft in 1800, of which Walter von der Vogelweide, Gottfried von Strasbourg, Wolfram von Eschenboch Hartmann von der Aue, Ulrich von Lichtenstein, and Jacob von der Warte were certainly the most superior. The last has left the following delicate little lay.

I.

Hark, the little birds are singing,
Merrily o'er mead and vale;
Lays of grateful praise are ringing,
From the daintie nightingale.
Look upon the dewy brae,
On the heath with wild flowers bright,
See how gaily they're bedight,
By the bounteous hand of May.

II.

Many a pretty little flower
Laughs out from the sweet May dew;
In the sunshine, hill and bower
Don their very gayest hue.
What shall soothe my bosom's care!
What shall comfort me I trow!
She with whom I fain were now,
Will not listen to my prayer!

A version of the poems of Walter von der Vogelweide was brought out in the modern German tongue in 1832, by Dr. Carl Simrock, and some by Tieck. The following will give some idea of his style.

I.

To me it chanced, as to a wayward boy,
 Who seeks in vain the charming face to
 clasp
 Which in the glass he sees, with eager joy,
 Until the mirror breaks within his grasp;
 Then all his joy is turned to woe and pain.
 E'en so I dreamed that bliss would be
 mine own,
 When I sought my sweet lady, but in vain;
 Much grief from that fond love,
 And only grief I've known.

II.

1.

Both pure and beauteous is my lady fair,
 And chaste and lovely as the lily white;
 Her breath is balmy as the perfumed air,
 Her eyes are like the sky on summer's
 night:
 The strawberry is not redder than her lip,
 Would I were but a bee, its dewy sweet
 to sip!

2.

When in her bower, to lyre or lute she
 sings,

The nightingale doth hush her wonted
 strain;

The falcon rests upon his outstretched wings
 And hovers listening o'er the grassy plains,
 In all she does, there is so much of grace,
 I know not which most sweet,
 Her music or her face.

3.

Her beauty thaws my heart, e'en as the sun
 Thaws ice or snow; but oh! not unto me
 Doth she show forth her beams! she is not
 won

By sigh, or pray'r, or tuneful melody;
 And yet I've loved her from a little child,
 And sum up ev'ry hour that she on me
 hath smiled.

4.

What boots it that all others greet my lays
 With loud applause! that ladies fair and
 bright

List to my song! I only seek her praise,
 I only seek to shine in her dear sight:
 Star of my solitary heart! look down,
 And soothe my bitter woe, or kill me with
 thy frown.

Ulrich von Lichtenstein was a wealthy Austrian noble, who pursued his lady with the most unremitting gallantry. He was disfigured by a deformity of three lips, of which he got one cut off for her sake; then he lost a finger in a tournament in her honor; afterwards he assumed female attire and having obtained an interview with his mistress, she caused him to be trust out of the castle window into the moat for his devotion. At length he was cured of his love at the age of forty-five by being maimed at the command of the cruel fair one.

Conrad von Würtzburg, Henry von Ofterdingen and Klingsohr of Hungary, were the last most celebrated minne-singers. The two latter are said to have defeated all the other minstrels of Germany at the "minstrel war on the Wartburg," which was made the subject of a poem in the year 1207. The contest is said to have taken place at the court of Hermann von Thuringen, the most polished in Germany, and was decided by the lady of the castle, as a tournament. The executioner did the duty of his office on the unsuccessful party, a barbarous practice not to be found in the other annals of provençal or German lyrics.

To the minne-singers succeeded a number of romance writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Their favorite subject was that of the Saint Graal, or vase in which the water was turned into wine at the marriage feast of Cannah. Another founded on Arthur and the Knights of the round table, was called the Parcival, composed by Wolfram of Eschenbach, who along with Godfrey of Strasbourgh and Hartmann von der

Age, may be considered the novel writers of their age. Their dimensions however are altogether too large for our space.

Another cycle followed, that of the romance, whose heroes were taken from ancient history. The Alexander-lied and Pseudo Callisthenes are specimens of this. Charlemagne and his Paladins furnished also subjects for the rhymers of the day in the Roland-lied, Flos and Blankflos, and several of a like nature. These however all declined at the accession of Rudolph of Hapsburg in the end of the thirteenth century. This emperor being wholly engrossed in the improvement of the commerce and wellbeing of his subjects, discouraged to a great extent the minstrelsy, which had been supported by his predecessors. It died away for a long period, to be reproduced in another form among the lower classes, the artizans of some of the most considerable towns of Southern Germany, Mainz, Augsburg, Ulm and Nurnberg, who obtained the appellation of meister sänger. Their songs have generally a religious or moral character, such as those of Rosenblut, and Michael Beeheim. Fables became also a favorite form of poetry, those of Bona and Hugo of Trimberg being the most celebrated. The Narrenschiff, or vessel of fools by Sebastian Brant must be considered an able satire on the absurd manners of the age. At this period arose the sanguinary wars of the Hussites in Bohemia, which so disturbed the centre of Germany, that very few traces of poetic composition during their continuance have been left.

The drama however began now to shew some signs of cultivation. As in the rest of Europe it commenced by mysteries taken from subjects of Holy Writ. The devil was a favorite character, on whom all sorts of tricks were played by cunning mortals. Dr. Paracelsus especially was often pitted against his satanic majesty on the stage. The character of these productions is of too scurrilous and doggrel a character to merit a place among the literature of a nation.

The French fable of Renard the fox, was successfully imitated in Germany at different times. Goethe has given since a delightful version of it, but the earliest "Reinecke fuchs" dates from the thirteenth century, and is supposed to have contained a covert satire on a certain Duke of Lorraine. Its subject is well known as representing a meeting of the animals, at which the lion presides, the pranks and subtleties of the fox forming the main interest of the piece. The wit or incident is not at

all equal to that of the French original, although it remained a popular favorite up to the middle of the last century. The *Narren Beschwörung*, or Exorcism of Fools, and the *Schilburghers*, were satirical poems of the same class, levelled against some of the religious fanatics of the day, or the assumed airs of grandeur of some of the wealthy burghers of the towns.

The writings of Luther in the commencement of the sixteenth century, his translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and the invention of printing, had a great effect in hastening on the perfection of German literature. Between his language and that of Bona two centuries before, there is as much difference, as between Chaucer and the English writers of the sixteenth century. His studies were not confined to Theology; he delighted in poetry and music, and influenced very much in these matters the spirit of his times. The Reformation produced many men of independent genius in all ranks of life, warriors, poets and theologians. Ulrich von Hutten was one of these adventurous men whom that age brought forth. He had been destined for the cloister but fled from it in disgust. His mishaps and those of his cousin Johann, who was murdered by Ulrich, Duke of Wurtemberg, on account of too handsome a wife, would form a good tale of romance. He has left various sonnets and small poems commemorating many of them. Germany at this time was troubled with the horrors of the war of the peasants, who had risen against the burthens imposed upon them and the coercion of their religion. Luther at first was the main cause in rousing them, but subsequently he declared that they ought to be exterminated. The sect of the Anabaptists renewed the contest and relighted the flames of civil war. In other countries the arts of peace, literature, sculpture, painting, &c., were being carried to the highest perfection, while Germany could only produce Hans Sach, Hans Holz, Fischart, and a few of less note. The first was a shoemaker, but of a most prolific vein in composition. Before he was sixty years of age, he had written some sixty thousand verses, besides three hundred comedies. Many of the former are hymns, others fables and satires full of humour and naiveté, which notwithstanding their rudeness, have elicited the praise of Goethe himself.

The benightedness of this period is no better evinced than in the persecution which was practised on many unfortunate old women and men on the plea of witchcraft, and the general

belief in the power of certain men, such as Paracelsus and Cornelius Agrippa, to control the elements. The legends of women changed into wolves, and witches assuming various forms, became so multiplied as to form the staple romance for nearly a century. The persecution of the unfortunate victims reached such a height that between the middle of the 16th and the end of the 17th century, it is calculated not less than 100,000 persons perished by fire. In the Bishopric of Bamberg in the space of three years, 225 women were committed to the flames. No wonder that the story of Dr. Faustus became one of the favourite themes of poetry and the drama. The subject was not always such as it is represented by Goethe, and it was frequently brought out in puppet shows and marionettes to the delight of the vulgar. In one piece 'tis by means of a ring that he recovers his youth, when he travels to Venice, Athens, and other luxurious cities. The ring is stolen from his finger by a lady that he loves; he loses his youth, and is carried off by the demon. In another play he has the power of evoking the heroes and heroines of Homer, and brings up Helen of Greece for some of his boon companions at a tavern. That such a person as Dr. Faustus really existed there can be no doubt, as he is mentioned personally by several writers of the age. Johannes Manlius knew him, and says that he was born at the village of Kundlingen in Wurtemberg, and studied magic at Cracow. He seems to have resided a considerable time at Leipsic, where many of his exploits are depicted on the walls of Auerbach's cellar. Here it was that he played the trick upon the students, who asked him to cause to grow from the table a vine covered with bunches of grapes. He did so, but when they stretched forth their hands to seize the bunches, the tree vanished, and each man found his neighbour pulling his nose with one hand, with a knife in the other as if about to sever it. The doctor's ride out of the cellar on a caak is also commemorated there, and other feats, which at one time formed the subject of many a ballad or farce in the middle ages.

The calamities of the thirty years' war retarded for a considerable time the growth of letters in Germany; it was not until near the end of the 17th century, that they began to revive from the prostration state. Gradually, however, certain schools of poetry began to arise, which though humble at first, laid the way for the great blaze of genius afterwards displayed. The

Silesian school of which Opitz was the leader; that of Konigsberg whose chiefs were Dach and Albert, that of Nuremberg ruled by Philip von Lezen and Holstein, with the second Silesian of Hoffmaunswaldau and Lohenstein were the academies, in which the rising taste was fostered. The greater number of these however are mere versifiers, much inferior to Paul Fleming, who has left many gems of sacred poetry. Andreas Gryphius composed several successful tragedies, as well as hymns. Paul Gerhardt too, a preacher at the Nicolair Church in Berlin, delighted his age by various effusions on moral and sacred subjects. All these however were only as preludes to the opening of the modern vein of poetry.

In the midst of the thirty years war, Gottsched published his poems, and was at once "hailed as a star of the first magnitude." He has been since reduced very much in public estimation on account of his want of invention, stiffness and dearth of imagination. But great thanks must be due to him, as a professor in the university of Leipsic for asserting the rights of the German tongue against the Latin, and his improvements in dramatic composition. Frederick the Great, who had a contempt for German poetry, permitted his verses to be recited before him.

But the real regenerator of letters was Jacob Bodmer of Zurich; he stands in the very gate of the temple of the modern Germanic muses. He was at first sent to Bergamo in Italy to prepare himself for mercantile pursuits. He threw these up, returned to Berlin, applied himself to attending lectures, studying English, and at length was appointed professor of literature at Berlin. He admired Addison and Sir Roger de Coverly, published a journal on the model of the Spectator, and produced a translation of Milton's Paradise Lost. These created a paper war between him and Gottsched, who then reigned supreme, and served to open the eyes of his fellow countrymen to the defects in their national letters. His two comedies "The Triumph of the good Wife," and "Mute Beauty" were acted with great applause, causing a revolution in public taste. To him is due the collection of the lays of the minne-singers, the discovery of the Niebelungen Lied and the Parcival. Several of his school, Kestner, Professor Rammler, Hagedorn, Von Haller, the two Schlegels and Gleim, contributed very much to improve the public taste, and to soften down the rough method of composition of the old schools.

The last writer, Gleim, was principally inspired by the heroism of Frederick the Great contending against nearly all the power of Europe. His war songs and hymns were chaunted by the Prussian soldiers, and contributed not a little to the discomfiture of the warriors of Maria Theresa. He produced also several fables, which gained a great reputation at Berlin. His desire was to form a complete German Academy of literature at Halberstadt, by drawing there together the first men of the country ; but the public mind was not ripe for such a consummation. He lived until the first era of the French Revolution, and predicted a dictatorship among the French people.

This period produced four other names, once the reigning monarchs of their day, Kleist, Gellert, Gessner, and Uz. The first was an officer in the Prussian army during the seven years' war, and gained great favour with Frederick on account of the hymns and chaunts, by means of which he inspired the courage of the soldiery. His poem of "Spring," raised him to a great height in the estimation of his countrymen, although it contained much of the rhapsody of the times about shepherds and shepherdesses. At the battle of Kunersdorf, he led his battalion as major against a battery, and had his leg and arm smashed. The Cossacks then stripped and rifled him, leaving him helpless on a heap of rubbish. He was carried off prisoner to Frankfort on the Oder, where he died from hardship.

Gellert filled the post of professor of literature at Leipsic, where he produced many hymns, fables and dramas, very few of which are above mediocrity. Yet he was very famous in his time, and rendered essential service to German literature, by his defence of it against Frederick the Great, who held the *Belles Lettres* of his countrymen in contempt. He delivered also moral lectures in the Oratorium of the University, which had a very beneficial influence upon the youth of his age. Gessner is well known in this country for his *Idyls* and the death of Abel, the characters in which are of such a pure, simple style, as not to belong to this earth at all. His effusions are very pleasing, but convey no feeling of reality. Uz enjoyed a large reputation during his life, and was even styled the *Anacreon* of Germany ; but he is now considered as wholly unworthy of the crown of laurels.

We have now arrived at a very striking era in German poetry, that of Klopstock's *Messiah*. He was the son of a farmer, but having received a good education in his native

town, and at the University of Schulpforte, he was able to appreciate the translation of the "Paradise Lost" by Bodmer, and to see how much his countrymen were inferior in the cultivation of the muses to the English and French. He undertook the composition of an original poem, the Messiah, and having first prepared matter for three cantos in prose, selected the hexameter verse after the ancient model, as most suiting the sublimity of the subject. The first part appeared in a paper named "Bremen Contributions," and produced at once a burst of enthusiasm in its favour. The new metre was rapturously applauded as being peculiarly suited for the German tongue, on account of its involved construction similar to that of ancient Greek and Latin. This however may be questioned, from the difficulty of producing dactyls and spoudees, long and short syllables, where the words are composed of so many consecutive consonants. It procured for him, however, the admiration of his countrymen and the patronage of the King of Denmark, who settled on him a pension of 150 thalers, or about 24 pounds a-year.

He was not at first so successful with the fair sex. A young lady, named Fanny, to whom he had devoted himself heart and soul, listened to his proposals and ended by marrying another gentleman. He was introduced, however, by his friend Giesecker to a second, Margaretha Mollar, who had criticised his poem in a favourable style, and consoled him for his lost love. She corresponded with him under the name of Meta, and they were finally united in 1754. Unfortunately he lost her in four years afterwards, when giving birth to a child, shortly after his father had been carried to the grave. The image of domestic happiness was not entirely lost to his mind, although he mourned for a long time over the wife of his youth. After 33 years of widowhood, in a green old age, he was again married to Frau von Wideman, who kindly tended his declining years.

His great poem was not completed until the year 1773, after 27 years of labour. The subject of it is so well-known, that it is needless to set it forth here. There are, however, some strange characters in it, such as the lovers, Selmar and Sidli, who are resuscitated beings, constantly engaged in contemplation and praise. Where their mutual affection, or worldly feeling comes from, it is difficult to discover. Abaddon, a fallen seraph, who had been induced by Satan to rebel,

is filled with unceasing remorse and repentance. After being reduced to despair on the day of Judgment, he is finally pardoned and received into Heaven, contrary to the creed of the Christian. The tone of the composition is kept at such a height, that it requires a religiously enthusiastic mind, to be able to follow the poet. Or as Madame de Stael says ; “ a certain degree of monotony results from a subject so continually elevated ; the soul is fatigued by too much contemplation ; the author occasionally requires readers already resuscitated like Sidli and Selmar.”

We will give the following specimens of his composition in order that the reader may have some idea, both of the new style of metre and versification, which he introduced into the German, and be able at the same time to understand a little of the spirit of the original. The commencement of the Messiah in the vernacular, is in these words :

Sing, unsterbliche Seele, der sündigen menschen Erlösung,
Die der Messias auf Erden in seiner Menschheit vollendet,
Und durch die er Adams Geschlecht zu der Liebe der Gottheit,
Leidend getödtet und verherrlichtet, wieder erhöht hat.
Also geschah des Ewigen Wille, Vergebens erhob sich
Satan gegen den göttlichen sohn ; umsonst stand Juda
Gegen ihn auf ; er that's und vollbrachte die Grosse Versöhnung.

Which have been translated by the celebrated Lessing into the following Latin hexameters.

Quam sub carne Deus lustrans terrena novavit
Crimine depressis, cane, mens æterna, salutem,
Infelicis Adæ generi dum foderis icti,
Sanguine reclusit fontem cœlestis amoris.
Hoc fatum æterni: Frustra se opponere tentat
Divinæ proli Satanas ; Judæque frustra
Nititur. Est aggressus opus, totumque peregit.

The passage where Abbadona is pardoned and received into eternal bliss is thus rendered by Madame Pontés.

“ Abbadona bows down in mute despair, when after a long and solemn silence he hears the joyful words.

Come ! Abbadona ! come to thy Redeemer :

Then swift as borne upon the tempest's wings,
The seraph soared on high. Scarce had he breathed
Celestial air, when once again his form
Assumed angelic beauty, and his eyes
Resting on God, beamed forth with light divine.
No longer could Abdiel restrain his joy ;

With arms outstretch'd, he rushed towards the being
 He loved so well ; his cheeks glowed with delight,
 Trembling with bliss he sank upon the breast
 Of the forgiven ; but from that glad embrace
 The seraph tore himself, and lowly sunk
 Before the Judge's throne. On every side
 Arose the sound of weeping—blissful sound.

Klopstock carried his love of the ancient metre and style of composition into his minor poems. He composed a great number of odes in various forms of construction to be found in Horace, Iambic, Trochaic, Cataleptic, &c. One example will be sufficient to shew the effect in German.

Sie schläft, oh, giess ihr, Schlummer, geflügeltes
 Balsamisch Leben über ihr sanftes Herz !
 Aus Edens ungetrübter Quelle
 Schöpfe den lichten, krystallnen Tropfen.

Und lass ihn wo der Wange die Röth, entfloh,
 Dort duftig hinthaun ! Und du, oh bessere,
 Der Tugend und der Liebe Ruhe,
 Grazie deines Olymps, bedecke

Mit deinem Fittig Cidli ! wie schlummert sie,
 Wie Stille ! Schweig ! oh leisere saite selbst,
 Es welket dir dein Lorbersprössling,
 Wenn aus dem Schlummer du Cidli lispelt.

Which Mme. Pontés translates thus :

HER SLUMBER.

She sleeps ! oh slumber, from thy dewy wings,
 Distil thy sweetest balm on that pure heart,
 And let her draw from Eden's silvery springs,
 Those crystal drops that bid all pain depart.
 Where the Red rose that virgin cheek has fled,
 There gently print thy fragrant touch ; and thou,
 Peace, holy peace, which love and virtue shed,
 Inmate of Heaven, but rarely found below.
 With thy soft wings, my best loved Cidly shade,
 How calm her rest ! Then let thy harp strings sleep,
 Thy budding laurel wreath will surely fade,
 If with thy song thou break'st that slumber deep.

Klopstock's great work is certainly, as Herder says, " beautiful in parts, but faulty as a whole." His leading traits, religion and patriotism, strike the reader very boldly, but it is at once perceived, that he adheres too servilely to the ancient models he had placed before his mind's eye. He stands one of the first who relieved his fellow-countrymen from a mania

for imitating French authors and styles of composition, but he caused to a certain extent another extreme, that of the Græco-mania.

Klopstock lived until the period of the French Revolution, and evinced great admiration for the efforts of France to free herself from tyranny. He celebrated the states general in an ode, and was elected a member of the French National Institute in 1802.

Contemporary with him was another writer, of a more vigorous mind, who in a different direction, chastened and purified the taste of Germany. This was Lessing, the son of a Protestant clergyman of Saxony. He at first applied himself to the stage, but at the request of his family gave it up. Attaching himself then to literature, he met at Berlin Mendelsohn, Nicolai, and De Louvaine, secretary to Voltaire. At Berlin he brought out his plays, *Miss Sara Sampson*, and the *Laocoon*, which astonished his countrymen from their novelty and vivacity of style. Shortly after he was appointed theatrical manager at Hamburg, where the German drama was beginning to establish an independent existence. Here also he commenced publishing a weekly journal, named "*Dramaturgie*," in which he attacked the French style of writing for the stage, the ultra classicalities of Racine, Corneille, Voltaire &c. He shewed how much the observance of the poetic unities of time and place and action hampered the composition of a piece, and pointed out how the range of the drama could be extended, by not confining it exclusively to high class personages, kings, princes &c. Shakespeare appeared to him the purest model, whose historical plays, he said, when "contrasted with the tragedies of French taste, are something like an enormous fresco painting in comparison with a miniature."

Lessing's writings are thoroughly German; he rejects with disdain the Frenchification introduced by Frederick the Great. His "*Minna von Bornhelm*" which appeared in 1763, was superior to his two former plays. The interest of the piece turns on the fact, that the hero who is disgraced, thinks himself unworthy of the heroine, who is wealthy. Before the end of the play their respective situations are reversed, and they see the folly of their former ideas. Two other dramas followed. "*Emilia Gallotti*," once esteemed beyond price in Germany, and *Nathan the Wise*," without doubt his master piece. He got into a quarrel with Klotz and some of the French school, which compelled him to give up his post at the theatre at

Hamburg. He fell into bad habits, gambling, &c. notwithstanding that he had married a Mme. König, who however died in a year after, while giving birth to a son. He died from the effects of a paralytic stroke in the year 1781, leaving behind him more celebrity as a critic, than as a poet.

Wieland was neither so lofty in his fancy and sentiments as Klopstock, or so correct in his taste and vigorous in his judgment as Lessing. He had been intended for the study of Theology by his father, but being obliged to relinquish it on account of ill health, he returned to his native town, where he fell in love with a young lady named Sophia. She at first requited his passion; her parents however opposed their union, and she married another. This mischance seems to have influenced very much the rest of his life. He commenced writing many minor pieces, none of which except "Agathon," the hero of which is a young Athenian Epicurean, seem to be of any value. Of another piece, "Musarion," on a somewhat similar subject, Mme. Pontés gives the following sketch:—

"We must agree with Gervinus that 'Musarion' scarcely deserves the admiration Goethe expresses for it. The subject possesses no very absorbing interest, and the moral is anything but commendable. The young Athenian Phantias, having dissipated his patrimony, has retired to a little farm on the sea shore, resolved to fly for ever a world of which he fancies he has exhausted the enjoyments, and where, at all events, he can no longer shine. He received no one save his two most intimate friends, Theosophron and Cleanthes; the former is a disciple of Plato, the latter of Diogenes. Musarion, a young courtesan, whom in the days of his splendour he had loved, but who had refused to listen to his suit, now moved by his sorrows comes to visit him. Ashamed to be seen in his present humble condition, Phantias refuses an interview; but Musarion persists, and at last prevails. The friends arrive. They order a supper, of which they force the recluse to partake. While at table Musarion victoriously defends the doctrines of Epicurus against his assailants. The hours pass on unheeded. The disciple of Diogenes falls dead drunk under the table. The Platonist makes love, in no very Platonic form, to one of Musarion's female slaves, and in short Phantias, convinced of the folly alike of his misanthropy, and of his high-flown expectations, yields to Musarion's generous affection, and permits her to share his retreat.

In justice to Wieland we subjoin a translation of a few of the verses, premising that if their grace and melody do not answer the reader's expectation, the fault lies in our version, not in the original:—

Wearied upon the grass he sinks again,
Unmoved he gazes on the landscape fair,
Unmoved he hears the nightingale's sweet strain,
Her tender lay soothes not his bosom's care.

The gloomy night of inward grief and pain,
 Hangs o'er his soul, and darkens all things there
 Since the last obole from his purse has fled
 His friends have disappeared, and flattery's self is dead.

Yes ! false and fleeting as the wind, are all,
 Friendship's fond vows, and love's deceitful smile,
 Soon as the golden showers no longer fall,
 Cold is the heart that lures us with its wile,
 Soon as the goblet's dry, in vain we call
 On our Patroclus ! yes ; that metal vile
 Is stronger still than virtue, wit or beauty,
 That gone—the swarm goes too, and Lais talks of duty.

Now thrill'd and saddened by the mournful truth,
 How vain those dreams so transient, tho' so bright
 Which lull us in the rosy days of youth,
 As in an atmosphere of life and light
 When man's a God unto himself in sooth,
 Phantias resolved this time to choose aright ;
 To tear himself, although 'twas somewhat late,
 From the delusive past, and brave the storms of fate.

The poet soon consoled himself for his lost love, by marrying the daughter of a merchant at Augsburg, but seems to have still kept up a species of Platonic attachment for Sophia, then Mme. de la Roche. He had several interviews with her, even in the presence of her husband, when she still shewed a very warm affection for him. He was appointed by the elector of Mainz to the directorship of the university of Erfurth, which he endeavoured to regenerate, and succeeded in attracting crowds of students to his lectures. The professors were annoyed with him on account of certain innovations, that he had introduced into the old system, and they and the clergy attacked him on account of the too great freedom of his poetic compositions. He gave up his directorship and repaired to Weimar at the solicitation of the duchess, as tutor to the young Duke. Here he brought out a journal, the "Mercury," in which he criticized the tastes of the day, and published various satirical pieces against the imitations of the French school. "Oberon" was also commenced here. It is founded on a story of French chivalry. "Huon de Bordeaux," and introduces the Oberon and Titania of Shakespeare. It is well known in these countries by the translation done by Sotheby. This was the last of his romantic works.

He purchased a small estate called Osmanstadt, with his accumulated savings, and retired there with his family. His

mother shortly joined him, as also *Mme. de la Roche*, who had lost her husband through political discomfitures. He was destined, however, to misfortune in his declining years. His wife, mother, and several children died; his property became reduced in value on account of the French wars; he was obliged to sell it, and retire to Weimar. After the battle of Jena, his house was sacked, notwithstanding the orders of Napoleon to the contrary. Marshal Ney visited him, and remedied, to a certain extent, his distress. At the conferences in Erfurth, during 1809, Napoleon expressed great desire to see, and conversed with him in the most cordial manner on the subject of Cæsar, who, Napoleon said, should have forestalled his assassins, as he had known them long before.

Wieland, at the age of eighty, translated "*Cicero's Letters*," and though he had suffered a severe illness, after which he broke his collar bone, he lingered on to January, 1813, when paralysis put an end to his existence. He was buried beside his wife at Osmanstadt, where a pyramid of white marble covers their remains, with the following inscription by Wieland himself: "Three souls who loved each other during life. Their mortal relics sleep within the same sepulchre." The inhabitants of Weimar have appreciated his talents so much, that they inaugurated his statue, along with those of Goethe and Schiller, in the month of last September, when the following tribute was paid to his name:—"Wieland was the first German author whose works were translated and admired by our neighbours, and by means of whom our poetry was replaced amid the ranks of European literature. Goethe expressly called him his master. His whole existence flowed on like a source, fructifying and cheering the spirit of the nation, and our latest posterity will hail him, even as we hail him now, as the immortal Wieland!"

The poet and the critic were joined together in Lessing, the latter perhaps in a greater degree than the former. The converse was the fact with respect to Herder, the incidents of whose life, as related by *Mde. Pontés*, possess much quiet interest. His passionate love of study when young; the admiration he excited when a preacher at Riga; his travels with the Prince of Holstein; his meeting, and subsequent marriage, with Caroline Flachsland, are all told with feeling. Herder did not produce much poetry, his compositions being chiefly translations, some from Scotch ballads, lyrics called "*Lays of the People*,"

and the "Cid," a free version of the Spanish romance. In his "Fragments for German Literature," and "Critische Wälder," he drew a very truthful contrast between the writings of the ancients and those of his fellow-countrymen poets. The philosophy of the age, Kant and Fichte, did not escape his criticism, by which he showed its tendency to destroy all true religion. He visited Italy late in life, where he met the celebrated Angelica Kauffman, whose misfortunes and virtues excited a great deal of interest in his mind. His acquaintance with Goethe and Schiller lasted for a great number of years; by both was he esteemed as a man of great worth. "I come from Herder," writes Schiller to his friend Körner; "If you have seen his picture at Graff, you can represent him perfectly to yourself; only that his countenance is not sufficiently stern. He has pleased me much; his conversation is full of vigour, intellect, and fire; but all his sensations consist of love and hate. Goethe he loves with passion, a sort of adoration. I must be quite unknown to him, for he asked if I were married. He treated me like a person of whom he had seen nothing, but who possessed the reputation of being somebody. Herder is amazingly polite. One feels one's self at ease in his presence." He died in 1803, having contributed much to elevate the taste of Germany in literature and poetry.

Schubart's life was much more extraordinary, combining reckless extravagance with the most fearless patriotic feeling, and great love of the muses. His follies obliged his wife to fly from him. He then set up a paper at Augsburg, in which he attacked the tyranny of the nobles, and the luxury of many of the German courts. Driven from thence, he took refuge at Ulm, where he became partially reformed, and was joined by his wife and children. The enmity of the Duke of Würtemberg pursued him; he was suddenly seized and thrown into prison at the fortress of Hohenasperg, where he lingered, sometimes between life and death, during a period of ten years. It was during this confinement that he wrote some of his best pieces, though unable for a long time to procure paper or ink, on account of the jealousy of the governor. A pair of snuffers was his stylus, and the wooden table of his apartment the tablet, on which he inscribed many touching lines. His mind was constantly occupied with his misfortunes, the miseries of the wretched subjects of the prince who held him in durance vile, and many romantic subjects. When he was released, he

resumed the publishing of his journal with great vigour, but having unfortunately broken his arm, his health failed, and he died in 1791. To his talents as a writer and poet, he united those of a good musician, having filled the post of organist at Ludwigsberg during some period with much distinction.

Voss commenced his classical studies by joining a Greek club of twelve students, each of whom took, in turn, the mastership, and lectured his fellows. From Klopstock and Ramler he learned to versify in hexameters, and commenced sending contributions to the "Göttingen Almanack of the Muses." He obtained a post of professor in the Philological Seminary from his friend Heyne, whom, notwithstanding, he attacked in a low, improper tone, and in consequence lost his post again. With a number of young men he formed a society named the "Gottingen Friends," which furnished materials for the "Almanack of the Muses." In this club were a number of poets of the day, Bürger, Boie, the Stolbergs, Hoelty, Miller, and Klopstock himself; they called themselves the "Gottingen, or Hainbund," and often celebrated by songs and verses, under wide-spreading oaks, the names of their favorite poets. Voss describes one of these festivals:—"On either side of the table sat the children of the bards. Boie at the head, leaning back in his arm chair. Toasts were drunk, first Klopstock's. Boie stood up, took the glass and exclaimed "Klopstock!" Every one followed his example, raised his glass, uttered the sacred name, and, after a reverential silence, drank. Then were proposed other healths, but not so solemnly, Lessing, Ramler, Gleim, Gessner, Gerstenberg, &c. Some one, Boie I think, named Wieland. We sprang up with full glasses, and exclaimed, "Death to the destroyer of morality, death to Wieland!"

The taste and freedom in versification, which Lessing and Herder introduced became so general, that each of the members of this society conceived himself to be a poet, and wrote verses, which were criticised and commented on by the others. Voss, who on account of his straitened circumstances was barely able to get an education at the college at New Brandenburg, and afterwards saved some money as tutor in a gentleman's family, became a member of the bund, through the kind friendship of Boie. Some of his fugitive verses were published in the "Almanach of the Muses," the organ of the "Gottingen Friends." Klopstock even encouraged him to

pursue the path of poetry, and he gave up his vocation of a clergyman, for which he had been educated. He proceeded to Hamburg to visit the author of the "Messiah," whom he looked on as little less than an Apostle. A short illness afterwards confined him to bed in Boie's house, where he was attended by Ernestine, the daughter of his friend, and fell in love with her accordingly. He settled down afterwards at the village of Wandsbeck, with his friend Mathias Claudius, and though he missed the directorship of a school, which he had solicited, yet his income from the "Musen Almanach" was about 500 thalers, or £65 per annum, at that time a reasonable stipend and sum to live on in Germany. This income was not, however, considered sufficient by the mother of Ernestine to allow of her marrying her lover; they were obliged to wait until Voss obtained the directorship of the "Musen Almanach," and an increased salary of £70 a year. The life of the young couple on this pittance must have been very constrained indeed; still they did not despair of better days. He hired a small garden pavillion in addition to the room he had occupied as a bachelor; a table, a few chairs, sofa, foot-stool, and curtains, were all their furniture, yet they were happy.

Here he composed several original poems, the "Evening Walk," "The Penitent Damsel," and worked heavily through a versified translation of Homer. This is one of the most surprising productions ever brought forth by man. It follows line for line, almost word for word, and in hexameter verse, the original Greek. He was obliged, however, to publish it at Hamburg, in 1781, by subscription, on account of his limited means. This translation had a most important effect on the literature of the time, and the German language. It brought the German hexameter almost to its greatest perfection, and rendered it ready and pliable for the master-hand of Goethe. Though Menzel accuses Voss of "Plunging all the worthy poets of old into his witches' cauldron fresh and healthy, whence they come out little Vosses, all marching in buckram," yet a great meed of praise must be awarded to him, for the lucidity and fidelity with which he has transposed Homer and Virgil from the old languages into his own modern tongue.

He continued still struggling with his pecuniary difficulties; one of his boys died, his wife became ill, but he obtained a good situation at Eutin, through the friendship of Count Stolberg. Having completed his translations, he turned his

mind to an original poem, "Louise," which for a long time was very popular in Germany. It was very much admired by Schiller, who declares in his "Essay on Naive and Sentimental Poetry," that "it resembles the antique in its purity and simplicity;" yet it has lost all its charms for the taste of the present day. His "Idyls" are much in the same character, and gained also a great reputation for their author.

The translations of Horace, Hesiod, and Theocritus were not so good as his first, and did not serve in any way to increase his fame. He obtained the office of Principal of the College at Heidelberg, just founded by the Grand Duke of Baden, and ended his days quietly in that town at the age of seventy-five years.

Voss's excellence lies in the peculiar faithfulness of his translations, and the perfection to which he brought the German hexameters. His other principal poem, the "Louise," though now thought very little of beyond the Rhine, yet enjoyed in its time a large reputation.

The Hainbund produced three other remarkable poets of the second order, Stolberg, Hoelty, and Claudius. The first, who was the son of the Chamberlain to the Queen of Denmark, has been rendered chiefly famous by his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. His friends, Voss, Gleim, Jacobi, and others, looked upon this "apostacy" with the utmost horror, and certainly used no very measured terms towards their former associate, when he was about changing his form of religion. His second wife, Sophia, Countess Dinadra, and the Princess Galitzin used a very strong influence on the mind of Stolberg, in producing the revolution of belief; but it cannot be said, on that account, that he was of weak mind, or not capable of forming a satisfactory judgment on the subject. That he was a true poet, his ballads, still very popular in Germany, attest to the fullest extent. The following will serve as an example:

LAY OF THE SWABIAN KNIGHT TO HIS SON.

Take, my son, thy father's spear,
This weak arm no more can bear;
Take the shield to guard at need,
Mount henceforth my gallant steed.

Fifty years upon my head
Has this iron helmet weighed.
Every year, my sword, my life,
Have I risked in war and strife.

Duke Rudolph, my honoured lord,
Gave this spear, and shield, and sword,
For his cause I still maintained,
And proud Henry's pay disdained.

Staunch in freedom's cause he stood,
Shed for it his noble blood,
And despite full many a wound,
Gallantly he held his ground.

Hasten to the war's alarms,
Emperor Conrad calls to arms;
Son, thine aid I should not seek,
Were this hand less old or weak.

Never draw in vain the brand
For thy dear, thy native land,
Vigilant in watch by night,
And by day the first in fight.

Every peril swift to meet,
Always seek the conflict's heat,
Spare the unresisting breast,
Strike down every haughty crest.

Win with thy standard wave
Or thy faltering troop, then brave,
Firm as some unshaken tower,
All the foe's advancing power.

Seven loved sons, brave spirits all,
Have I seen before me fall,

And thy mother, broken-hearted,
Faded, pined, and then departed.

Lonely am I now and old,
But thy shame were hundredfold
Heavier to this aged breast,
Than the loss of all the rest.

Dread not death, for die we must,
In the Almighty place thy trust,
Fight as fought thy sires of yore,
And rejoice this heart once more.

Hoelty was a native of Hanover. In his youth, being very studious, he acquired a competent knowledge of the principal European languages, by teaching which he was afterwards able to gain his livelihood. This, alternating with his poetical compositions, rambles in the country, and evenings passed with his friends of the Hainbund, constituted the even tenor of his life. He has left several pleasant poems and songs, generally of a melancholy character. The following, of another description, is still sung in Germany with enthusiasm:—

DRINKING SONG.

A very paradise of bliss
We owe to father Rhine.
Sweet I confess a gentle kiss,
But sweeter rosy wine.
When I but see the table spread,
And glasses brightly gleam,
As lightsome as a fawn I tread
That dances by the stream.

What matters all the world to me
When bright the bowl is gleaming,
And the rich juice I love to see
Ripe at my lip is streaming?
Then, like the gods, the flask I drain,
With purple mantling o'er;
The fire runs swift through every vein;
I drink and ask for more.

This world were but a vale of woe,
Of whim and gout and grief,
If noble Rhine wine did not flow
A source of sure relief;

That lifts the beggar to the throne,
Annuls both Heaven and Earth,
Gives an Elysium of its own
To all of mortal birth.

'Tis the true panacea, 'tis plain;
The old man's blood it fires;
It frights away each ache and pain,
And hope and youth inspires.
Long live the fair and blissful land
That grows the rosy wine,
And long live he whose skilful hand
Planted and propp'd the vine.

And every pretty little lass
Who plucked the grape I ween,
To her a full and brimming glass
I dedicate as queen!
So long live every German bold
Who still his Rhine wine drinks
So long as the glass can hold;
Then down to earth he sinks!

A spitting of blood and consequent consummation carried off this gentle poet in his twenty-eighth year. His verses, which usually appeared in the "Musen Almanach," are light and melodious, have been frequently set to music, and are still great favorites with his countrymen. Claudius, another of the associates, called the "Wandsbecker Messenger," from the village in which he resided, has left poems of the same style and character of those of Hoelty, and may be classed in the same school.

Another member of the Hainbund is still better known in this country than any of the former by the translations of Sir

Walter Scott. Bürger, the incidents of whose life are of a most romantic description, was in his youth of very dissipated habits until somewhat reclaimed by the influence of his friend Boie, who made him a contributor to the *Musen Almanach*. In this he published a well-known song, "Herr Bacchus ist ein braver mann," (Bacchus is a gallant fellow,) which resounded throughout Germany, and became a favorite chaunt of the Göttingen students. His "Wild Huntsman" and "Leonore" may be found in Scott's works, so that it is unnecessary to re-produce them here.

He married a young lady named Dora —, although at the time deeply in love with her sister, a girl of sixteen. This produced the most baneful effects upon the poet's happiness and that of his wife. During ten long years Molly the sister lived in his house, a constant cause of jealousy and misery to Dora, yet she bore it all with the calmest resignation, until a consumption relieved her for ever from the troubles of this life. Shortly after her death Bürger married the sister Molly, whom he has celebrated in many sonnets and minor poems, but lost her again within a year on giving birth to a son. This event threw him into a dreadful state of despair, which was relieved by a very curious incident. A young Swabian lady, named Eliza, fell in love with him merely from perusing his poetry, and published in a newspaper called the "Examiner" the following lines as a challenge to the man she adored:—

Oh ! Bürger, Bürger ! noble man,
Who pours forth lays as no one can
Save thee, replete with fire
And passion, lend me, to impart
The thoughts that fill my glowing heart,
Thy poet's lyre.

The verses continued in the same strain, and thus concluded :

For if a thousand suitors came
Laden with gold—to press their flame,
And Burger too were there,
I'd give him modestly my hand,
And gladly change my fatherland
For thee ! no matter where.

Then if again inclined to woo,
Seek thee a Swabian maiden true,
And choose me, I implore,
With German soul and Swabian truth,
And all the generous warmth of youth,
I'll love thee evermore.

Bürger's answer to this was a long letter, in which he gave a full account of his own peccadilloes, and warned the young lady against deciding to marry him. She, however, was resolute ; they were united, and the natural result followed. Eliza began to live in the most extravagant style, beyond the means of her husband, and finally treated him as he had done his first wife. A separation followed, which along with a law-

suit brought against him by his patron Count Ulten, soon brought him to the grave. His poems, principally consisting of sonnets to Molly, during his first wife's lifetime and after her death, have been done into English by various hands, and must be familiar to many of our readers. The following little piece gives a charming description of rural scenery :—

MY VILLAGE.

I claim a name
For my hamlet's fame ;
For meads so green
Are no where seen
As charms us here ;
Here rocks arise,
A pasture there,
While yonder lies
The meadow fair.
Here groves extend
Their shadowy gloom,
And lime-trees lend
Their sweet perfume.
The sheep-cotes stand
On yonder height,
A mead at hand,
My " calm delight,"
For thus I call
That lowly spot
Where stands my all,
My own sweet cot.
Where elm and vine
Their leaves entwine,
And form above
The shade I love.

A silver brook
With murmuring sound
From yonder nook
Its way has found,
And flows on singing
Its joyous hymn,
Mid tall trees flinging
Their shadows dim.
In its clear fountain
Reflecting still
The grove, the mountain,
The lambs, the hill,
The sunlight dancing
Across the stream,
The fishes glancing
With silvery gleam,
Now upwards dashing,
Now diving low,
Their gay fires flashing
With radiant glow.
Oh ! all is fair ;
But loveliest, thou,
Givest it the air
Of Heaven below.

The earliest dawn
Of rosy morn,
Awakes us both,
While, nothing loathe,
My steps she leads
Where morning's queen
The flowery meads
And pastures green
With dew is sprinkling,
Where pearls are glittering
And dew-drops twinkling,
And birds are twittering.
The bud uncloses
Its hidden bloom,
And blushing roses
Shed sweet perfume.
They blossom bright, love,
But not more bright
Than thy sweet form, love,
My life, my light !
And now we spread
Our frugal meal,
Where o'er our head
The sunbeams steal
Through leaves embowering
And branches flowering.

Thus in full measure
Still abound
Mirth and pleasure
In joyful sound,
Oh ! blissful lot !
If time be kind
And blight thee not,
But leave my mind
Untainted still
And firm my will,
Nor change the form
And heart so warm,
Then fortune go
To East or West,
Thy gifts bestow
As thou deem'st best
I still shall gaze
From envy clear,
And sing thy praise,
My village dear !

The Hainbund produced another school of poets, which bid fair to carry the German taste into an extreme opposite to that of Voss, Goethe, and Schiller, into whose era we are now arriving, the romantic as opposed to the classical school. These were the two Schlegels, Tieck, de la Motte

Fouqué, Novalis, and Schulze, who revived the taste for old Gothic manners, chivalrous poems, and a despoliation of the unities in composition. The taste of the old school in Gothic architecture, and paintings of the middle ages, was renewed; old cathedrals crumbling to ruins were repaired, and the works of Hemmling and Lucas Cranach were drawn forth from obscurity. The two first, William and Frederick Schlegel, are more celebrated as philologists and critics than as poets. William wrote at Jena in a periodical called the "Horen," afterwards lectured at Berlin, accompanied Madame de Stael to Coppet as tutor to her son, and finally ended his career at Vienna. His works on "Dramatic Art and Literature" are well known in this country; not so his translation of Shakespeare, which is the most perfect in German, rendering the sense and spirit of our great dramatist in a very accurate manner. He did not finish it completely. Tieck undertook the remainder with an equal degree of success. Frederick Schlegel was intended for a commercial life, married the daughter of the famous philosophic Jew Mendelssohn, and became a convert to the Roman Catholic faith. He followed the Archduke Charles in his campaign of 1800, and was appointed Secretary of Legation to the Austrian Embassy at Frankfort, and died in 1829. His work "On the Wisdom and Language of the Indians" and his "History of Ancient and Modern Literature" will render him famous to all ages as a critic; but he attempted poems, particularly one called "Lucinde," which were complete failures, from want of passion or imagination. He supported, however, very strenuously the school of romance, and wrote down the strictness of classicality.

The followers of the Romanticists did not long observe moderation in their principles or ideas. They fell into the most grievous absurdities, producing the most extravagant romances and effusions, which threatened to destroy all true poetic feeling in Germany. This was very much owing to the writings of Tieck, who though he did not himself wander very far into the regions of wild fancy, yet his influence led many others who were not able to restrain their imaginations. He was the son of an honest rope-maker, but from the early perusal of "Götz von Berlichingen" and Schiller's "Robbers" he worked up his mind to a high pitch of excitement. At the Universities of Halle and Göttingen, he studied very vigorously, translating while at the latter Shakespeare's *Tempest* and other plays, and writing a variety of novels. He threw himself into

the mystic philosophy of Böhme, Kant, Fichte and Schelling, for a time, only to abandon altogether as ridiculous the doctrines of transcendentalism. He visited London in 1810, paying the greatest reverence for every reminiscence of Shakespeare, and died at Berlin in 1843. His "Volksmärchen" or Popular Tales, and "Novellen," are his principal claims to celebrity. They are pretty well known here by Carlyle's translations.

Novalis was one of those strange minds, who now and then appear on the surface of the earth, and of whom it is very difficult to pronounce whether a strain of madness does not run through their composition. He united an extraordinary religious fervour and desire to fathom the attributes of the Eternal, and the mysteries of religion, a wild species of mysticism, which caused him to be nearly idolized by his youthful contemporaries, with a fantastic imagination bordering on extravagance. He fell in love with a young lady of thirteen, who died in his arms from consumption, and he died himself almost in the arms of another young lady, his affianced bride, at the early age of twenty-eight years. His "Henry von Ofterdingen," "Aphorisms" and other pieces carry romanticism to a most incomprehensible extent.

The author of "Undine," so familiar with all readers of literature in this country, De la Motte Fouqué, was well acquainted with many of the associates of the Hainbund, and contributed much to propagate the doctrines of the romantic school. His fame chiefly rests on the fairy prose poem above mentioned; but he has also left many finer pieces of considerable excellence. Schülze was of another order of mind; his ballads and songs are still very popular. He commenced when only eighteen "Psyche," which displays a fertile and lively imagination, but is spoiled by diffuseness and affectation. In 1811, he commenced another poem "Cecilia," which was interrupted by the war of liberation in 1813, when he joined the rising of his countrymen. He composed several martial songs, which roused his fellow patriots. Amongst them is one very well rendered as follows by Mme. Pontés:—

THE BLACK JAGER.

What is gleaming so gaily on bush and on brae,
 What is shining in greenwood so bright,
 Who comes forth from the wood in such gallant array,
 Who are rushing from mountain and height?
 'Tis the Jägers! on, on in a torrent we flow,
 And rush to the combat and pounce on the foe,
 To battle, to vict'ry—to triumph we go.

We come from the Hartz and its forests so old,
 Full they tell us, of glittering store ;
 But what do we care or for silver or gold ?
 Give us freedom—we ask for no more !
 To others we leave it—more nobly we feel ;
 We don our bright armour, our cuirass of steel ;
 For us upon earth the sword only has worth,
 And we care for nought save our fatherland's weal !

To drink and to love and be loved has its charms ;
 In the shade it is pleasant to dream ;
 But nobler to rush 'mid the battle's alarms,
 When the sword and the bayonet gleam.
 Love's torch is not brighter than glory's proud hue,
 And where thousands are sleeping, why we may sleep too ;
 As heroes we'll fall 'neath the sword or the ball,
 And pour forth our heart's blood so gallant and true.

Full oft in the darkness, in forest and glen,
 Or high on the storm-beaten rock,
 We have lingered to track the fierce wolf to his den,
 Nor dreaded the hurricane's shock.
 And now the bright sunshine is streaming above us ;
 We go to defend all we love ! all who love us !
 Be it battle or chase—in the enemy's face—
 To us it is one ; for no peril can move us.

Schülze entered a battalion of Jägers as a volunteer in 1814, and entered Hamburg with his corps when Davoust evacuated that town, on the reverse of fortune of the French emperor. When peace ensued he returned to the composition of his "Cecilia," a story founded on the introduction of Christianity among the rites and paganism of the Odin Theology. The wife of a Northern Monarch has secretly embraced the new religion. An angel is sent down from heaven to watch over her and her twin children, and presents her with a rose of gems, on the possession of which depends their safety. A wily sorceress, representing the ancient superstition, contrives to possess herself of the flower, and the most horrible misfortunes overwhelm the unfortunate princess. This plot and the heroic actions of a son of the queen carry the poem through ten very poetic, but somewhat wearisome cantos, any extract from which would be too lengthy for these pages. Another poem, the "Enchanted Rose," for which he gained a prize at Leipsic, is in a lighter and gayer style, but wanders off into the most remote regions of fairy land. He died of the same disease as Novalis, and very nearly at the same age.

Mme. Pontés has left out of her record of German poets the most remarkable names of the series, Schiller and Goethe, partly because they have been so ably written upon by other authors before, and also because she seems to intend to dedicate a separate volume to an examination of their lives and works. This will be an arduous task, when we consider that

some of the first literary men of our own age have already nearly completed the same labour. We do not mean either for the same reason to dwell much on their history, except so far as they form a link in the chain of German poets. Their merits are principally founded on their dramatic productions, although many minor pieces have issued from their pens, especially from that of Schiller.

Goethe cannot be said to belong strictly, either to the purely classic or purely romantic, but he is decidedly very much in favour of the classical. He may be called the Sophocles of Germany; yet his greatest work, the "Faust," must be classed among the productions of the opposite school. He was born at Frankfort in 1749, and studied law at Leipsic. He established himself at Wetzlar, where he practised, and there the principal incidents of the "Sorrows of Werter," fell under his notice. They were formed into a species of novel, which produced an immense impression in Germany at the time. The attention of the young Duke of Weimar was called to the author, who became shortly after Privy-Councillor, and accompanied the duke on a journey into Switzerland. In 1782, he obtained a patent of nobility, visited Italy in 1786, and on his return established himself at Weimar, where Wieland, Schiller, and a host of other celebrated men, combined to adorn what might be then called the Athens of Germany. He made a second voyage into Italy in 1789, and then accepted the post of director of the Theatre at Weimar. His productions were not confined to dramas, poetry or novels, but extended to various subjects of natural science, the metamorphoses of plants, theories of colours, and many principles of optics. During Napoleon's sojourn at Erfurth in 1807, he shewed great consideration for the poet, who seems not to have entirely forgotten the condescension, as he kept himself altogether aloof in the great national struggle against France, a main subject of accusation against him by his fellow-countrymen. His only son, the almost only remaining link of friendship or family which held him to life, died at Rome in 1830. This had a strong effect on him, and he departed in the year 1832 under the weight of years and isolation. His ashes rest near those of two of his greatest friends, Charles Augustus, Duke of Weimar, and his rival Schiller.

His two earliest works were, "Götz von Berlichingen" and the "Sorrows of Werter." They produced an immense influ-

ence on the character of literature at the time, the first leading it towards extreme romance, and the second to sentimentalism. One of Sir Walter Scott's earliest efforts was a translation of the first ; it very probably gave rise in his mind to the ideas of *Marmion* and the *Lady of the Lake*. The "*Apprenticeship of Wilhelm Meister*," written some twenty years after, may be regarded as a truer index of the poet's character. It was brought out at a second and sounder period of his life, and was marked out with due forethought during a period of nearly ten years. Concerning this work Carlyle has the following remarkable passage.

"It is wonderful to see with what softness the scepticism of Jarno, the commercial spirit of Werner, the reposing polished manhood of Lothario and the uncle, the unearthly enthusiasm of the harper, the gay animal vivacity of Philina, the mystic, ethereal, almost spiritual nature of Mignon, are blended together in this work ; how justice is done to each, how each lives freely in his proper element, in his proper form ; and how as Wilhelm himself, the mild-hearted, all-hoping, all-believing Wilhelm, struggles forward towards his world of art, through these curiously complected influences, all this unites itself into a multifarious, yet so harmonious whole, as into a clear poetic mirror, where man's life and business in this age, his passions and purposes, the highest equally with the lowest, are imaged back to us in beautiful significance."

It is impossible in this limited space to give a complete idea of the works of this greatest of the German poets. They have been so often criticized and translated by various hands in this country, that anyone who has any acquaintance with German literature, must have some idea of the immense field of imagination over which he ranged, and the influence he possessed on the spirit of his age ; his period of triumph extends from that of Lessing down to our time ; his effect on letters in his native land was somewhat opposed to the free national boldness and independence of Lessing. It is strange that in those among his works, which are the most novel and striking, his *Wilhelm Meister*, *Werter*, *Faust*, and *Fact and Fiction concerning my Life*, the principal interest is concentrated on facts relating to his own actions, and a certain amount of self portraiture. *Faust* is undoubtedly his greatest poem, and also the greatest reflection of himself, in which his deepest feelings and views of the world are depicted in various characters. We would recommed

Dr. Anster's translation to our readers, as one which gives the most faithful idea of the original. It has not been hitherto at all sufficiently appreciated in this country.

Goethe had a very strong inclination for supporting the aristocratic tendencies of his age, and also for regarding as nought the necessity for observing a strictness of morality among his female characters. There are very few of his pieces which on that account have not an injurious effect upon the mind of youth. By this means he has gained a great ascendancy over the feelings and tastes of the rising generation in the fatherland. His great excellence consists in the supremacy of talent which he displays, independent of the subject treated by him, in representing, adorning and delivering his scenes and feelings. Menzel says of him "Goethe is altogether a practical poet. He is in his works what the English are in their manufactories, extremely simple, neat, convenient, yet withal durable. He has done in German literature what Wedgwood did among English artists." It must however be admitted that many of the poet's characters are not of that description which ought to be made examples worthy of imitations; there are many of them weak and dishonorable, bearing no proportion to the magnificence of composition which is thrown about them. His beauty of language and euphony of verse cannot be surpassed, but when we come to consider several of his works in the entire, their influence, object and tendency seems to be completely unworthy of the form in which they are set. Each part is conceived with great spirit and exquisitely drawn, but combines to form a dangerous compound.

The secret of his popularity among his fellow-countrymen is this, that he wrote to describe modern society, its external propriety, politeness of fashion, and social refinement. Therefore he reigned supreme in his period. He is chiefly remarkable however for his difference of styles, and the manner in which he succeeded in producing pieces very much resembling the works of other authors in different forms of letters and language. His "Werter" has been regarded as approaching Rousseau's *Nouvelle Heloise* in visionary sentimentalism; his minor comedies copy considerably Molière and Beaumarchais; his tragedies are formed very much on the model of Shakespeare and Lessing; his lyrics imitate the old popular songs, and are subject very much to the influence of Herder. In his other compositions he is original because he holds himself forward as the

model. But he endeavoured also to mix up all the tastes of different ages and countries, Grecian, Roman, classical, romantic, Chinese, French, Indian, Christian and Heathen in one heterogeneous whole. This produces such a dashing of elements, that the charm of unity and the force of poetry is lost, and a modern tasteless style, without enthusiasm or fancy has been the consequence.

The drama in Germany had been freed by Lessing from the servile imitation, which his predecessors had given to the productions of the French stage. It had been relieved from the strict rules of the unities, and allowed to range freely into the realms of imagination. The other extreme was very soon afterwards reached; all sorts of extravagancies and absurdities were brought upon the stage, whose dignity was often outraged by scenes of low life, and vulgar representations. In this state of corruption Goethe found it; he undertook to remedy the defects and to exalt the national theatre. His "Goetz von Berlichingen," a drama of the 16th century in the time of Maximilian, a picture of true chivalrous manner and nobility, had a strong effect in improving the taste of the age; "Egmont" had a like tendency. To bring back the spirit of the period from the extravagances of romanticism he composed the "Iphigenie en Taunide," a tragedy of the purest classicality. Herein consists his great superiority over the compositions of Kotzebue and Schiller, who surpass him in other pieces of modern subjects, such as "The Death of Rolla" of the former and the "Robbers" of the latter. Goethe's pieces intended for the stage are not in fact of nearly as great an excellence as those which cannot be represented. The bounds which were put to the exercise of his talents in the one case seem to have weighed on and depressed them much below those of inferior minds. One of his strangest productions is the "Natural Daughter," in which the personages are designated under general names such as the king, the father, daughter &c. without any personal appellation. "Faust," his masterpiece, may be said to contain within itself every species of poetry, dramatic, lyric, romantic &c.; the variety of its subjects is endless, but its moral is bad, and as has been before said a sneering contempt for female virtue, reigns throughout it. This is the main evil tendency of Goethe's poems.

Schiller in his youth had been destined for the church, but his ideas were turned from it by some theatrical representation,

which produced a prodigious effect on him. He afterwards attempted the military life and the study of the law with the same effect. The works of Klopstock, Goethe and Lessing, had at this time somewhat purified the taste of Germany in literature. He commenced his career of letters in the University of Stuttgard, where he also took a medical degree and shewed a great taste for the study of psychology. In 1781, he published his "Robbers," the electrical effect of which rung throughout Germany. This is one of the most remarkable dramas in the language. The rapidity of the dialogue, the horror of the scenes, the dreadful character of the hero, raised the excitement of the piece to the highest pitch. But there are many defects in it,—improbable situations, confusion of scenes, extravagant often gross language, and manners of the eighteenth century carried into the 16th century. The moral tendency of the piece was so bad that it was forbidden in many of the states in Germany. His "Conspiracy of Fiesco" and "Love and Intrigue" are open to nearly the same objections, and do not possess the same stirring interest as the former tragedy. At Dresden he wrote "Don Carlos," and made the acquaintance of Wieland, Goethe and others at Weimar, where he was appointed professor extraordinary of history. Shortly after appeared his "History of the Insurrection of the Netherlands" and many historical treatises. He married in 1790 a Mlle. de Lengefeld, whom he had often seen at Rudolstadt, and the same year brought out his "History of the Thirty Years' War," which has more scope, development, description and freedom than his former work. He received pensions from the hereditary prince and from the Prime Minister of Denmark, which enabled him to carry on his literary labors without interruption. The Duke of Weimar also favored and supported him, he commenced the drama of Wallenstein in 1792, and published the magazine, called "die Horen" "The Hours" in 1795, and a series of epigrammatic distichs in common with Goethe in the "Musen Almanack" of 1797. His constant study and weakness of constitution brought on a disease of the chest which never was entirely cured. This prevented him from following up his writings as he desired. Many princes and states endeavoured to secure his presence, but the Duke of Weimar who obtained for him patents of nobility and lucrative offices fixed him at his capital, where he enjoyed the society of his friend Goethe, and an opportunity of superintending the

theatre there. His last pieces were for the stage, "Mary Queen of Scots," "Joan of Arc," "William Tell," and the "Bride of Mesina." He expired in 1805 in the 46th year of his age of a malignant fever.

Schiller is accused of having given to his plays a romantic coarseness, which does not distinguish between the elegance of literature and of common life. But it must be said of him, that he represented nothing but great and noble characters, that the dignity of his pieces is well sustained, without the immoral tendency of Goethe's writing, or the mysticism of Kotzebue and Werner. Schiller was more popular with the lower classes, Goethe with the higher, because the first delineated the true German character from its originals, the latter only from an ideal perfection of aristocracy and fashion. The minor poetry of Schiller is also full of a youthful, energetic spirit, which purified and invigorated the taste of his fellow-countrymen. There are so many, and so good translations from his works, that it would be waste of space to give any of them here. They contain so much of the philosophy of life, that they work upon the consciences of men, opposing everything evil and commonplace. His ideal characters are particularly distinguished by their purity, nobleness, and the fire of passion which they contain. Schiller may be called the Euripides of the German drama. He is not so varied, so vast in his conceptions, or so striking in his characters as Goethe, but the generosity and nobleness of his own soul pervades all his productions, and engender an enthusiasm for virtue, liberty and greatness in his readers and audience.

During nearly a period of fifty years the popularity of these two great dramatists, Goethe and Schiller, was eclipsed by that of a much inferior writer Kotzebue. His merits were at one time most ridiculously exaggerated, and since have been as unjustly depreciated. Many of his pieces are certainly open to the charge of frivolity and tediousness, but it must be also allowed that they possess several passages of great power and beauty. The greater number of them, "The Two Brothers," "Misanthropy and Repentance," "The Hussites," "The Death of Rolla, or Pizarro," have been translated into English and other languages, so that it is unnecessary to do more than allude to them here. His greatest faults are these, a morbid sensibility and straining after effect, not sufficient attention to the morals, manners, and national characters of his personages,

but a lively interest pervades all his pieces, and has made them be very popular wherever they have been represented.

Romanticism had a very powerful effect upon the drama, as well as upon lyric poetry in Germany. It tended to produce an exaggerated and absurd style of performance, full of strong and exciting incidents mixed up with mysterious and supernatural horrors scarcely fit for the stage. The principal authors of this style were Müllner, Werner, Grillparzer, and Kleist. The first began his career in an extraordinary manner, by rivalling his elder brother for the hand of a young lady, against the will of his own mother. It was not until the brother and mother died, that he obtained the accomplishment of his wishes. This however did not give him continued happiness. His wife was more inclined to dance, than to listen to his verses or enjoy his conversation, so that the union turned out to be anything but well assorted. In 1812 he brought out a dramatic poem, "*Schuld*," (*Crime*,) in which there is great melody of verse and vivid imagery, but the extravagant idea of a presiding fate, or overpowering destiny, something like the "*Deus ex Machinâ*" of the Greek tragedies, reigns throughout the action. The interest of the piece turns on the fulfilment of a fearful prophecy, by which the hero kills his brother; then torn with remorse destroys himself, which example the heroine imitates, producing a horrible fascination on the mind of the reader. The reputation of this drama was so great, that the Empress Elizabeth of Russia had it played before her, and presented the author with a diamond ring in token of her admiration. Müllner did not long survive the breach of his domestic happiness; he died rather suddenly in the year 1829.

After Schiller and Goethe, no man's plays have been so popular in Germany, as those of Werner. His life was one of extraordinary vicissitudes, beginning by the bed-side of his insane mother. He married three wives, the two first of which are altogether lost sight of; the third a Polish girl named Maria, was obliged to get a divorce from him on account of his extravagance and licentiousness, but strange to say, she and her second husband lived on terms of intimacy with him for a long period afterwards. He also was a companion of Mme. de Staël at Coppet, along with Schlegel, Chamisso, &c. Suddenly he went to Rome, joined the Roman Catholic Church, studied Theology, was made priest at Aschaffenburg, and for

a series of years preached to admiring audiences in Vienna, As an author he has shown great boldness and richness of fancy, strong and abundant fluency of language, kindness of feeling, and appreciation of all that is excellent. He has certainly some confusion of thought, mingling the romantic with the real, a confusion of the offspring of imagination with the facts of everyday life. His drama "Luther," was hailed through Germany with a burst of enthusiasm, although the characters are too ideal and fantastic. "Attila" is not so much darkened by mysticism, the personages approach nearer to those of actual history. It is founded on the tale of Hildegunda, Attila's last wife, whose father and brothers he had caused to be murdered. He then forced the maiden to become his wife, but the next morning the conqueror was found weltering in his blood, his bride seated beside his bed, bathed in tears and wrapt in her long veil. The "29th of February," the most striking and popular of Werner's dramas, is constructed from very simple but horrible materials. The scene is laid in an Alpine cottage between the cotter, his wife, and his son. The old man had slain his father in his youth, and the curse of Cain followed him. His own son slew his young sister, then fled into foreign service, and now returns to his father's roof without being recognised. The father, who has made a practice of murdering strangers under his roof, stabs his son while asleep for some gold he carried about him, and learns from his dying lips the relationship which exists between them. The plot and incidents are of the most distressing character, heightened very much by the situation and mode of life of the personages who enact it.

Another member of the romantic school of a visionary, though powerful mind, was Kleist. He began his career in the army, then studied at Frankfort for a professorship, then repaired to Berlin to endeavour to advance himself in life. He met successively with two young ladies, who returned his affection, but his wayward and extravagant procrastination and absurd ideas about domestic happiness, compelled them to give up their engagements with him. He met Wieland's son in Switzerland, through whom he obtained an intimacy with the father, and afterwards with Goethe and Schiller. At Königsberg where he settled for some time he composed several tales, and dramas, the "Schroffenstein Family," in which two fathers kill their own children, and a comedy, "The Broken Jug," on ac-

count of the failure of which at Weimar he challenged Goethe, under whose direction it had been brought out. In 1807 he was arrested by the French at the gates of Berlin as a spy, and sent to Fort de Joux and afterwards to Chalons-sur-Seine. He afterwards settled at Dresden, where he produced his "Katchen von Heilbunn," and "Prince of Homburg," the first a drama of the middle ages, the second dating in the 30 years war. The crowning tragedy of his life arose from his intimacy with a young lady, Henrietta —, who imagined that she had some incurable disease, which preyed on her mind. This produced a morbid melancholy, chiming in with the temper of the poet, and ending in the following dreadful scene as related by Mme. de Pontés:—

Kleist was passionately fond of music, and Henrietta had a voice of unusual power and sweetness. One day when she had sung more enchantingly than usual, Kleist exclaimed: "That is beautiful enough to shoot one's self for." "*Schön zum Todtschiessen.*" She looked at him earnestly, but made no reply. Some little time afterwards she enquired if he remembered a promise he had made to render her a great service if she desired it? He replied in the affirmative. "Well then," she exclaimed impetuously, "fulfil it now. Kill me; my sufferings render life insupportable. But no, you will not. There are no more men of honour on earth." "You are mistaken," replied Kleist, "I am a man of honour, and will do as I have said."

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Everything was arranged between the unhappy pair with a calmness, a deliberation which would make us doubt the fact of the insanity which darkened the intellects of both, did we not know that madness, too, has its method. On the morning of the 20th November, 1811, they set off together from Berlin, without, it seems, attracting any particular attention, and drove for a while on the road to Potsdam. They stopped at a little country inn, where they spent the rest of the day and the following morn in apparent cheerfulness. Towards the afternoon they set out on foot for a walk, as they said, and proceeded towards a wood some little distance from the inn. A few hours later a forester heard two shots following each other with strange rapidity. He hastened to the spot whence they came, and found Henrietta lying lifeless beneath an old and blasted tree, her hands clasped on her bosom, whilst Kleist knelt before her—his head had fallen on his shoulder—he had shot himself through the temple. Such was the terrible end of this gifted and ill-fated man.

Grillparzer has become famous in Germany by his play of the "Ahnfrau," or "Ancestress," more wild and extravagant in fancy and language than any of Werner's or the "Robbers"

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of Schiller. The plot consists in the heroine being compelled to wander over the earth, on account of an early crime, until the last scion of her race is extinct. This occurs by a robber chief stabbing his own father to the heart, and his sister and himself then immolating themselves. "Sappho," by the same author, is a poem of considerable lyric beauty, much admired by Lord Byron, when translated into Italian.

Rauppach had endeavoured to produce on the stage some of the historical glories of the ancient rulers of Germany. The "Hohenstauffen" relates the principal events in the career of that noble house. The "Nibelungen Hort," is a representation of the principal passages of the celebrated romance of that name. They are however sadly deficient in rapid action, distinctness of character, and harmony of arrangement. He spent the greater part of his life in some of the most dreary parts of Russia, and died in 1829. Since that period have arisen numerous dramatic authors, Grabbe, Keibel, Mosen, &c., all of whom belong to the romantic school. Their productions, however, are such a mass of "extraordinary situations, exaggerated sentiments, or physiological curiosities," that confusion alone is their distinguishing feature. The romantic school has now run into the wildest extreme, and requires a Lessing or Goethe to start up, in order to reduce it to some of the rules or order of classicality.

There remains to be considered a class of lyric poets of the romantic school, the varied subjects of whose muse were not confined to ancient classicality, or modern romanticism. They brought out songs of sentiment, convivial, martial and patriotic lays, stirring the hearts of the German people, and making their authors almost the idols of the people. This phase denotes the rise of the democratic element, not yet brought to its perfection, but ere long calculated to produce its full effect.

Hoelderlin was one of those poets who endeavoured to mingle the spirit of classicality with the fancy of romanticism, the rules of antiquity with the wild fancy of the middle ages. His life was one of mental misfortune, notwithstanding the great friendship which Schiller conceived for him on account of his amiable manners. He was a tutor in the family of Mme. von Kalb, with whom Schiller had been in the same capacity, and afterwards in that of a wealthy banker at Frankfurt. He was obliged however to leave this place on account of the jealousy of the husband, who was stimulated thereto by

a young companion of his wife. This event threw a strong shade of melancholy over his character, which ended by making it necessary to place him under medical restraint. In this state he lingered during six and thirty years, with a few lucid intervals, until he died in 1843. He was a great favourite with Goethe, Schiller, and other contemporaries. The following verses will give a good idea of his style.

GREECE.

Had we met on Athens' sacred ground,
Where ambition fired the soul of youth,
Where mid clustering flowers the Illyssus wound,
Where Socrates won all hearts to truth,
Where Aspasia roved mid myrtle bow'rs,
Where the blithesome sounds of joy and mirth
From the Agora, marked the rapid hours,
Where Plato formed a Paradise on earth;
Where from Inspiration's sparkling fountain
Flowed the hymn of harmony divine,
Where on blue-eyed Pallas sacred mountain
Pilgrims bent before the goddess' shrine,
Where the hours unheeded glided by
Wrapt in dreams so beautiful, so fair.
In those realms of bliss to live—to die—
Ah! my friend, had I but met thee there!
Nobler themes had then thy song inspired,
Marathon—its heroes—they alone—
And my soul with kindred ardour fired,
Had been a worthy minstrel of thine own.
Then all burning from the glorious strife,
With the laurel round thy youthful brow,
Ne'er beneath the weary load of life
Had I seen that lofty spirit bow!
Is the star of love for ever banished
To a fairer sky, a brighter clime?
And those golden hours are they too vanished
Whose soft wings concealed the flight of time?

Ah! in Athens, like the immortal fire,
Hope and joy still dwelt in every breast,
Like the golden fruit, youth's sweet desire
Still was fresh and beautiful and blest.
If amid those proud and happy plains
Destiny had placed thy proud career,—
She was worthy thy inspiring strains,
They are useless, worse than useless, here.
In those better days so bright, so fleet,
We had formed a proud and patriot band.
Not in vain that noble heart had beat
For the freedom of thy native land.
Pause awhile—methinks the hour arrives,
When the ethereal spark may burn anew—
Perish not a single hope survives;
This is not thy sphere, thou brave and true!
Attica! alas! the giant falls,
Where the sons of gods and heroes sleep;
Rent and ruined are the marble halls;
Silence broods there, silence—stern and deep.
Smiling spring descends with balmy gale,
But finds neither flower, nor leaf, nor tree.
Cold and barren is that sacred vale
Where the Illyssus once flowed bright and free.
Oh! I long to quit this land of gloom
For Alcæus or Anacreon.
Gladly would I sleep within the tomb,
With the holy ones of Marathon.
Be these tears my eyes so often shed
For thy land, oh! sacred Greece! the last.
Fates, in mercy, cut my mingled thread;
For my heart belongeth to the past.

A simpler, less imaginative, but at the same time, less transcendental writer than the Romancist before mentioned was Chamisso, a Frenchman by birth, from the plains of Champagne. Two of his brothers were in the Gardes du Corps of Louis XVI., and one of them received a sword from the unfortunate monarch after the eventful 10th August. The family was obliged to emigrate into Germany, where young Chamisso pursued his studies at Würzburg, and became more than half a German. He joined in the war of Prussia against France, but afterwards returned to his native country, where he made the acquaintance of Mde. de Staël, whom he praises very highly, and to whom he attached himself even during her exile at Coppet. His first work which brought him into notice, was the strange, fantastic story of "Peter Schlemihl; or, the Man who had

lost his Shadow." This has been translated three or four times into English, and into every language in Europe. In 1815 he joined an expedition to the North Pole, which lasted during a good portion of three years, and gave him ample opportunity for developing his talent for poetry, up to that time dormant. On his return he married, and shortly after received an indemnity as an old emigrant from the restored Bourbons, of 100,000 francs. His poems, collected by himself in 1827, caused a considerable sensation in Germany, and earned for him a membership of the Academy of Sciences, at Berlin. Notwithstanding his former emigration he rejoiced in 1830, at the expulsion of the elder Bourbons. Mme. Pontés gives translations from three of his best pieces, "The Three Sisters," "Abdallah," and "The Old Washerwoman," which last was the final effort of poetic fire. Written for the subject of it, the proceeds were sufficient to insure her some comfort in her old age. His style is pure and clear, neither partaking of the romantic fancies of Tieck, or the classicalities of Hoelderlin.

Descriptive poetry in German has been the peculiar province of Matthisson, Salis, and Kosegarten. There is nothing very striking or bold in their works; they consist rather of simple delineations of scenery, natural descriptions, and the soft emotions and feelings which those are calculated to produce.

The martial and patriotic school is represented by Körner and Arndt, whose verses served most powerfully to rouse the Prussian population to resist France, in the war of freedom. The former was stricken down upon the battle field, and has had a monument erected to his poetic genius and courage by his fellow-countrymen. The greater number of their songs have been translated into English; the most celebrated, "Lyre and Sword," "The Prussian Eagle," and "Where is the German fatherland," are too well known to need reproduction here. Mde. Pontés' version of the "Song of the black Jäger" is so spirited, that it deserves to be put before our readers.

SONG OF THE BLACK JAGER.

On to the field! spirits of vengeance move us,
On Germans bold and free!
On to the field—our standard waves above us,
On—death or victory!

Small is our band; but strong is our reliance
Upon a righteous Lord.
To every art of Hell we bid defiance;
He is our shield and sword.

No quarter, friends! High wield your
weapons! cheerly!
Death be the invader's doom,

And every drop of blood! oh! sell it dearly,
There's freedom in the tomb.

Still do we wear the funeral garb of sorrow,
For our departed fame,
And do ye ask what means the hue we borrow
Vengeance, that is its name.

God to our side—our righteous cause
victorious,
The star of peace shall shine,
And we will plant the standard proud and
glorious
Beside our own free Rhine!

The list of Poets and Poetry given here, is by no means complete, especially among the modern and contemporary, whom we do not at present mean to criticize further than this, that idealism, mysticism, and the extreme of the romantic, is their prevailing characteristic. Many of their names are well known, and famous; those of Uhland, Freiligrath, Rückart, Kerner, Geibel, &c., are very popular in the Fatherland. It is very strange, that from the days of the nun Hroswitha, before recorded, until the present time, there has been no striking instance of a female German writer of verses. Many have distinguished themselves in the province of prose fiction, but scarcely any attempted to invoke the muse.

The prevailing feature of German poetry in all ages, has been the romantic. In fact this species of composition, as opposed to the classical, may be said to have originated, like the Gothic architecture, among the Teutonic races, and from them propagated to the rest of Europe. After the Edda, the ballad epics of the Nibelungen, Gudrune, Walter of Aquitaine, &c., directed the taste of the middle ages, towards tales of chivalry, and heroes ancient and modern. Then came the minne-singers, whose lyrics tended towards the same end. The meister-sänger only fill up a hiatus, after which the influence of the Reformation changed for a time, the public taste of the age. Hymns, serious, patriotic, and martial songs, came into vogue, poetry declined into a transition state, to be revived by Opitz, Bodmer, &c. Several schools with various tendencies, were now originated; the Silesian, Königsberg, Nuremberg, and Zurich. Bodmer's admiration for the "Paradise Lost," originated the last, and opened the way to a complete regeneration. Here commences the real era of Modern Poetry, which has been said by Menzel to have gone from the lyric, through the dramatic to the epic. In this, we cannot at all agree; on the contrary, it commenced with a species of epic by Bodmer, imitations of pieces in other languages, Hymns of Gellert, and Idyls of Gessner; through the higher epic of Klopstock to the dramas of Lessing, the romances of Wieland, Herder, &c., to the mixture of all tastes, in our own day. After the revival consequent on the Reformation, imitations of the French masters were considered the most perfect; this may be called the period of Gallomania, which extended to the time of Klopstock. He united a certain taste for following English authors and subjects, along with a mixture of classicality; he thought also, that the highest perfection was in

attiring Christian or German incidents and manners, with the garb of Greece and Rome. Ramler formed a transition between the love of French models, and the imitation of Grecian classics. He summoned gods and goddesses to his aid in unraveling the intricacies of modern situations. Wieland was overcome by the "plastic beauty" of Grecian forms, the purity of her philosophy, and the graces of Athenian manners. This amiable, refined, and witty nature, allowed itself to be decoyed into a heterogeneous species of romanticism, wherein the epicurean philosophy reigned supreme. Voss had an extravagant idea of the plasticity of the German language; he imagined that it might be made to follow the Greek, almost syllable for syllable, in metre and verse. This led him into the strangest absurdities of poetry; his translations, though curious specimens of labour, are not intelligible, on account of their involved nature. All those various tastes combined together to form the mixed talent of Goethe and Schiller, who rendered themselves superior to all the other poets of their country, by not confining themselves to any particular form, imitating all, and yet being original in their new Romanticism. The most recent authors have plunged into an abyss of mysticism, and transcendentalism, combining the philosophy of Kant, Böhme, with the extravagance of sentimentalism. Unfortunately, all true simplicity and symmetry, is lost sight of in these wild fancies; nothing but vagueness, unsubstantial forms of visionary beings, reign throughout their airy pages.

We will say a few words about Mme. Pontés' performance. It is a work of considerable merit, and shews a large acquaintance, not only with the numerous authors treated of, but also with the various critical works, which have teemed in Germany for a series of years, on this subject. Many of her translations are well worthy of the originals, reproducing faithfully their fire or pathos. We do not, however, mean to praise her undeservedly, this would be unworthy and suspicious. She is somewhat given to the romantic in her biographies, the poet's wives are all lovely, angelic beings; she is not sufficiently severe on many of the authors themselves. Her criticisms are not always sufficiently particular, nor are her extracts always long enough to cause the poet's style to be properly understood; with these slight defects, we think this book which is written with ease and grace, to be very entertaining and instructive.

ART. IX—THE ADULT AND YOUNG OF THE POOR-HOUSE.

Irish Waste Land Settlements, versus Emigration and Foreign Wild Land Settlements. Specially addressed to the Poor Law Guardians of Ireland. By James Hayes, C.E. Dublin : W. B. Kelly, 1858.

Forty years ago Sir Walter Scott wrote—"The time will come when the whole land will be hypothecated to the poor, and by the strangest and most unexpected of revolutions, the labourers in the country will be substantially in possession of the whole rental of that soil in which participation is now refused them."—And now, after this lapse of time, we find that in this instance, as in many others, Sir Walter was truly "The Wizard of the North." The whole land is "hypothecated to the poor;" the whole social state of Ireland is altered, and through the results of the famine, and under the cruel confiscations of the Incumbered Estates' Court, this generation has witnessed "the strangest and most unexpected of revolutions," and it sees the labourers and paupers of the country "in possession of the whole rental of that soil in which participation was refused them." In the old days of potatoes and pigs, the pig was "the gentleman that paid the rent;" things are now changed; the rate-payer is the pig, who not alone pays the rent of the poor-house, but supplies board and clothing into the bargain.

That the poor of a country have the first claim upon its resources, none will deny; but unfortunately, in Ireland, it is considered a matter about which there can be no question or dispute, that because a man or a woman is a pauper, he or she has a consequent right to rot out life in idleness, in sloth, and, too often, in vice. One rarely hears the term Workhouse, in Ireland; in ordinary conversation the Union Mansion is invariably called the Poor-house, and with great propriety; it is certainly a house for the poor, a house at which boards meet and squabble, occasionally job, and sometimes "cook the elective franchise:" but it is not a house in which steady, useful, and continuous work is made a portion of the every-day duty of the lives of all able-bodied, or healthy inmates; it is not a house in which self-dependence and self-respect are shown to spring from honest labor.

Whence this awful state of facts arises, is one of those questions about which men cannot agree. Some attribute it to the red tape of the Poor Law Commissioners' office, others will have it that all the evils spring from the grasping avarice of the ex-officio guardians; others proclaim that no matter whence the mischiefs have their origin, all are perpetuated and increased, through the stupidity, stolidity and pennywise schemes of the elected guardians. That all those who may be considered accountable for the evils of our Poor Law system should be somewhat unwilling to accept the responsibility of being the authors of these abuses, is not to be wondered at. Who would acknowledge himself the supporter of a system which results in crowding our streets with prostitutes, the Lock wards of our hospitals with patients, our police offices with rogues, our Convict gaols with prisoners, our colonies with worthless, because idle, and ignorant, and unskilled labour; a system which trains the poor-house-reared child to consider that house as his home, because it destroys energy and self-reliance, by a permitted idleness, producing in time, a torpor of every worthy faculty of mind and body.

But, it is often asked, what can we do with them? To this our answer always is, do not teach them that emigration is the object of life; do not let them fancy that all the people of Ireland, not guardians or poorhouse officials, are born for the sole purpose of going to America—teach them that we must all labor, wherever we may be—in a word, keep them at home and work them.

Mr. Hayes, whose valuable pamphlet we have placed at the head of this paper, is a man evidently able to observe and reason for himself. He is, beyond all doubt, a genuine and thorough Irishman, and being neither a bucolic ex-officio, nor a shipping agent, he has been able to convince himself that emigration is not so good a thing for our labouring population as useful employment at home here in Ireland; and in proving this somewhat unfashionable doctrine he gives to the nationalist and to the capitalist one of the most useful and instructive essays it has been our good fortune to read for many a day.

Mr. Hayes addresses his pamphlet to the Poor Law Guardians of Ireland, and we shall here endeavour to condense his arguments. He laments the decline of the small farm system which once prevailed in this country, and he writes:—

“Nothing, as I apprehend, can be more unreasonable or more

unjust than to expect to find in a country like ours—differing so remarkably from England in essential characteristics—equal results from a given system ; and those who advocate the adoption of that peculiar English practice, must do so in complete ignorance of the conditions of the two countries, forgetting that what may be beneficial to the one, might prove fatal to the other.

England—a peculiarly manufacturing country with numerous cities and towns, actively engaged in some branch or other of industrial art manufactures, capable of absorbing the labour of the rural immigration—cannot feel *immediately* the evil results arising out of the system “which has peopled cities at the expense of villages.” But can this be said of Ireland? On the contrary, ours being essentially an agricultural country, the rural population, driven into the cities and towns, only become a source of trouble, and eventually a burthen ; for as we possess no manufactures of any extent, and have no prospect of acquiring them, while watched by the jealous eye of England ; so our civic districts can hardly be expected to afford any expansion of their present limited powers of employing labour.

In truth it may be inserted that the more the consolidation of farms takes place, the worse off the towns become ; for not only will they have to bear a disproportionate share of taxation, but they must also endure a considerable loss of business, since no person can reasonably maintain that the custom of the family of a farmer, occupying 500 acres, will be an equivalent to that of fifty families, each holding ten acre farms.

You cannot be insensible to the fact that the population of Ireland, instead of increasing, is still decreasing, that the deaths and emigration considerably exceed the births, and that the estimated total loss of population from 1841 to 1857 is nearly 3,000,000 ; so that our population in place of being over 9,000,000 in 1851, was actually found to be only 6,552,385 ! Is it not then our duty to endeavour by some means to check this immense stream of emigration which drains our country of the best of her population ?

I find that in the year 1851, the sum of £21,075 was contributed by seventy-nine Unions of Ireland, for the purpose of sending to the colonies and to the United States of America some 4,386 emigrants ; how much more money since or before that year may have been devoted to the same object, I am not at present in a position to say ; but no doubt a very considerable sum has been sent out of the country in this way, by the several Unions which you represent ; and it appears to me that such means of affording relief to the rate-payers does not redound to the permanent advantage of the country. I conceive that, at best, you only resort to such a system as a transient and wretched expedient, and that emigration manifestly does not prevent pauperism.”

With the absorption of the small farms came the epoch of wholesale emigration, or as it used to be called, the Irish Exodus. Referring to this subject, Mr. Hayes writes :—

“ We have now arrived at a point when it becomes a serious duty

to discountenance any extensive system of emigration ; for emigration both *forced* and *voluntary*, has been too extensive of late years not to have been prejudicial to the true interests of the country.

In the six years from 1851 to 1857, the emigration from Irish ports amounted to 938,395 persons, giving an average of 156,399 a-year ; and if we assume the very moderate average sum of £6 to each emigrant for passage money and expenses, we shall find that no less than £5,630,770 have been abstracted from this country in those six years—a capital more than equivalent to *one fourth of the gross amount* produced by the sales in the Incumbered Estates' Court during the entire eight years of its existence ; and, according to the calculations of the Commissioner of Valuation, an amount equal to *one half the total expense* of reclaiming and bringing into a state of cultivation 3,755,000 acres of the waste land of Ireland, which, in a reclaimed state, and parcelled out into 10 acre allotments, would suffice to sustain in comfort 375,500 families, or about 1,877,500 souls. It certainly does appear singularly anomalous that a country so favoured by nature, both in fertility of soil and in the temperature of her climate—that a country possessing such vast resources, and admittedly requiring all the capital and energy of her population to develop them, should be annually casting away such a vast amount of her wealth and industry to enrich other countries to the manifest injury of herself. There is something monstrous and unnatural in such a state of things, even admitting that emigration, under certain circumstances, is a wholesome and natural result, and this no one can deny ; because it is an admitted law of nature, that capital, whether it be monetary, mental, or corporeal, will always find room for itself, and people who emigrate *voluntary* only obey this law in taking their capital to the best market. Yet no country can be reasonably said to be necessitated to resort to a system of encouraging the *forced* emigration of the people until the soil has reached its maximum state of cultivation, and found insufficient for the support of its inhabitants : for, undoubtedly, land differs essentially from other elements of production in the economic sense, being limited both in quantity and productiveness, but assuredly this is not the present condition of Ireland, although we are familiar with the fact, that extraordinary efforts have been made of late years to superinduce emigration, and to drive into *foreign* lands that able and willing labour which is everywhere the real source of wealth, and which is more especially needed for the cultivation and improvement of our *own* native land ; and we are forced to enquire why it is so—why, amidst the many philanthropic schemes which have been propounded from time to time, by able and patriotic men, no practical effort has ever been devised with the view to encourage the people to locate upon the waste lands of this country, rather than suffer them to seek settlements upon the wild lands of a foreign country, under such fearful disadvantages.*

* See in IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. XIV., a paper by the late John O'Connell, entitled "Emigration, Emigrants, and Emigrant Ships."—ED.

Now, it is a well-known fact that almost every county in Ireland contains some thousands of acres of land, which lie at present waste and unproductive—useless, as well to the proprietors as to the country. According to a competent authority, Sir Richard J. Griffith, better known as Mr. Griffith, Commissioner of Valuation (who for the last half century has occupied a distinguished position in the Civil Service of Ireland), there are altogether 6,290,000 acres of land in Ireland, out of which 1,425,000 acres, it is estimated, might be advantageously reclaimed, so as to produce both cereal and green crops; and 2,330,000 acres more might be drained for meadow, and pasture for sheep; and doubtless, if owned and occupied by an industrious class of small farmers, much even of the latter could be made available for cultivation. Let us assume, however, that there are in round numbers 3,500,000 acres of unoccupied waste land, which admit of being rendered productive. Here then we have—in a country where land is the raw material for which competition has actually extended to such a dreadful pitch, that fearful crimes are perpetrated in consequence, and thousands of people, unable to get land, are obliged to seek refuge either in the poor-house, or on board the emigrant ship—here we have an unoccupied territory, which if reclaimed would be capable of sustaining in comfort a population of more than 1,500,000. It is not then surprising that the Devon Commissioners, in reference to this part of their inquiry, should remark, “when the immense importance of bringing into a productive state 6,000,000 acres, now lying waste, is considered, it cannot but be a subject of regret and of surprise that no greater progress in this undertaking has as yet been made.” Even so it is; and yet for all that it has been gravely argued that Ireland is overpopulated, and that nothing can so materially benefit the country as the consolidation of farms and the emigration of the people. * * *

It is a remarkable fact that the question of the reclamation of waste lands had been attentively considered in the old parliament of Ireland, at a time—and this is peculiarly notable—when the country was comparatively thinly populated, and when it might be supposed the same necessity did not exist as in the present day to render this a matter of so much consequence to the legislature; yet we find that the Irish Parliament had, for many years, been called upon to entertain this question, and so important was it deemed at that period that several bills were passed on this subject. The first measure of the kind, “an act to encourage the improvement of barren and waste lands and bogs, and planting of timber, trees, and orchards,” was passed in 1731, and from that time down to 1793 there was a constant succession of bills, introduced by members of the Irish House of Commons, having reference to this matter; some by eminent statesmen, such as Fortescue, Flood, Grattan, and Hobart. Did the limit of this pamphlet admit, I should here refer more at length to the details of some of those measures; however, I must content myself by referring the reader to the Irish statutes themselves. Neither can the fact be altogether disregarded, that under the authority of the British Government, a commission was appointed, so far back as 1809, to report upon the practicability of reclaiming the waste lands of Ireland. Several eminent scientific men were engaged upon this inquiry, amongst them the present Chairman of the Board of Works

and Commissioner of Valuation. The important results of their labours are to be found in the Bog Commissioners' Reports, a most interesting, and in many respects, valuable work for future reference. However, beyond the mere reporting to parliament, it does not appear, as regards the reclamation of waste lands, that ever anything was done from that day to this—the usual termination of all Royal Commissions relating to Ireland.

It is not necessary, however, that I should here enter into any minute details to show the practicability of cultivating these wastes; for happily theoretic speculation has long since given way to successful practical experience, and I shall quote from the evidence contained in the Land Commission Reports, before mentioned, to show that even as a mere speculation, with the sole view of increasing a landlord's rental, the reclamation of waste lands has, in almost every instance, been attended with peculiar success. "It is in evidence," said the Commissioners, "that by an expense of somewhat about £7 per acre, land, in the County Sligo, has been reclaimed and rendered worth a rent of £1 10s. an acre;" and in the County Westmeath, land that, according to the proprietor, Mr. Fetherston H. was formerly fit for nothing but snipe shooting, has been reclaimed and rendered worth £1 an acre, at an expense of £6. In Clare and Galway where the reclaiming and cropping cost from £9 5s. to £10 2s., the first year's crop realised from £8 10s. to £11 6s. 8d. per acre. In the Queen's County, where Mr. Stewart Trench carried on extensive operations in reclaiming mountain wastes, in some instances at elevations of 1,000 feet above the level of the sea, land, which in its unreclaimed state was not worth 2s. 6d. per acre, reclaimed was worth £2 per acre; the cost of reclaiming and cropping of which did not amount to more than £8 per acre, while the value of the first year's produce was £12 10s. per acre, thereby fully clearing all expense of reclamation the first year. Again on the estate of Sir Charles Styles in the County Donegal, where small allotments of unreclaimed land were made to tenants on leases of twenty-one years, with free terms, varying from three to seven years, conditional upon reclaiming an acre each year, building farm-house and offices, and making proper fences, all in accordance with certain prescribed regulations—these tenants were found to have cleared all expenses in three years, and to have made a net profit of £1 12s. 9d. per acre, even under circumstances which, in many respects, would appear unfavourable.

I might add numerous instances of successful reclamation of waste lands in Ireland of late years, but it is needless to accumulate cases, for few persons in the present day will doubt the practicability of such undertakings. One thing, however, must be said, that for the greater part, these reclamations have been carried on by capitalists, or by improving tenants aided by encouraging landlords; but many instances there have been throughout the country, where a labourer of the poorest class, with no other capital to commence with than his own labour, for the consideration of getting a patch of land rent free, for a term of three years, would effectually reclaim such land, and then, at the expiration of the term, would undertake a similar contract; from whence it must be inferred, that, even under the most discouraging and least remunerative circumstances that can well be

imagined, some profit can be gained by such an undertaking. No doubt the share of profit coming to the unfortunate labourer, in this case, must be small indeed, and this consideration leads to the conclusion, that the Irish peasant will undergo the severest toil where any fair prospect of reward is offered. Now the result of these inquiries prove that we have in Ireland over 3,500,000 acres of waste and unprofitable land, and that the reclamation of this immense waste can be effected at a cost of about £10,000,000, and that this land when reclaimed would be capable of supporting a population of 2,000,000. Here is a large basis for philanthropic patriotism to work upon. If we take the authority of Colonel Robinson, the manager of the Waste Lands' Improvement Society of Ireland, in his evidence before the Land Commission, when he said: "we find that a man can reclaim one acre himself annually, and when he has several children he can reclaim from one and a-half to two acres annually. An industrious tenant, possessed of £20 capital, taking a ten acre mountain farm of reclaimable land, can, with his family, reclaim the whole in seven years." And another equally reliable authority, Mr. Trench, when asked, before the same Commission, whether he considered that the reclamation of waste lands would pay capitalists, said: "were each tenant only given a house or hovel to live in for a few years, lime, for two or three acres, some guano or other portable manure to assist in raising a present provision of potatoes, and were care taken at first not to press him with too heavy a rent, I am convinced, in a few years, any industrious man would rapidly become comparatively comfortable in his circumstances, and an estate so managed would amply repay the care and capital bestowed upon it."

The Devon Commission also reported, in reference to the reclamation of waste lands, "that a great public benefit would be attained, in increased employment for labourers, in the progressive extension of productive land, and in the opportunity thereby afforded for the location of industrious families."

Having thus shewn what could be done in the way of reclamation, Mr. Hayes then proceeds to develop his scheme, and states the cost of reclaiming land in Ireland, and compares that cost with the expense of reclamation in Canada. He writes:—

I have said that the waste lands of a country, of right, belong to the state, but as this principle is not recognised in the case of the waste lands of Ireland, I propose that they should be converted into estates for the poor by a simple process, whereby the Poor Law Commissioners of Ireland will become the agents or purchasers in trust for the benefit of the people, who shall become actual occupiers and owners of the land under certain terms and conditions. At present under the Act 11 and 12 Vic., cap 25, the Poor Law Commissioners, on receipt of a memorial from a majority of a Board of Guardians, are empowered to hire or purchase a quantity of land, not exceeding twenty-five statute acres, for the instruction of children in workhouses in an improved system of agriculture, and the majority of the Unions in Ireland have availed themselves of this

privilege, and if permitted, no doubt would gladly extend the application of the principle. I mention this circumstance merely to show that there is no new principle involved in the purchase of land, for the benefit of the Unions, by the Poor Law Commissioners; but I contend for an extension of this principle, whereby a direct benefit will accrue to the rate-payers of Ireland by the immediate conversion of a large class of persons, who are on the point of becoming a burthen upon the Unions, into a class of small farmers and proprietors contributing to the welfare of the country.

Without entering into minute details it may suffice if I indicate the principal outlines of a measure, which I submit would effect the object here proposed, thus :

1. Poor Law Commissioners to be Commissioners under this act.
2. Waste lands to be treated as encumbered property, and to be made saleable by legislative enactment.
3. Commissioners to be empowered to raise money by way of loans for the purchase of waste lands.
4. The requisition of a majority of any Board or Boards of Guardians shall be sufficient legal authority to oblige Commissioners to treat for the purchase of waste lands.
5. Boards of Guardians of several Unions may unite together and form a board or committee of management of the waste lands.
6. Boards of management to appoint surveyors and agriculturists to superintend the construction of roads, bridges, canals, &c.; the laying out of allotments, and the direction and proper disposition of reclaiming operations to be carried on hereafter by settlers.
7. Pauper labour, where practicable, to be applied to the construction of works deemed necessary for facilitating settlements.
8. Allotments to be made in convenient sections as regards communication with public roads; and no holding to be of less size than 5 statute acres, nor to exceed 30 statute acres.
9. Applicants for waste land allotments to be first recommended by the representatives of electoral divisions where applicant shall reside; having obtained which recommendation, applicant shall tender a formal requisition to be laid before the Board of Management.
10. Qualifications of applicants—to be defined strictly as persons who have followed agricultural pursuits as a means of living, to be eighteen years of age, and not to be actual paupers receiving Union relief.
11. Applicants for allotments, although they may at the time of making application be in the occupation of land, shall not be actual holders of land elsewhere when entering upon the occupation of waste land allotments.
12. Settlers on waste lands to build a house of a certain class, to reclaim one acre of land yearly, and to reside permanently upon allotments, and to be subject for a certain period to the instructions of officers appointed by the Board of Management.
13. Allotments to be sold according to a valuation which shall have been made previous to occupation, and which shall be sufficient to cover all expenses of original purchase with interest, of primary operations, and of management, evenly apportioned. Payments, in ten yearly instalments, which, when completed, shall entitle settler

to receive a deed of conveyance, executed by the Commissioners, and this deed shall have the force of a complete parliamentary title to his lot.

14. Board of Management to be empowered to aid settlers with building materials and seeds by way of loans.

15. Settlers shall receive contract card, promising deed of conveyance of allotment on conditions and terms therein specified, on the back of which card all payments on account of land and of loans shall be duly marked.

16. Settlers not to subdivide or dispose of allotments while any claim shall be pending, without sanction of Board of Management, under penalty of forfeiture of title.

Such are the imperfect outlines of a measure which, I believe, might effect the proposed object—without involving any infringement upon the rights of individuals—without introducing a principle that is not to be found already in operation either at home or in our colonies—which might, without any inconvenience, be engrafted on the present Poor Law Act; and which, I have no doubt, would have the effect of creating a large class of industrious small farmers enjoying a moderate share of prosperity, of fostering habits of order and self-reliance amongst the people, of decreasing crime and pauperism, and, therefore, of adding to the peace, security, and welfare of the country. Of course much consideration should necessarily be given to the details of such a measure, to render it effective; but, I am fully convinced that never before was there a more opportune time, or a more urgent necessity, calling upon us to attempt some measure of this kind.

It is true that a measure of the nature proposed cannot be realised without encountering the violent landlord opposition, usual in the case of every project for the benefit of the people. This, of course, we must make up our minds to meet as best we may; for it is a lamentable fact, that this powerful class invariably act as if the interests of the people were inimical to their own; ever forgetful of the obvious truth, that no country can prosper where the masses are steeped in poverty and wretchedness. Then, the hostility of others must be anticipated too, because of the novelty of the scheme, and the utter impossibility of perpetrating thereby anything in the shape of a job. But I have little doubt that all such narrow and selfish prejudices, if resolutely encountered, can be easily disarmed or overthrown.

The experience acquired by the last few years only goes to prove the utter failure of emigration as a means of improving this country; for the masses of the people are as wretched now as ever. The young, enterprising, and industrious, the able-bodied and intelligent are leaving us; whilst the old, infirm, poor, and helpless stay behind. Population is still decreasing, small farms are rapidly disappearing, and with them an industrious population. Consolidation follows, sheep and cattle take the place of men, whilst no adequate progress in developing the industrial resources of the country is apparent.

Independent of the consideration of the immense loss of its able and industrious population, it must be taken into account also, that Ireland suffers a tremendous drain of capital by emigration. I estimate that no less a sum than £600,000 is annually abstracted out of this country by this process alone.

As I have, in a preceding part, entered into the question of the actual cost (derived from various sources) of reclaiming Irish waste lands under a variety of conditions, so I propose to investigate, by way of comparison, the means and amount of capital (labour) requisite to bring into a rude state of cultivation similar quantities of the wild lands of America.

It is well known that wild lands are of two kinds, "wood," or "bush land," and "prairie land." The latter is principally to be had in the western States; and all the government lands there are sold for *cash*, at the rate of one dollar, twenty-five cents to one dollar, fifty cents, per acre, or from 5s. to 6s. (sterling) per acre, and in sections of 640 acres, and half and quarter sections, the least quantity obtainable being 160 acres. Therefore, it will be seen that in order to get government land in the states, a man will necessarily require to have some capital in hands; for be it understood, this is altogether a cash transaction. There is, however, a species of "middle-men"—speculators and land companies, large capitalists—who buy up the government lands. These afterwards dispose of them to settlers at increased rates, varying from five dollars or thirty dollars per acre, according to location, and on credit terms, ranging from four to five years, with interest. But the conditions which these land jobbers generally enforce, as to fencing and bringing into a state of cultivation a certain stipulated quantity of land, render it necessary that a settler obtaining land, even in this manner, should possess a small capital to begin with, and the amount of course will be proportionate to the price he has to pay, and the extent of his land.

Supposing, however, that a man were able to get a prairie lot of about forty acres; this would be a very small lot, and generally speaking, small lots fetch higher rates than large ones; but let us assume that he is enabled to get such a lot; for instance, in the State of Illinois, say at ten dollars an acre, and five years to pay for it in full. In the first place before he could receive his contract for a deed of conveyance, there would be two years' interest to pay, say at three per cent., making about 5*l.* sterling. He has also to build some sort of habitation for himself, and from the fact that timber is rather expensive in the prairie, this will absorb a considerable portion of the settler's ready money. Then he is obliged to break up and fence in at least *one-tenth* of the lands purchased; this will involve an additional cash outlay; and assuming that he can hire cattle and the necessary means of breaking up the prairie, the cost of bringing land of this kind into a rude state of cultivation will be about 2*l.* 10s. or 3*l.* an acre, exclusive of purchase money. These estimates show that it is idle for a settler to embark in such an undertaking with a less capital than 40*l.* at the very lowest.

Let us now take the other class of wild land. I shall take for illustration the most favourably circumstanced case of "bush-land" in upper Canada.

In a remote, wild country in Canada West, called the Ottawa, there is now a vast territory in process of free settlement, and great efforts are being made by government agents to attract settlers into this region; in fact, at present, this district absorbs the principal

part of the emigration to Canada, and the chief reason for this may be said to be on account of the favourable and easily complied with nature of the government regulations, which merely stipulate that the settler should build a house of certain dimensions, clear a certain number of acres, and personally occupy the land. Any person over eighteen years of age can have a hundred acres of this wild land free "for ever," subject only to the above conditions.

These terms are not only liberal on the part of the government, but extremely favourable to the rapid developement and future progress of the settlement. However, let it not be supposed that even here a person without capital can possibly avail himself of the opportunity of obtaining a free grant of land. The government agents themselves admit that a man taking up a location here should possess a capital of something like 30*l.* to begin with, so that a poor person leaving Ireland without the necessary capital, on arriving at the settlement, would not be in a position to put in a claim for a free allotment.

The clearing and bringing into a state of cultivation an acre of wood-land in Canada, is no trifling work. It has been estimated, however, that a first-rate axe-man can fell and chop the trees, on an acre of bush land, in about nine days; but it must be remarked that a "green-horn," unacquainted with the use of the axe, would take almost as long clearing an acre, as an old pioneer, in these regions, would be in clearing ten acres, so that, in reality, the above estimate applies only to skilled labour. Let us, however, suppose that nine men, receiving the ordinary wages of a lumbering district, are employed on this operation; the next business is to pile up the logs, so as to have them all burned at once; this will require ten men and two yoke of oxen. The next operation is to set the whole on fire, which, after all, is not so easy a matter as might be supposed. To see that no half burnt logs remain to encumber the ground, and that all are consumed to ashes, requires considerable attention; and to have this performed effectually it will be necessary to employ four men, and a yoke of oxen in order to draw the unburnt and incumbent logs into fresh piles to be burned over again, or if not to remove them out of the way. This finishes the business of *clearing* an acre of wood-land, the severest work a man can be employed at; but let it not be imagined that an *acre of soil* is thereby brought into a state fit for immediate cultivation. It must be borne in mind, that all the stumps and roots still remain, and that consequently, a considerable portion of the ground is thereby unavailable for cultivation; to this must be added the irregularities of surface, representing creeks and ponds of stagnant surface water, which interfere with cultivation until effectually removed by drainage. All this portion of the area, which on an average may be estimated at about thirty per cent. of the whole, for the first five years must be considered waste and unprofitable. From thenceforth until the stumps and roots are thoroughly cleared, which probably will not be for a generation, there will be a permanent waste of fifteen to twenty-five per cent. of the whole area, at all times presenting obstacles and impediments in the way of the plough and harrow. So that my estimate, although treating nominally of an *acre* of cleared ground, does not in reality

afford an absolute available surface for cultivation of more than *two roods, thirty-two perches*, exclusive of that to be occupied by a fence.

The fence is also to be noted as an element of cost, inasmuch as, where trespass is to be guarded against, it is actually in importance secondary only to clearing. But as it is not a general practice to enclose so small an area as an acre, and as the numbers of rails requisite for fencing will be proportionately greater where a given area is subdivided, than where the whole is in one enclosure, so it may not be correct to base our calculations upon so small a sub-division as that of an acre. We shall therefore take a larger range, and assimilate the expense per acre. Now 4704 rails will fence twenty acres; so that this would be at the rate of 235 rails per acre; the splitting and building up of which into a fence may be taken as the work of four men. This will close the undertaking.

Now if we sum up the actual money cost of this entire process of reclamation, exclusive of any other charge (such as, for the erection of a log house, &c.), and take the current rate of wages of men at one dollar, and the hire of oxen at two dollars per day, it will be found that the *clearing* of an acre of "bush land" in Canada will cost on an average about £6 12s.; * and be it remembered that the acre will be minus one rood, eight perches of land available for cultivation. I have before shown that prairie land, every perch of which will be available for a corn (Indian) crop, will only cost from £2 to £3. The cost of reclaiming our own "waste lands" ranges from £5 to £7 sterling. In the first case the sum mentioned will be the absolute cost, the land being a free grant; whereas in the second case, the purchase money must be added, which will leave the cost from £4 to £5 per acre; and in the case of the Irish waste lands taking the valuation of the crown lands of Kingwilliamstown as approximately correct data, the actual reclamation and purchase would cost from £5 10s. to £7 per acre. Or if we struck an average according to a still lower calculation, the respective values might stand thus:—

Classification of Lands.	Cost of reclamation.	Purchase in fee	Average Value per Acre in fee
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1. Canadian Bush Land	6 0 0	0 0 0	6 0 0
2. United States Prairie Land	2 10 0	2 0 0	4 10 0
3. Irish Waste Land	6 0 0	0 10 0	6 10 0

It is known, that much of the waste lands of Ireland have been successfully brought into a state of cultivation by enterprising landlords and public companies, whose operations are recorded. There is another class of persons, however, of whose operations and practice

* There are some land companies in Canada, I believe, who undertake to "fell" the trees on land purchased of them at about half that amount; this is, however, anything but "clearing," and a more expensive mode after all than the one I have dealt with.

in the reclamation of waste land, we have no precise information beyond the following simple facts. A poor labourer, obtaining a free allotment of waste land for a few years, not exceeding three years, stimulated to exertion and industry by the consciousness of being permitted to reap the fruits of his hard toil, succeeds in effectually reclaiming a patch of such land, without any other capital than his labour. In all probability, the poor labourer's share of the profits arising out of his own industry and enterprize, was, in this instance, comparatively small. Still the inference cannot be overlooked, that an individual, under such circumstances, would invariably seek and accept a renewal of the contract for another allotment, under precisely similar terms; and the probability is that the *modus operandi* of the poor peasant was less expensive than that of the landlord. I have myself witnessed, in the south of Ireland, a very sharp competition, among a class of poor labourers, for a patch of cut away bog which the proprietor advertised to be reclaimed, on the conditions of a three years' freehold. The successful candidate, forced by the competition, agreed to give up a certain portion reclaimed at the end of the second year, on the understanding of getting a preference to another similar allotment on the completion of his first contract. Such instances are probably not unfrequent throughout the country; and no evidence, I think, can be more conclusive as to the practicability of reclaiming waste land than this. Can it then be doubted, that, if a poor man obtained a few acres of waste land, and had the privilege of buying it out at its unreclaimed value on easy credit terms, he would look upon himself as a proud and happy fellow?

We earnestly recommend this pamphlet to all our readers: it contains matter of the deepest importance, and is made valuable to the student of economic science by some very carefully prepared tables. Sir Robert Kane shewed long ago, in times when there was a public spirit in Ireland, and before the present care-nothing and know-nothing national idiotcy had come upon her, what the general industrial resources of the country are: that book made men think: here is a little essay which should make men act, and act through that greatest of all motive powers—their breeches' pockets. That which Mr. Hayes shews can be done, O'Connell worked for, wrote for, spoke for; it has been urged upon the nation by statesmen, by political economists, and by men of science, from the time of the Rev. Samuel Madden* to our own; and what was thus

* If the Irish peasantry could be induced to act on the co-operative principle adopted by the German settlers in the United States, it would facilitate the work of reclamation and enable them to economise their labour and means. But I may have more to say in reference to this branch of the subject on some future occasion.

† See memoir of "Rev. Samuel Madden" in *IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, No. IX.; and "The Survey of Ireland," which is also a Memoir of Sir William Petty, in No. VI.—ED.

urged for Ireland is precisely that which the sharpest and most clear-headed man of this age, the Emperor of the French, is about to accomplish in his own State, the reclamation of the waste lands of France.

In the commencement of this paper we referred to the wretched system prevailing in the Irish Poor-houses, which sends out upon the world periodically, hordes of untaught, untrained, and debased "home-heathens." If we were to reprint Swift's *Proposal for Rendering Poor Children Beneficial Instead of Burdensome*; if we were to present a copy of it to every elected and to every ex-officio Guardian in Ireland; if we were to dwell in conversation with the Poor-Law Commissioners, upon the delicacy of flavor of "a plump young girl of fifteen;" if we were to say to the South Dublin Guardians, "supposing that 1000 families in this city would be constant customers for infants' flesh, besides others who might have it at merry-meetings, particularly at weddings and christenings, I compute that Dublin would take off annually about 20,000 carcasses; and the rest of the kingdom where probably they will be sold somewhat cheaper, the remaining thousands"—we should be considered mad—and yet, although the Poor Law Guardians will not fatten their young paupers for the table, although they will not sell their bodies to be eaten, yet they rear them under a system which sends them forth upon the world ready for sale, in soul and body, to the tempter; they send them forth without one principle to guide, without one thought to restrain them, they are truly

"The dauntless infants never scared by God,"
each is that woful

"Child of misery baptized in tears."

This subject of the management of poor-house-reared children has now become of vast and pressing importance; they increase the cost of our hospitals, they fill our gaols, and to punish them estimates under the head of "Justice" in the estimates is vastly increased; whilst owing to them crime does not decrease as it should, and criminal reformation is almost hopeless amongst those reared in the poor-houses.

"I could," said a poor-house Chaplain to us a few days ago, "recommend nearly all the girls in this house under fourteen years of age. After that age, they are moved amongst the adults, and they are lost." "Our boys," said the master of a poor-house to us, "are good boys until they join the adults, and then they go wrong." "The worst boys I ever

met in my life," said the school master of a large Convict Prison, "are the poor-house boys: they are addicted to every vice you can conceive, and they have no idea of religion. They have never been taught to depend on themselves, they have had no inducement to work, and they know only two phases of life, that of the poor-house and that of the gaol."

Now these opinions all go to prove, and to prove most clearly, that the ordinary work-house is not more fitted than the ordinary gaol for the management and care of juveniles; they prove also, and prove beyond all question, that a poor-house-reared boy or girl should never be permitted to enter the adult house until he or she shall have tried honest work in the world without; and this result can only be secured by special establishments for the reception and training of pauper children, with special staffs, and not under the sole control of the Guardians.

Our meaning will be, perhaps, best elucidated by the following heads of a scheme which has been approved by very many Irishmen of ability and experience, and the framer of this scheme is eminently qualified to make it perfect and elaborate. A few days ago, (we are writing early in June), Mr. Macartney obtained a most important committee of inquiry, the results of which must bear directly upon this scheme, and will be, if we mistake not, fully in support of the views herein expressed.

The scheme is as follows:—

1.—That the Juvenile Reformatory Bill for Ireland, now passing through the House of Commons is (perhaps necessarily) so confined in its operations as to leave a large portion of juvenile delinquency untouched.

2.—That in England where the Reformatory Acts have a far more comprehensive area to work upon, it has been found necessary to supplement such acts with an Industrial Schools' Act, passed last session.

3.—That in Ireland for similar reasons to those which made it expedient to confine the area of the Reformatory Bill, Industrial Schools are inapplicable.

4.—That it is therefore desirable to take some other means for preventing juvenile crime in Ireland.

5.—That the best means to effect this appears to be to improve the training of the "juvenile paupers," who are for the most part the class from which young criminals emanate.

6.—That in order to succeed in such improvement it will be necessary to completely sever the connection with the adult paupers, and the work-houses in which they are confined.

7.—That there is a section in the 11th and 12th Vict., Cap 25, giving the necessary power to combine unions for the purpose of forming District Pauper Schools for juveniles under 15 years of age, but that it is at present almost inoperative.

8.—That there are good grounds for supposing that on due consideration being extended to this subject a full recognition would be given to the moral and economical advantages which would accrue through the operation of this section.

9.—That in England the salaries of the school-masters, school-mistresses, and one half of those of the medical officers are paid from the consolidated fund, amounting to considerably more than £100,000 per annum.

10.—That in addition to this grant in aid of the union in England, there are very large grants from the committee of council of education given to aid Reformatory and Industrial Schools under the head of capitation fees, rent of land, purchasing of tools, pupil teachers' allowances, &c., and an allowance of seven shillings per head is paid out of the consolidated fund for the support of juveniles in reformatories.

11.—That all prisoners convicted by jury in England are maintained at the cost of the state.

12.—That the grants required in aid of the proposed Reformatory Bill for Ireland, will be small in consequence of its limited area of operation.

13.—That it is on the above grounds fair to require that Ireland should receive from the consolidated fund the amount of the salaries of the instructors of the Juvenile Pauper Schools, together with such educational grants and assistance as would be received by Reformatory and Industrial Schools, for which the pauper schools are the substitute.

14.—That if this support be given by the state it will be easily proved to the boards of guardians, that under good management and government inspection the best moral and economical results will follow the establishment of these schools.

15.—That a part of such good management will be the in-

dustrial training of the young paupers, it is evident that in addition to a reduction of expenditure, a demand for their labour will be a consequence of its being skilled.

16.—That many of our colonies are arrested in progress for want of labour, and are advancing money from colonial funds to induce emigration, and it is reasonable to suppose therefore that skilled labour in the unions will induce the colonists to give free passages from time to time to the young inmates.

This scheme requires no argument or explanation to prove its importance, and we shall not, until we shall have the report of Mr. Macartney's committee before us, offer any observations in support of it. There are, however, facts and figures in our possession sufficient to prove not alone the soundness of the scheme, but likewise to prove the right of the country to claim from the consolidated fund the amount necessary to give it full efficacy.

We may, however, state that the Guardians of the South Dublin Union have indirectly given their support to this system here advocated, of separating the young paupers from the old; that is, they have agreed to send, and have sent, sixty or seventy of the girls from the Poor-house to a large house adjoining the convent of the Sisters of Mercy in Baggot-street, where they are paid for at the same rate as a pauper costs in the Union House, the sisters taking the whole management, in fact making the house of reception for these girls an Auxiliary Poor-house.

When the sisters thus consented to take the charge of these girls they made only two stipulations. One, that Catholics only should be sent; the other, that they should not be obliged to take any girl known to have ever been a prostitute. But here the good sense of the Guardians failed, and instead of holding out to the girls a transmission to the Baggot-street house as a reward for good conduct, they actually refused to send any but the very worst class; and, accordingly, the establishment was opened with about as bad a lot as it was ever our misfortune to inspect. They were ignorant and untaught; they had no sense of decency or self-respect; they had nearly all been reared in the Poor-house, and, as a matter of course, feared neither God nor man; many of them had been in gaol three or four times for work-house offences; and yet, by judicious, careful, kind management, and through the agency of that wonderful thing, INDIVIDUALIZATION, these poor creatures are

now in a fair way of becoming useful, honest, hardworking women.*

It has by some persons been objected that this institution at Baggot-street is an encouragement to Popery; and there are many persons, guardians too, who would rather keep these girls in the Union House, with all its horrid sin, and corruption of soul and body, than send them to Baggot-street.

This, to English readers, will appear strange. Let them, however, remember that the vast majority of the people of Ireland are Catholic; let them, remembering this, read the following report of a Meeting, taken from a Conservative Dublin paper, *Saunders's News-Letter*, of Friday, June 18th, 1858, and they will be, perhaps, able to comprehend the hatred of Popery animus to which we have referred:—

DUBLIN PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION.

“A meeting of this body was held last evening in the Rooms, 83, Middle Abbey-street, for the purpose of adopting a petition against the bill brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Sergeant Deasy and Mr. Bagwell, on the question of Reformatory Schools.

“The Rev. S. G. Potter in the Chair.

“Mr. John Martin, T.C., moved the adoption of the following petition, which was seconded by Mr. W. R. Furlong, and unanimously adopted:—‘That your petitioners have read, with considerable alarm, a bill brought into your honorable house by the learned members for the County of Cork and Borough of Clonmel, (Mr. Sergeant Deasy and Mr. Bagwell), entitled “a Bill to Promote and Regulate Reformatory Schools for Juvenile Offenders in Ireland.” That your petitioners are fully convinced that should the said bill be passed into law, the “Reformatory Schools” contemplated by its provisions would become mere depots of proselytism to the Roman

* The sister who had the chief care of these girls was what is called “Received” by the order, but not “Professed,” that is, she had not taken the final vows. About the middle of June she was to take these vows, and was, as is the custom, going into “Retreat” for a week. The day before the Retreat commenced the girls remarked that she looked very anxious, and they asked her why she seemed sad. She replied that she should not see them during the next seven days, and feared that in her absence they might give the other sisters trouble. They all replied, “Oh! never fear; we’ll be good for the week,”—and they kept their words most faithfully.

Catholic religion, and nurseries for propagating the peculiar doctrines of that system—doctrines which your petitioners conscientiously believe to be opposed to the well being of the British state—subversive of true loyalty to the British crown, and ruinous to the souls of men. That your petitioners most respectfully submit to your honorable house that the clauses of said bill, whereby it is sought to invest grand juries and town councils with legal power to present a sum or sums of money, and to raise the same off counties and boroughs in Ireland for the maintenance and support of said schools, involve principles of injustice and iniquity calculated to create discontent and dissatisfaction in the minds of the Protestants of Ireland generally, inasmuch as crime of every description known to the law, as well amongst the juvenile as the adult population, attaches itself to the Roman Catholic creed, and that therefore it appears unjust and impolitic to invest the said grand juries and town councils with power by law to levy a new tax off the Protestants of the country, for the purposes contemplated by the said bill. That, independently of the comparative amount of crime perpetrated by Roman Catholics and Protestants, independently of the injustice of coercing Protestants to pay for the spread of evil arising from an erroneous and disloyal system against which they protest, your petitioners object to the provisions of the said bill on the principle that it is contrary to the dictates of pure and undefiled Christianity, and opposed to the spirit of the British constitution for the State to grant one single penny towards the sustainment and support, in any form, of a system of religion, sworn by the highest in the realm to be anti-Scriptural and pernicious in its nature; and therefore your petitioners most humbly pray that your honorable house may be pleased to reject the said bill, and refuse to grant any sum or sums of money for any alleged education or reformatory purpose whatsoever, except where the former is based upon principles derived from the Word of God, and the latter sought to be effected by means consistent with the principles of Christianity, as established by law, and your petitioners will ever pray.

“ ‘Signed by authority, in name and on behalf of the Meeting,

“ ‘SAMUEL GEORGE POTTER, Clk., Chairman.’

“ After the usual preliminaries the proceedings terminated, and the petition was ordered to be transmitted to Mr. Grogan, M.P., for presentation to the house.”

Now, here we have a rampant, virulent, conservative Town Councillor, and a clergyman of the Established Church, talking the most absurd fanaticism, and the most sublimated nonsense. They say nothing at all about the Reformatory Principle; they say nothing about the necessity for Reformatories; but they object that Protestants should be taxed to reform Catholic juvenile criminals. They forget, however, that Protestants would be taxed to support these Catholic juveniles in the poor-house first, then in the gaol, then through the gaol, by the gaol, and from the gaol, in its associations, up to, or down to, the convict prison. In all these epochs of life and phases of crime they must be supported as Catholics, taught as Catholics, trained as Catholics, so that, viewed in any light Mr. Martin and his Reverend friend may please, the Reformatory Schools' Bill of Sergeant Deasy and of Mr. Bagwell does not make Protestants pay more towards Popery, but rather less than they pay now, and have paid for years.

We do not consider this paper as either an essay or a disquisition; our only object in its whole course was to supply matter for thought to those who feel an interest—and who does not?—in **THE ADULT AND YOUNG OF THE POOR-HOUSE.**

ART. X.—THE CHARGE AND ITS REFUTATION.

PAPER SECOND.

1. *First and Second Reports of the Royal Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund.* Presented by command of Her Majesty.
2. *Two letters to Lord St. Leonards on the Management of the Patriotic Fund and on the Second Report of the Royal Commissioners.* By the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen. Dublin: James Duffy, Wellington-quay, Publisher to his Grace the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.
3. *Letter of the Most Reverend Dr. Cullen, on the Dangers to which the children of Catholic Soldiers are exposed in the Hibernian and other Military Schools.* James Duffy, Wellington-quay, Publisher to his Grace the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

In a former paper we examined the charges preferred by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin with reference to the management of the Patriotic fund. In the present paper we mean to deal with the second report of the Commissioners, published mainly as a reply to His Grace's accusations. We recur to this subject in a spirit of fair play. We have laid before our readers the grounds upon which the Archbishop considered himself justified in making a very serious charge against a public body, a charge which if true is calculated to check the flow of national benevolence in the direction of similar charities by undermining confidence in the integrity of the public bodies to whom their management may be intrusted, and which if false cannot be too strongly reprobated. Is it not meet then that we should now present our readers with the Commissioners' answer, which "verified," in the words of the Report, "by the correspondence in the appendix," will enable them to form an opinion on the whole case? Would it not be most unjust to publish the accusation and withhold the defence, to exhibit the charge and suppress its refutation? We shall therefore refer to the origin of this commission, the period of which the charges were first made, and then we shall consider the refutation given by the Report of February last, verified by the correspondence in the appendix.

Actuated by a just sense of the sacred rights of those who

fall in their country's service, many of our fellow subjects resolved with generous benevolence to contribute "towards the succouring, educating and relieving those who by the loss of their husbands and parents in battle or by death on active service are unable to maintain or to support themselves." In order to give greater efficacy and support to these benevolent intentions, it was deemed expedient that "public measures should be taken for the safe keeping and beneficial application of the several sums subscribed or which may hereafter be subscribed for the aforesaid purposes: and also for the purpose of securing such prompt and authentic information as may be required to aid the just and faithful distribution of the said several sums of money when so received." A Royal Commission was considered best adapted for the attainment of these objects. Accordingly a Royal Commission was issued. The following extract as containing the names of the commissioners, defining their power, and limiting their authority, will be sufficient for our present purpose:—

"Now know ye, that we, having taken into our consideration the premises, and being earnestly desirous, in lasting memory of those who have faithfully fallen in our service, to encourage the loyal and hearty benevolence of our loving subjects, which may hereafter be directed towards the widows and orphans of the soldiers, sailors, and mariners of our forces, who may now or hereafter be serving abroad in our armies and fleets, or in services connected with our present hostilities and for other the several purposes herein before recited or mentioned, and reposing great trust and confidence in your fidelity, discretion, and integrity, have authorized and appointed, and do by these presents authorize and appoint you, the said Prince Albert, the said Duke of Newcastle, the said Duke of Wellington, the said Lord Seymour, the said Earl of Derby, the said Earl of Aberdeen, the said Earl of Shaftesbury, the said Earl of Hardwicke, the said Earl of Chichester, the said Earl Nelson, the said Earl Grey, the said Viscount Palmerston, the said Viscount Combermere, the said Viscount Hardinge, the said Baron Rokeby, the said Baron Colchester, the said Baron Pammure, the said Baron Seaton, the said Baron St. Leonards, the said Baron Raglan, the said Sidney Herbert, the said James Lindsay, the said Sir James Robert George Graham, the said Henry Thomas Lowrey Corry, the said Edward Ellice, the said Robert Vernon Smith, the said Sir John Somerset Pakington, the said Sir Robert Throckmorton, the said Sir William Parker, the said Sir Thomas Byam Martin, the said Sir John Fox Burgoyne, the said Sir Hew Dalrymple Ross, the said Lord Mayor of our city of London, the said Joseph Hume, the said Thomas Baring, the said John Gellibrand Hubbard, the said John Wilson Patten, the said Samuel Morton Peto, the said Edward Burke Roche, the said John

Ball, to make full and diligent inquiry into the best mode of aiding the loyalty and benevolence of our loving subjects, and of ascertaining the best means by which the gifts, subscriptions and contributions of our loving subjects can be best applied, according to the generous intentions of the donor thereof, and from time to time to apply the same as you, our Commissioners, or any three or more of you, shall think fit to direct, either for the immediate relief of such special objects of destitution as may come within the meaning and purpose of such benevolence; or for any of the purposes aforesaid, to increase, extend or make additions to any of our royal, or other charitable institutions already founded for similar purposes within our United Kingdom. And further to apply, or to order and direct the application of all such moneys in such manner as to you our Commissioners, or to any three or more of you, shall seem fit in the premises; so that you do in all things secure the most impartial and beneficent distribution of all such sums as may hereafter and from time to time be received under or by virtue of this Our Royal Commission."

It might be objected that greater regard was not had to the relative proportion of those who were likely to be applicants to this fund, so that a similar proportion might have entered into the composition of the body intrusted with its disbursement. Mr. Fishbourne in his "memorandum" admits that one third of the army is composed of Roman Catholics. It is probable then that one third of the applicants for relief were Roman Catholics. The Rev. Mr. Hort says that at one period he had in his sole charge 1,040 individuals, widows and children, of which number 628 were Roman Catholics. This would seem to give a larger proportion; but assuming Capt. Fishbourne's estimate as correct it would strike us that the Catholic contingent ought to have had a fuller representation on that board by which the claims of Catholic widows and Catholic children were to be decided upon. It does seem to us strange that of forty commissioners only two were Catholics.

Could not her majesty's advisers discover a single other Catholic gentlemen fit to be associated with the Protestant members of the commission. Is it possible that we have sunk so low as to be able to furnish as our representatives in carrying out this noble charity, only Sir R. Throckmorton, Bart., and John Ball, Esq? Could there not be found one more, or was there something likely to alarm weak nerves in the mystic number *three*? The only solution of the difficulty we can offer is that three formed a quorum. A quorum could hold a meeting, remonstrate, protest, report, &c. This would not do, so, just for the appearance of the thing, two Catholics were put on.

Now it appears to us to be a point of the most vital importance that in any body on which powers affecting the rights of Catholics are conferred, and which in the course of its duties may have to deal with subjects peculiarly in their nature appertaining to Catholic doctrine and resulting from Catholic discipline—the Catholic body should possess such an influence as to secure a proper attention to the wants and wishes of their co-religionists and a thorough investigation of any grievance of which they may complain, so that the former may not be defeated by convenient technicalities and the latter repressed by an insolent sneer.

Never perhaps was it more necessary to have a proper influence in a body than it was in that which distributed the Patriotic Fund. Had there been a fair number of Catholics included in that commission much of the ill feeling with which the acts of that body are regarded would have been avoided for the circumstances in which it originated would in all probability never have occurred. Without any impeachment of the respectability of those gentlemen who formed that commission, we do say that they know nothing about the Catholic religion, and therefore of course cannot be expected to be capable of forming an opinion on the necessity of pursuing one course rather than another, or adopting one view of a case in preference to another. For instance in the matter of education, Protestants cannot conceive why it is that Catholics object to mixed schools, and other topics of a similar character are also unknown to them; hence the necessity of having a sufficient number of Catholics associated in carrying out any work in which their co-religionists are interested.

But as it is too late to mend the matter, we shall speak of the Commissioners as they are—"Nothing extenuate nor set down aught in malice."

The appointment of Captain Fishbourne as one of the secretaries, might also reasonably be complained of. In bodies constituted similarly to the Patriotic fund, the duty, the real work of the body, devolves upon the secretaries; they receive communications and send replies, grant or refuse applications, authorize payments to certain parties, and discharge other most important functions. Now, it appears to us that a less obnoxious person might have been chosen than Fishbourne. Every one knows that his father was a magistrate of Carlow, that he was removed from the bench in consequence of a petition got up by the Roman Catholic

clergymen of that town, on what grounds it is needless to enquire. Everyone does not know but it is a fact, that Fishbourne subscribes to the "Irish Church Missions Society." People are generally rather anxious to ensure the success of an undertaking which they are so much interested as to give their money. Is it probable then that a person desirous for the success of a society, which has for its object the extirpation of "Romanism," would afford every facility to parents desirous of removing children from the schools under the direction of that Society, and placing them in establishments in which are taught those principles, which it is his desire to eradicate? Tacitus tells us "that the sons inherited the quarrels and friendships of their fathers, and were bound to carry on hostility until the original cause of offence was wiped out." If to the original cause of dispute were added any personal impulse as a declaration of war by the nation of the offended against that of the offenders, with what vindictiveness would not the former pursue the enemy. Now this is just the position of Fishbourne; to his hereditary grudge is added the inducement of the Missionary Society. We cannot now help these things, but our readers will see what was the result. The duties of the Commissioners were very various, their power extensive. The object for the attainment of which they were associated, was the only limit to their authority. We need not enter into an analysis of what, under the warrent they were bound to do; it is expressed with sufficient clearness in the above quoted extract. The only point to which we shall at present direct our readers' attention, is the clause by which the Commissioners are required to report to her Majesty "all and every of the several proceedings of yourselves had by virtue of these presents." The clause is in the following words:—

"And our further will and pleasure is, that you or any three or more of you, when and so often as need or occasion shall require, so long as this our Commission shall continue in force, do report to us in writing, under your hands and seals respectively, all and every of the several proceedings of yourselves had by virtue of these presents, together with such other matters, if any, as may be deserving of our Royal consideration, touching or concerning the premises."

How they have complied with this part of their duties, we know not, but if the report which the public was permitted to see be the report which was presented to her

Majesty, we must say that we do not think that "all and every" are faithfully related, and we fear that those noblemen and gentlemen who signed that report, had very little regard for truth. If the appendix be, as it is said to be, a verification of the Report, then the Report proves "Dr. Cullen's" charges; if the appendix is not intended to verify the Report, then the report, as far as relates to "Dr. Cullen's" charges, is a tissue of falsehood, for every material assertion, in denial of "Dr. Cullen's" statements, contained in the report, is contradicted by the appendix. This, it will be our business to examine and prove; but before taking up the Charge and its Refutation, we must be permitted to refer to a conversation which is reported to have taken place in the House of Lords, in April last, on a motion by the Duke of Norfolk, for the production of papers in reference to the management of the Patriotic fund. The Duke moved an address to her majesty, for—1. A copy of correspondence relating to the case of Mrs. Rosina Bennet and her children. 2. A copy of the minute, with date when passed, by which the form of application, appendix 14, was first adopted, (this is the form signed by Mrs. Norris, acknowledging that she knew the teaching of the Hampstead school to be Protestant.) 3. A copy of a minute, by which pecuniary provisions was made to meet the case of those Roman Catholic mothers, who objected to sending their children to mixed schools. The next, which we give in full, contains the real gist of the motion:—

"4 Return of all publications or recommendations to the commissioners for the admission or transfer of children of non-commissioned officers and privates to any schools or asylums, or for placing such children under charge of any persons other than their mothers, with date when such application was received, and the name of the person who made it, together with the names, regiments and religious persuasions of the surviving mothers; and stating, further, the decisions of the commissioners, or their committee, on such applications, with date thereof; and date at which each child was placed in or transferred to any such school or asylum, or placed under any such temporary guardian, and the religious teaching used in such institution, school or asylum, or the religion professed by such guardian."

This was a fair challenge; it amounted to this: "I have had what to my mind seems reasonable ground for suspecting that this great National fund, this noble charity intended for the benefit of all, has been perverted to the destruction of some;

under that impression I have made certain statements, these statements you in your report deny. I now call upon you to produce your proofs. Archbishop Cullen labours under a similar impression ; I may say a large portion of the Roman Catholic subjects of this empire feel very grave doubts as to the impartial administration of this fund. Produce these correspondences, remove the misapprehensions under which a large portion of the public labours, and thus re-establish that confidence in the integrity of your conduct, upon which the efficiency of your body, and that of other bodies to whom the management of similar charities may hereafter be entrusted, mainly depend." Was there anything exacting in that demand, anything unreasonable in thus affording an opportunity to the Commissioners of freeing themselves from the foul imputations under which they lay, and still continue to lie ? Had it not been done, what an outcry would there not have been raised ; and when the demand is made let us see how it is met. It is really sickening, nor can we understand how men with a spark of honesty, not to speak of honour, can go on canting in such an absurd and humbugging manner, about " public object," " a public object." Is it not a public object well deserving attention to rescue from odium honored names ? Is it not well to prove that a public body, against which charges of misappropriation have been brought, supported by evidence sufficiently strong to call for enquiry, is free from all taint of corruption ? Had a charge of a similar character been brought against a commercial firm, even by persons who had no direct present interest in the concern, would not these charges be thoroughly sifted, every means adopted to prove the accusation false, and if the accused were innocent, no efforts spared to drag the slanderer to justice. So do not the Commissioners act : crouching behind the barriers of form and public advantage, they seek to escape from the just animadversion which their conduct has deserved. But let them not hope thus to hide their shame ; time will show forth, more and more each day, the wrong they have done, and will bring with it their punishment : for time is an avenger. Lord Derby is reported to have said, that it was not fair to ask the government to lay on the table at great expense, five or six bulky volumes, in regard to what had not occurred in a government office. Our answer is : the Duke's motion was for an address to her Majesty, praying that she would order a report upon the subjects mentioned, to be laid on the table. The expense of such a report would

be defrayed out of the Patriotic fund, and would cost nothing to the country. But even did it, we can assure the noble Earl that there never was better money expended than the sum which might be requisite to allay the public suspicion and remove the public distrust; always supposing the commissioners guiltless; if they be not, it is better to leave matters as they stand. With regard to Lord St. Leonard's statements we shall merely say, that his observations only prove that he talks a great deal about a matter in regard to which he is very ill-informed. The most interesting feature of the debate on the motion was the tone that was adopted by Lord Camoys; we give his sentiments in full:—

“ Lord Camoys had thought it possible that in the multitude of cases there might have been some mistakes made in sending Roman Catholic children to Protestant schools; but he never thought they had been sent with a view to proselytism. He felt bound now to say that the accusations made against the commissioners had been *completely and satisfactorily answered*—(hear, hear)—and that the accusations of proselytism might rather have come from the other side (hear, hear). It appeared that in one of the cases the commissioners told the mother that the child would be brought up as a Protestant in the school she wished it to be sent to, and that she had, notwithstanding, persisted in her desire.”

With what pleasure the lords heard this statement we may guess by the applause with which it was received—how the hereditary legislators must have sneered at the little-minded liberality of self-sufficient ignorance. We shall not criticize these observations: there are some persons beneath contempt, we pity and forgive them. Let us however see whether we may not be able to furnish a more plausible, because the real reason why the fourth return was refused, and this will bring us to our subject—“The Charge and its Refutation.” It will be in the recollection of our readers that in the former paper on this subject we informed them how exactly matters stood when his Grace published his letter to Lord St. Leonards. We shall now briefly state the two questions between the parties. They include the others: with regard to matters of detail we shall in the course of this paper take notice of them, but we think an undue prominence has been given to them, as will ever be the case when the material charges cannot be met and denied. A great deal of capital has been sought to be made out of Hort's case, but the venom of that sting has been completely destroyed by the straightforward manner in which “Dr. Cullen” has acknowledged his mistake. Had the Commissioners but

half his Grace's fairness, it is not a report like the present we would be obliged to read. It is a remarkable feature in this report that when the Commissioners undertake anything they invariably succeed ; if they answer a charge they refute it, but if the Archbishop reiterates his accusation, it appears to the Commissioners that "his attempts to substantiate the charges have altogether failed." This reminds us of that ingenious method of playing "pitch and toss" which a smart boy endeavoured to introduce, and by which had he succeeded in establishing his system, he would have amassed immense wealth : it was this, "heads I win, tails you lose."

The two great questions are, first, "Was there proselytism, or was such a line of conduct pursued as would lead an unprejudiced person to entertain a suspicion of attempts at proselytism?"

Second, "Was the residue fund disposed of in a way of which Catholics could approve?"

The first charge is, "that Catholic clergymen in Dublin applied to the managers of the fund in favor of the widows and orphans of soldiers killed in the Crimea ; yet as far as I could learn, not one shilling was then obtained by such application." The Report answers, "there have been only two such applications from Dublin and both have been granted." If this statement be as true as the one by which the same charge is answered by Fishbourne we can fully estimate its value. In the "memorandum" he says : "Individual applications on behalf of widows have been it is true made by Roman Catholic clergymen, and have invariably received the same attention as those made by others (in proof of which we beg to refer to the letter of Canon Grimley which was allowed to remain unanswered from the 25th of March, to the 20th of April, the interval being consumed in doing the wrong against which he had protested and when an answer did come it was couched in most insolent language.) These applications are filed in the office, and if any proof were wanted of the impartiality of the distribution it would be found in the fact that it is entirely out of the power of the executive committee to distinguish Protestants from Roman Catholics unless the religion be supposed from the position of the gentleman attesting the widow's applications ; but no record of such distinction in religion or country is kept in the office."

If the applications be filed surely they are a record. Besides supposing the religion not distinctly mentioned, according to

the third resolution of the sub-committee on "receipts and payments" the application should be accompanied by a certificate of marriage with the person on whose death she found her claim, and the baptismal certificate of the child or children on whose behalf application may be made. Now these would form a pretty sure guide of the religion in which the child should be brought up.

However in the case of the Kirleys the religion is stated as Protestant.

The charge that "a parson was always employed to administer the relief under the commission" has been met in this way. The Report says in effect, this is a universal declaration; if we can find a single instance in which it was not administered we shall be in a position to contradict Dr. Cullen. But we can go farther than that, for there are many cases in which the staff officer of pensioners gave this relief, so that it was only sometimes that parsons had anything to do with it. But the Commissioners go farther still and say that no parson was employed to disburse monies in Dublin. In the next sentence they admit that Hort did act for them for six weeks or so, that however we would not mind because it was in the commencement of their duties. But if afterwards, and when they were in full work, we find their secretary in frequent communication with a "Parson," one of the "Irish Church Missions Society," about the disbursement of monies, and some of these letters of so confidential a character that though referred to there is no copy of them in the appendix, we confess we feel some hesitation in placing that reliance upon the report which a public document should command. We may as well at once dispose of the sentence, "no parson or Protestant clergymen was employed by the Patriotic Fund to disburse monies. Payments by these officers commenced, and have been as early as practical in 1855, made uninterruptedly and in Ireland exclusively by them." There may be a quibble on the point about the disbursement of monies. But we consider that it is quite immaterial whether the parson having been authorised, give money to applicants or lay it out for their benefit, and this the commissioners cannot deny, so that if we show that a parson was authorised to apply the money of the Patriotic Fund to any purpose having in view any one of the objects for which the Royal commission was issued, we will have made out a contradiction to one of the statements made in Fishbourne's "memorandum" adopted and

repeated in the second report. We find the following passage in the "extract from a letter from Rev. Wm. Hare, dated Dublin, 12th July, 1856-7 (Sec.) (By the way we did not before observe the date "12th July." Ominous, very. We shall find by-and-by another letter dated "5th Nov.") but to proceed.

"I have found in my neighbourhood a person named Miss Shepherd who is disposed to take charge of these two children (Norris and Arnott) and of any other whom we may wish to entrust to her.) * * * *

"There is another child to be *disposed of*, (is he a sack-em up?) and I am *also* requested to ask whether you will *authorize* me to place in the same house with Maryanne Norris her little brother a child of about *six years of age*, (mark this.* * *

"Miss Shepherd's terms are for two children £14 a-year each. This is I believe more than you usually give, (he knows all about it,) but if you cannot deviate from your rule I will undertake, if required, to procure £2 a-year for each. For three Miss Shepherd would require £14 a-year for the two first, and £12 for the third; should there be four children she will take them all at the same rate, viz. £12 a-year, (noble-hearted creature,) the number enabling her to make this reduction. May I beg of you to let me know as soon as you conveniently can, whether you approve of this plan as I must without much delay come to some definite understanding with Miss Shepherd on the subject." Apart from the peculiar phraseology of this extract, the startling information it contains that "two" can be "first," and the extraordinary sliding scale of prices, are wonderful; viz.—for two children £14 a-year each, for three £14 for the two first (that is £7 each and £12 for the third, but if there were four her superabundant generosity, totally regardless of expense, will take them all for £12 a-year, that is £3 a-head. But jesting apart, here is a letter containing very important information with regard to this point which we are now considering. "Whether you will authorize me to place little Norris in the same house with his sister," (the age of the child we shall touch on just now.) There is no person who reading that sentence could deduce from it any other conclusion than that Hare had authority for doing something else, and if that conclusion did not at once present itself to the mind on reading this passage the conclusion of the letter would place the matter beyond all doubt. "*I must come to some definite understanding,*" &c. Here are clearly the expressions of a person considering himself the agent of another—is that agency denied? far from it?

But it is not an agency alone that is claimed by this factotum, equal power would seem to be his, for in the commencement of the extract we find he speaks of himself and Fishbourne as we, assuming thereby a cōordinate jurisdiction with the secretary in the distribution of the monies of the Patriotic Fund, and in the appointment of the schools in which the children are to be educated. Is the assumption of equality repudiated. Nothing of the kind ; it is admitted by the authority given to place the child in the school ; the recommendations are acceded to in a letter from Fishbourne addressed in a manner implying, as some of the leading men in the House of Commons have in another case considered, a very intimate acquaintance, " My dear Sir." Verily the Proselytizers are in favour, to none are such friendly terms addressed. Hare addressed Fishbourne " My dear Sir," and Fishbourne returns the compliment, to others he accords only the cold official " Sir," but not even the formality of an official correspondence can repress the overflowing affection with which the " subscriber" regards the " Apostle of the Reformation in Ireland." A similar familiarity is exhibited by Holden, one of the " Coombe lads." Now let us see how the request is treated.

" 15th July, 1856.

" My Dear Sir,

" I do not think there can be *any difficulty* in placing the *two* Norrises, and the child Arnott, *and a fourth*, with Miss Shepherd. at £12 a year, each ; so, if you will kindly make the arrangement accordingly, I dare say there will not be any *great difficulty in finding the fourth* ; but I think Miss Shepherd must take her chance of this, *as you can place a fourth the moment you find one*. Will you kindly request the Rathmines or Portobello people to send in their account up to the date on which you receive the children.

" Believe me, my dear Sir,

" Very truly yours,

E. GARDINER FISHBOURNE."

Is that repudiating the agency put forward by Hare? we think not, and further it not only adopts his act but gives him letters of marque to go cruising about picking up any children he can lay hands on, and encouraging him in his avocation by the intimation "that there will not be any great difficulty," and what is really extraordinary is that an authority is given to place this unfortunate child in the school " the moment" it is found. There is no necessity to " apply to the staff officers" to be kind enough " to forward the application to the commissioners" " for permission" to place the child in the school. Oh ! no. There is

absolutely a sum allocated for the education of an individual who *is yet to be* discovered, who might never be found, and the finding of whom is left to the "Parson." Fishbourne knew his man; a fourth *was* found.

This Hare thought himself *facile princeps*, for he complains as though his dignity were insulted and his rights called in question by Mrs. Norris's conduct: he complains she never told him about the memorial. Again this Hare was employed to "question" Mrs. Norris in reference to her "memorial." The note of Mr. Ball, one of the commissioners, is submitted to Parson Hare, but the letter of Fishbourne enclosing the note and the memorial is of too "private and confidential" a character to be produced. Yet Fishbourne with unblushing front lies to John Ball, and lies to the public when he says "the memorial was sent to Mrs. Norris," it was sent to the Parson, who was instructed to threaten the poor woman with poverty and misery in every shape and thus induce her to withdraw that memorial which if acted upon would deprive the proselytising prowlers of their prey. But perhaps this Hare is not a parson at all, and in that way the secretary has been able with a clear conscience to declare that no parson &c. This supposition however is negatived by the fact that he is one of the persons selected to act on the staff of the Viceregal Chaplains; he is also we believe Garrison Chaplain, so that we must suppose him a parson, and if he be, then although it may not be strictly true that "a parson was always employed," still it is entirely false that "no parson was employed," &c. We have no hesitation in branding the report which says, "that we have systematically employed staff officers of the army and not parsons of the Established Church, or ministers of any other religious denomination, to disburse our allowances in Dublin," as a gross fabrication totally devoid of foundation and in opposition to fact. We need not characterize those who signed it. We should have mentioned the name of Preston but we find the declaration is confined to Dublin, and besides the case of Hare is so glaring that further examples would be useless, because any persons who having so employed such a man could deny the employment would be capable of proselytizing a child and then saying they did not. An attempt has been made to separate the commissioners from their agents, and it has been said that a body of Englishmen care so little about any form of worship that they would not give themselves the bother of proselytising.

That may be true, or it may not, we have nothing to do with it; the report adopting the conduct of the agents has been signed by a number of persons and they are just as much responsible for the cases of proselytism, if such cases have occurred, as the men who were the active agents in kidnapping the children. We think that in this instance we have shown that they have *not* refuted Dr. Cullen's charges.

With regard to the nuns of Mercy and of St. Clare, who proposed to take children at a small expense, answers were sent to their proposals—but no orphans.

The Report, says the Commissioners, agreed to pay the amount asked for the education of children, *above seven years* (there was no difficulty in placing little Norris in Miss Shepherd's, though he was only six). Two mothers obtained the sanction of the Committee to place their children in those establishments, but they subsequently changed (?) their minds (one of these was Mrs. Norris, the other, Mrs. M'Donald; the history of the former is known, of the latter we know little more than that her application was permitted to lie over for *eleven months*). Fishbourne's reply is good, displaying profound knowledge of the religious orders of the "Romish church;" just that sort of knowledge which we would have expected to find in one of the members of the "Irish Church Mission Society." He calls the Sisters of Mercy, "The Sisters of Mercy of St. Clare," and speaks of placing children in St. Clare's *or* Harold's Cross. His denial is pretty much the same as that given by the Report as one would naturally expect, knowing that the one hand drew up both documents.

The fourth charge which touches the allocation being admitted, we shall omit it for the present, but, should we feel it necessary, shall revert to it.

We shall take up the cases of Mrs. Kirley and Mrs. Norris.

First of Mrs. Kirley. Briefly the charge is; there is no use mincing the matter, that the children have been proselytised. The Report says:—"The substance of his complaint, with respect to Mrs. Kirley, is, that being the widow of a Roman Catholic soldier her three children have been sent by our Dublin agent to a Protestant school."

Our answer is, "That we have acted in this case on a general rule, founded on a legal decision of the Court of Queen's Bench." The decision referred to is the case of Alicia Race. What the nature of the general rule may be we do not know, but this we

do know, that if, from the principles laid down in the judgment of Lord Campbell, the Commissioners can extract any authority whatever for sending Catholic children to a Protestant—No, we beg pardon ; were it so, there might be some hope that the high principle and good feeling which real, sincere Protestants are known to possess, would have revolted against such a flagrant breach of good faith—to a proselytising school without any consultation with the relatives of the children ; principles are delusions, reasoning a farce.

Every one knows that the question of religious teaching did not enter into the subject at all, that the judge refused to examine the child, and deplored the compulsory character of the principle which left him no alternative. The question really was, whether the mother should have the custody of the child, and the only reason that can be assigned to defeat that right is the immorality of the person claiming the custody. In the case in which Tylney Long Pole sought the custody of his children, the claim was resisted on the ground of his bad habit of living, and the evil practices with which he had sought to infect his children. But the judge admitted there was no stain on the character of Mrs. Race, and the decision was, that the child should be given up to her. Now how did these impartial Commissioners act ? Either they, themselves, or some persons induced by them, settled a small sum of money on the little girl, made her a ward of Court, and so retained possession of her ; so that they are armed at all points. If the child be a Catholic, with a Protestant, an incompetent, or a careless mother : there is the decision of the law court. If the religion of the child be doubtful, and its Catholic mother desire to obtain the custody of it—then appeal to Equity.

Now it is quite clear that the right of the mother to be guardian for nurture is an old doctrine of the constitution, but coeval with, if it be not of a still earlier date, is the principle by which a child should be brought up in the religion of its father. Previous to the Reformation these two principles blended harmoniously, because their being no difference of religious belief, there could be no question of educating the child in a religion different from that of the parents. Since that time, however, when a question has arisen upon this subject and has been brought before a court of law, in a manner similar to that in which the Race case was submitted to the Queen's Bench, the decision has been, unless under peculiar

circumstances, the same. But Courts of Equity, or courts of law, with an equitable jurisdiction, have generally adopted the principle, that the child should be reared in the faith of the father.

In the case of "Stourton v Stourton" reported in the 26 Law journal, the judge expressed himself very strongly on this. Although obliged to decide against the claims, and very properly, for the Testamentary Guardian who was also godfather to the child, took no concern about the matter until the child was nine years of age; then he suddenly wakes up and finds the child a Protestant. He appeals to the Lord Justices, and one of them in his judgment says, "If no wish were expressed by, or to be assumed on the part of the father and application were made (within a reasonable time) to this Court, then, the child would be brought up in his father's faith."

In another case in which the father and mother were both Protestants, the mother became a Roman Catholic during the lifetime of the father, who knew that she went to Mass and brought her children with her, and he himself went four or five times with her and two of their children to the chapel, but he had never been received into the Roman Catholic Church. He died, at a distance from any priest, rather suddenly, but refused the attendance of the rector of the parish. It is the case of North, Reported, 11th Jurist. The judge stated his opinion in that case to be, "that when the father has not left, nor expressed any direction or instruction as to the religion in which his children are to be educated, it is to be presumed that his wishes were that they should be educated in his own religion." This was a strong case; the father had countenanced, the conversion of his wife and the practice of his children. Yet they were brought up *Protestants*.

In this country the case of "Brown" is very strong to the same point. Brown, the father, was a Roman Catholic, and married a Protestant, having it was alleged promised to allow the children to be reared Protestants. She died and he allowed the children to frequent the house of an aunt a Protestant. He died, appointing two Roman Catholics as guardians. The aunt claimed the children. The guardians resisted, and the Master of the Rolls decided that the children should be brought up Catholics, having a Catholic governess, should live with the aunt, but should every Saturday go to one of the guardians, stay over Sunday and return on Monday, so that the guardians might see to the attendance of the children to their religious observances.

But admitting everything, admitting that Race was given up to be educated in a religion different from that of her father, what precedent could this supply for sending children to a school, teaching doctrines hostile to those in which they had been to the certain knowledge of the "Dublin agent" instructed? Now we earnestly request the attention of our readers to what follows with regard to Mrs. Kirley's children and particularly that they will carry with them the dates. Dates like facts are stubborn things, they cannot be got rid of, and it does surprise us that when Fishbourne mutilated at all he did not do so in a workmanlike manner. All the declarations of impartiality vanish before the simple evidence of dates.—In the letter of Major Harris, dated the 17th March, 1857, (appendix 25) the heading is as follows. Margaret Jane 10 years old, and Alice 6 years old. Children of Margaret Kirley, No 426 at 8s. 6d. *who is insane. Protestant.* The first thing to be observed here is the date, 17th March, secondly the statement of the religion. Fishbourne states "no record of such distinction in religion or country is kept in the office." Yet the only instance he gives, upon which we may form a judgment, contains that distinction markedly made, Protestant, and in italics. How the captain may distinguish between filing an application and keeping a record of it, we do not know, but there it is now filed or unfiled giving the lie to his assertion that the executive Committee had no means by which to distinguish Protestant from Roman Catholic.

In the letter of Major Harris, *three* children are referred to, but the third is not mentioned in the descriptive particulars.

The object which the major had was to get something done for them such as putting them to school. He says that they were brought to him, but by whom he does not mention. However, on the 18th March, (that is by return of post,) a letter is sent to the major by Fishbourne. With what promptitude letters are answered when there is question of a Catholic child being kidnapped, but when it is sought to give information upon particular facts of importance in a case, the informant is snubbed by being told that all his statements are false and that not for a month after the receipt of his communication. What is the nature of this letter from Fishbourne, and we do request our readers to mark the dates. Harris's letter is received on the 18th and answered immediately. The reply regrets that they have no school in Ireland, directs the expense

of their transmission to the office in London to be paid. "The boy might be sent to the Rev. A. Preston, Kilmeague, near Naas, who has already some boys of ours." Had the writer been any one else but a member of the "Irish Church Missions Society," we would have thought that, ignorant of the character of Preston, supposing his school to be an ordinary Protestant school, and misled by the mis-description Harris gave, by whose authority does not appear, he had committed the child to the care of Preston. But having to deal with a member of that notorious body, we incline to think that it was a knowledge of Preston's tendencies which led him to direct the boy to be sent to Kilmeague. As our readers may not know anything of Preston we shall give them a little information about him. This person was very successful in settling "pious good Protestants." on a certain estate, the receipts from which were not thereby increased, having previously procured the ejectment of a considerable number of Catholics who had holdings and whose interests the landlord had to buy up. He with true apostolic zeal, marched at the head of a body of Orangemen of Kilmeague in military array into the town of Trim with a pistol in his hand. Lest this might not be credited, we give an extract from the Report of a bribery committee, 20th August, 1835.

Extract from Minutes of Evidence of Dr. Robert Mullen—page 475.

"Question 8337—You have given us an account of this Orange force; pray, who was at its head? One party of Orangemen that came from Kilmeague in the County Kildare; a Protestant clergyman was at their head.

"Question 8338—It was not a Crucifix, I believe, that he had? He had a pistol.

"Question 8339—Were shots discharged by these fellows at night? There were some shots fired during the election by the Orangemen."

Such is the teacher those men select for the youth of Ireland. What happy days will there be in this country when the pupils of this zealous instructor, impregnated with the doctrines he has laboured to instill, come amongst the people with whom their lot in life is cast. How many a return of Dollys Brae will there be? Yet to such a man is committed the children, whose father fought bravely and loyally for his Queen and his country. Where are his "sacred rights," which a grateful country has recognised, and the recognition of which Her Majesty considered deserving of her Royal sanction? The decision

of the Court of Queen's Bench, by a distortion of principles and a perversion of reasoning, is interposed between the dead soldier and his living offspring, making the bounty of his country, his torment and his loss.

Not satisfied with one child, Preston sought for, and obtained the three. More generous than Miss Shepherd he offers to take them for "a few shillings a-year." We should observe that Harris writes to Fishbourne under date 23rd March two letters. One of these is answered on the 24th, the other on the 25th of the same month. The latter of Fishbourne's letters authorises the sending of the children to Preston. Canon Grimley who was then acting as chaplain to the Catholic soldiers stationed at the Royal Barracks, knowing that Kirley had been a Catholic, knowing that his wife and children were regarded as Catholics, and treated as such, and understanding that the children were about being sent to schools not Catholic, protests against "any attempt to proselytize these children." The canon refers to a Protestant gentleman of Dundalk, in proof of the Catholicity of poor Kirley. Such a letter would naturally create surprise in the mind of the man who off hand had described them as *Protestant* on the authority of the person who brought them, whose name the gallant major does not mention, and would excite a desire to examine into the matter, or at least to lay the statement before those who were appointed to "secure such prompt and authentic information" as "may prevent the wrong application by misrepresentation or otherwise" of this fund. Now remember readers, the mother is a lunatic, committed as dangerous at the request of Major Harris who had waited on Colonel Browne for that purpose.

What then should be done? send forward the note as Major Harris did. And what course should the Commissioners pursue? To us it would appear that they should have examined the matter fully. They should have called in the assistance of the officer in command of Kirley's regiment, or such of the officers as knew him; they should have inquired what religion he had professed, what religion his wife professed—in what religion the children were brought up. These are all matters it was competent for the Commissioners to have done, and no more than they were bound to do. Now let us see what was done:—Major Harris sends Canon Grimley's note to Fishbourne, in compliance with his promise to that

Rev. gentleman. But in the letter he sent, along with the enclosure, he states, "it is *the* wish still, that the children should be brought up in the Protestant faith." "The wish;" whose wish?—Preston's, Harris's, Fishbourne's, &c.

Whether Fishbourne ever communicated with the Commissioners at all, we very much doubt; but the answer returned was, "that the Court of Queen's Bench having decided that the surviving parent should determine the religion of children, and as the mother of the children in question must, during the two years she has been receiving relief, and while still sane, have brought them up in some religious faith, the Committee have no alternative but to consider that as the faith which she (were she now sane), would wish that they should be educated in."

A very proper letter truly, and quite disregarding of Major Harris's description of them as Protestants. The question then was, to whom should they apply for information, and what should be done with the children in the meanwhile? It would strike one that the letter of Fishbourne should have been at once communicated to Canon Grimley, in order that he might show what religion they had been reared in, but no such communication was made *at all*. The next thing would have been to enquire at the place at which Mrs. Kirley passed the greater portion of the two years, during which she was receiving relief, and, while still sane, what religious tenets she and her children had professed, and what religious practices they had observed. As her residence had been, for a considerable time, at various periods, the Penitentiary at Grangegorman, we would expect to find Major Harris or some person in his behalf, enquiring at the prison about this poor woman. Accordingly we do find the Major visiting the Governor of the prison, informing him that he called to ascertain, if possible, the religion of the children of the woman Kirley, that he was anxious to do something for them on the part of the Patriotic Fund Committee. The governor complied with his wish, and in order that there might be no mistake as to verbal statements, no misrepresentation of what he said, he directed Mr. Warren, the chief clerk, to refer to the registries, which he did, and he traced Kirley and her children back in the *Beggar's Registry* for three or four committals, and in each of these they were described as "Roman Catholics." On making this discovery the Major at once sent a telegram to Fishbourne, informing

him of the mistake he had made in describing the children as *Protestant*, and requesting the arrangement with Mr. Preston might be altered, and the children sent to Roman Catholic schools. He may have done so, but we can find no trace of the letter, for the next letter we have in the Appendix, is the 8th of April, detailing what had occurred in the interval, namely, the sending of the children to Preston of the pistol, and with him we believe they still remain. Now Harris knew on the 27th (if Fishbourne did not also know it on the same day), that the Kirleys had been entered as Catholics, yet he sent them to Kilmeague on the 31st. As some question has arisen about the object of Harris's visit to the Penitentiary, and some remarks have been made about it in Mr. Ball's letter, we think it right to give Harris's answer. He writes :

“ Dublin, March 28th, 1858.

“ Sir—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant, together with a copy of Mr. Ball's protest against the judgment of the Royal Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund, as laid down in their second report to Her Majesty the Queen ; and, in obedience to your desire, I beg now to offer the following observations regarding the case of the widow and three children of the late John Kirley, 4th Dragoon Guards, and the conclusions drawn by Mr. Ball with respect to myself. It is well known to you, Sir, that staff officers do not decide on what is to be done with orphan children ; that they make their reports to the honorary secretary, through whom they receive instructions. Mr. Ball complains that, on the 17th of March, 1857, I presented Kirley's children as Protestant. My reply is—I was governed by the repeated testimony of Mrs. Kirley's own mother (a Roman Catholic), her step-father, and a long list of half brothers and sisters (not children, but grown-up men and women), and also of the little orphans themselves, with all of whom I was in almost daily personal communication from the time of Mrs. Kirley's committal. (See the subsequent certificates of Margaret Colvin and Margaret Kirley at pages 55 and 59 of the report). This ample proof was abundantly corroborated by Mrs. Kirley's rambling “ remarks,” alluded to by Mr. Synnott, in his letter to Mr. Grimley, 4th November, 1857, though subsequently set aside, many days afterwards, by Dr. Banon's disqualifying certificate. I do not see, in my letter of the 27th March, anything that should have led to an opposite conclusion from that which I adopted on such substantial grounds. Mrs. Kirley is here to express her own sentiments of religion, past and present ; Mr. Canon Grimley, in whose parish she resides, is, and has been all along, as well aware of the fact as I am. With regard to the letter of Mr. Synnott, which appears in the Appendix II. of Doctor Cullen's letter to Lord St. Leonards, it is calculated to mislead and do mischief. Mr. Synnott was not justified in stating that the object of my visit to the prison was to ascertain the religion of Kirley's children ; that fact was

previously settled in my mind by better evidence than he could give me ; my real object was to learn whether Mrs. Kirley was herself in a fit state to undertake that responsibility, with regard to her children's removal to school, which others, for a time, were obliged to engage in, and which she subsequently acknowledged and approved in terms of much gratitude. Mr. Ball, too, is himself in error when he says, I traced back the name of Mrs. Kirley and her children in the Beggars' Registry for three or four separate committals. The name of Kirley appears but once, and the children were absent from her upon that occasion. She was entered as a Roman Catholic it is true, but as she was received into prison as a dangerous lunatic, perhaps Mr. Ball can explain upon what fair authority she was so entered. These observations apply equally to the letter of the Rev. Mr. Thomas White, the Roman Catholic chaplain, marked 3 in the Appendix of Dr. Cullen's letter. In conclusion, I take the liberty to observe that my conduct and my motives may be misconceived or distorted by others, but the approbation of my own conscience remains undisturbed in this matter ; and I even flatter myself into the belief that the thirty-five Royal Commissioners who have signed the Report in question, will not, under all the circumstances of this case, relinquish the opinions they have subscribed to merely to adopt those expressed alone by Mr. Ball, and that they will still judge me to be deserving of protection against an ill-placed, and I trust it will be shown, an equally ill-sustained charge of proselytism, or of participating in any of the religious abuses so freely applied to me by Mr. Ball and others of his party.—I have the honour to be Sir, your most obedient servant,

R. R. HARRIS, Major and Staff Officer Pensioners.
W. H. Mugford, Esq , 19, New-street, Spring Gardens, London."

There is a fish, so ingenious in its method of self-preservation, that when apprehensive of danger it darkens with an inky fluid the water near the place where it reposes, and so escapes the attack of the pursuer : thus does the Major.

" Mr. Ball complains that on the 17th March, 1857, I represented Kirley's children as Protestant. My reply is, I was governed by the repeated testimony of Mrs. Kirley's own mother, (a Roman Catholic) her stepfather, and a long list of half-brothers and sisters (not children but grown-up men and women), and also of the little orphans themselves, with all of whom I was in almost daily personal communication from the time of Mrs. Kirley's committal (that was 25th March, 1857). This ample proof was abundantly corroborated by Mrs. Kirley's rambling "remarks," alluded to by Mr. Synnot in his letter to Mr. Grimley, 4th Nov., 1857, though subsequently set aside, many days afterwards, by Dr. Banon's disqualifying certificate."

What is the meaning of that sentence ? Have the two staff officers combined to indite sentences, difficult to understand, and impossible to explain ? Is this obscurity the result of

their deficient education, or of their desire to envelope their meaning in a mist of words to the exclusion of all sound sense? When Ormsby wants to get a statement verified, he procures testimony to whatever is true in it. When Harris wants to lead the public to suppose that he really believed what he wrote on the 17th March, he entangles himself in such a mass of words, the meaning of which he clearly does not comprehend, that those who are interested in his welfare, can with difficulty, extricate him from the confusion he himself has created. If it be true that language is intended to conceal what one means, then has Harris given a very strong instance of its adaptability, to mystify. But as grammarians consider language to be the medium of conveying to others the ideas which operate upon our own minds, we are inclined to think that this confusion arises from a desire to escape from the penalty his misconduct has deserved. The "ample proof" was "abundantly corroborated." What is this "ample proof?" is it that the grandmother who has not the means of supporting them, is willing that they should go (to school)? First, we find Mr. Kirley in the receipt of 8s. 6d. per week, which is the allowance granted according to the scale to Widows of Privates with *four* children; Mrs. Kirley had but *three*. But surely after Major Harris got Mrs. Kirley confined as a "dangerous lunatic," in consequence of her intemperate habits, he did not continue the allowance to her, which he knew would be useless, and surely for some time previous to her committal, he, knowing the character of the woman, ought not to have given her money intended for the support of her children, which he well knew would go in drink. Now, if he gave 4s. 6d. a-week, 4s. being the allowance for widows without children, to the "natural guardian," and informed her that the Kirleys could be kept at a day school, the Commissioners defraying the weekly expense, he would have acted rightly. Had he done this, we are at a loss to know how she could have said she was unable to support them; however, when she expressed her willingness, that they should go to school, did it necessarily follow that that meant a proselytising school? The Major talks of step-sisters and brothers. We would not give much for their testimony. Mrs. Kirley had been married in 1844, and from that time to 1857, any evidence there is, goes to prove her a professing and practical Catholic; these step-relatives did not see much of her during that period, she was with her husband in various parts of the United Kingdom. But if the proof were "ample," it did not

require "corroboration," for "ample," means "sufficient;" sufficient is enough—more than enough is too much, and what proves too much, proves nothing; but the "corroborating ample proof," by "rambling remarks," and then setting aside the whole of it by the subsequent certificate, leaves us completely in the dark. Is it the ample proof, or the corroboration, or both, that is set aside by the certificate? If the ample proof was so influenced, the children should have been sent to a Catholic school. If the ample proof required corroboration, and that corroboration were set aside by the certificate, then the children, like criminals, should have had the benefit of the doubt, and been sent to Catholic schools.

If anything would furnish a proof of the necessity of adhering strictly to truth in dealing even with "Papists," it is afforded in the present instance, in which the first lie has had to be supported by many more. We may as well finish this "ample proof." The Major refers to two documents in the appendix. The children were sent away on the 31st March; on the 20th of April, he sends Fishbourne a declaration signed by the grandmother, giving up the children to him, dated 26th March. Why was not that declaration sent forward before, when Harris sent Grimley's letter, or when told by Fishbourne, on the 28th March, that "The grandmother, with whom they appear to be residing, should produce certificates as to the religious instruction they were under?" The only reason that can be given is, that it had no existence at the time, and that it was written on the receipt of Canon Grimley's letter, dated 19th April, to silence all questionings and antedated as an authority to Harris for sending the children to Preston on the 31st March. The second document is that of Margaret Kirley, mother of the children, dated 13th November. Lest there might be any doubt about the authenticity of the signature, the Major sends in to Ormsby for a loan of one of his truth-certifying staff sergeants, to witness, in conjunction with his own staff sergeant, the handwriting of the deponent. Not content with that, he gets all the Colvins to certify, 13 days after the occurrence, that she was perfectly calm, cool, and collected at the time when she did an act which they did not see her do. "Not see her do! how do you know?" Easily enough; if they had see her sign, their certificate would have been of the same date as her declaration, and witnessed by the staff-sergeants. Now, her declaration is the 13th November, their certificate 26th November; she might have been raving mad

on the 13th, and perfectly sane on the 26th. The fact is, the children have been kidnapped, and these documents are got up for show. We would not be astonished to find each of these people declaring they never signed such documents at all—

“I do not see in my letter of the 27th March, anything that should have led to an opposite conclusion from that which I adopted on such substantial grounds.” Nor can we, for we have not been blessed with the sight of it; we did think there had been some manipulation of the evidence, some “*suppressio veri*,” if not “*suggestio falsi*,” but this confirms us, for when their own accomplice refers to a document, which has not been published, as calculated to justify himself, we may be tolerably certain, that the suppression was the result of those across the channel, fearing that in his justification lay their own condemnation. But we are glad to know that as all the parts of letters have not been produced, so neither have all the letters, and this is much the more respectable way to go about the matter, much better tell the public at once, that they will get no satisfaction, than while pretending to satisfy them, really to deceive them. Yet all these letters in their entirety were circulated amongst the Commissioners. We are surprised that they would have allowed the suppression of a single sentence; we are surprised to find that Prince Albert signed a report, in the manufacturing of which such tinkering is manifest. We wonder his artistic eye did not detect the violation of every rule which govern a production like this; we wonder he did not feel that his own character, private and public, as a man and as a Prince, was at stake, that the dignity of his Queen and his wife is insulted, by the attempt to palm these fables as facts. If the Prince Consort had read that report, its appendix and the charges of the Archbishop, which evoked it, we feel assured that he would not have signed it. We regret that he did not read it before he gave it the sanction of his illustrious name. We cannot trust ourselves to speak upon the blameable confidence which was reposed in the framers of that report. Up to this, at all events, it is shewn pretty clearly that Fishbourne is the Royal Commissioner, for we have not throughout the whole of the appendix met with the name of Letroy. After that mesmeric sentence, the Major proceeds in these words:—

“Mr. Synnot was not justified in stating that the object of my visit to the prison was to ascertain the religion of Kirley’s children; that fact was previously settled in my mind by better evidence than

he could give me ; my real object was to learn whether Mrs. Kirley was herself in a fit state to undertake that responsibility with regard to removing her children to school, which others, for a time, were obliged to engage in, and which she subsequently acknowledged and approved in terms of much gratitude."

It is quite clear to us, but only after an attentive study of this specimen, that Harris had two objects, a pretended one and a real one. The pretended one he told Mr. Synnott and the poor simple governor unversed in military diplomacy believed all the Major said, got down Mr Warren to look through the registries, and gave himself a deal of unnecessary trouble, for the Major's *real* object was something else, as he has just told us. "Mr. Ball, too is himself in error when he says *I* traced back the name of Mrs Kirley in the beggars' registry for three or four separate committals. The *name* of *Kirley* appears but *once* and the children were absent from her. She was entered as a Roman Catholic it is true, but as she was received into prison as a dangerous lunatic, perhaps Mr. Ball can explain upon what fair authority she was so entered."

Perhaps the Major thinks himself very clever with his little bit of special pleading. An omission on the part of Mr. Ball is caught at with that eagerness with which drowning men are usually represented as catching at straws, but as the straw though specifically lighter than water and thus able to float on the surface, yields to the pressure of the agonised grasp, and both sink, so the Major's fact as a fact might stand good, but the moment he seeks to rest his presumptive ignorance upon it, that moment its strength fails and down goes the Major. It is quite true that the Major did not trace Mrs. Kirley at all. Mr. Warren the Chief Clerk did that, but the Major was quite satisfied. "The *name* of *Kirley* appears but *once*." Is this we ask worthy "an officer and a gentleman?" Surely you know it is not for a name we are seeking. A name cannot have a religion, you know the line "whats in a name" &c. Mrs Kirley a Catholic in the penitentiary would be a Catholic though entered as "Margaret M'Cormick" or "Curley" either. Look to the appendix 44; you will find a return of the number of times Kirley was in prison from the 7th March to 25th December 1856, and each time she had two of her children with her. The rest of the letter is occupied with self laudation. Returning from the little episode we shall resume. On the 19th April Canon Grimley, not having received any communication conveying the views of the Commissioners upon the

case he had submitted to their consideration, writes again. His letter is enclosed by Harris to Fishbourne accompanied by a letter, the declaration of the suspicious date, and a letter of a suspicious import. The former is the declaration of the grandmother. "As the natural guardian of &c. I hereby declare my intention to bring them up in the Protestant faith, and instruct and empower Major Harris to deal with them accordingly." This declaration is only a declaration of a present intention to bring them up for the future Protestants. Had they been Protestants such a declaration would have been unnecessary. It would seem as though the very proofs adduced in vindication combine to condemn them, and then the date, why so long kept back? We are surrounded by mystery, we wish we could find the key. The letter is from Holden, beginning "Dear Sir," containing a statement that the children had been at the Coombe school, and winding up with a slap at "Popery."

The Major's letter to Canon Grimley we treated of in our former paper, and there recorded our opinion of its character. Suffice it then on the present occasion to say that that letter was written without any instruction from Fishbourne, at least it would appear so, but it is the letter of the Commissioners, for they have not censured the writer of it.

There are some letters about allowance, by which it would seem that Harris wished to give Mrs. Kirley the full allowance as though she had her children with her, while Fishbourne consents to give her only 5s. and a suit of clothes. Superintendant C. F. M'Carthy, finds that Margaret Jane Kirley attended the Combe School from 16th November 1856, to March 10th 1857, yet she was in Grangegorman almost the whole month of December. Jane attended from September 3rd. to March 1857, she being at the same time committed with her mother to the Penitentiary five times, four periods of fourteen days and one of seven days.

The next is Mrs. Kirley's own declaration that she was always a Protestant, and that her three children were also Protestants. The report says "she was *born* a Protestant." Her father and mother were both Catholics, as appears by an extract from the registry of marriages, kept in the Catholic Cathedral, Longford, which is given at page 102 of the Archbishop's pamphlet, and is as follows:—

"It appears from the Registry kept in St. Mel's Catholic Cathedral, Longford, that John M'Cormick and Margaret Reynolds were mar-

ried according to the rite of the Catholic Church, on the 29th day of October, 1820.

Witnesses, { TERENCE REYNOLDS.
MICHAEL REYNOLDS.

GREGORY YORKE,
Roman Catholic Administrator.

Longford, 22nd December, 1857.

Mrs Kirley was married according to the Catholic rite in the same church as appears by the registry, an extract from which is furnished in the same page.

"It appears from the Registry kept in St. Mel's Catholic Cathedral, Longford, that Private John Kirley, of the 4th Dragoon Guards, Orderly in the Military Hospital, Longford, was married according to the rite of the Catholic Church, to Margaret M'Cormick on the 10th day of September, 1844.

Witnesses, { JAMES KELLY, of the Band
4th Dragoon Guards.
CATHERINE MOORE.

GREGORY YORKE,
Roman Catholic Administrator.

Longford, 3rd December, 1857."

Mrs. Kirley declared herself a Catholic when living in Island-street. Margaret Jane said she had received the Sacraments; these two facts are deposed to by Mary Lalor, a copy of whose deposition sworn before Alderman Farrell will be found at page 107, of the pamphlet.

"I, Mary Lalor, of Ecclin Lane, do solemnly and sincerely declare that I am very intimately acquainted with Mrs. Kirley, widow of the late Private Kirley, of the 4th Dragoons; that she lived with me in the same house in Island Street; that I heard her declare that she was a Roman Catholic; that, on one occasion, when I asked her why her children were attending the Protestant school on the Coombe, she answered that it was only for the bread they went, that it was not with her will; that from the time of her marriage she was always a Roman Catholic. I knew Margaret Jane Kirley, daughter of Mrs. Kirley. I heard Margaret Jane say, that when ill in hospital, she received the Sacraments from the Catholic Priest. I do solemnly declare, that I always looked upon Mrs. Kirley and her children as Roman Catholics."

Declared before F. Farrell, Esq., justice of county Dublin, 29th March, 1858.

Mrs. Kirley's mother says that Mrs. Kirley changed for the purpose of getting married. Three of her children were baptised in the Catholic Church as proved by extracts from registries given at p. 103, and were put to the Convent school at Dundalk.

"John Kirley, son of John and Margaret Kirley (formerly M'Cor-

mick), was born on the 10th day of April, 1847, and baptized on, the 30th day of April, 1847, in St. Barnabas's Catholic Church Nottingham, by me,

JOHN J. MULLIGAN.

Sponsor, MARK GILLIGAN.
Nottingham, 12th December, 1857."

"Alice Kirley, daughter of John and Margaret Kirley (formerly M'Cormick), was born on the 30th day of April, 1849, and baptized on the 10th day of June, 1849, in St. Wilfrid's Catholic Church, Hulme, Manchester, by me,

LAW. TOOLE.

Sponsors, { EDWARD CLARKE.
JANE SMITH."

"Francis Kirley, son of John and Margaret Kirley (formerly M'Cormick), was born on the 16th day of April, 1851, and baptized on the 11th day of May, 1851, in St. Peter's Catholic Church, Birmingham, by me,

BERNARD IVERS,
Missionary Apostolic.

Sponsors, { WILLIAM KELLY.
ELLEN GAVAN.
Birmingham, 22nd December, 1857."

"St. Malachi's,
"October 26, 1857.

"MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,

"In reply to your Grace's kind letter, which I received this morning, I beg to say that Margaret, Patrick, and Alice Kirley attended our schools during the months of June, July, and August, 1854. The father, a soldier, brought them himself, and was most anxious they should be instructed in the Catholic religion.

(Signed) "SR. M. DE SALES VIGNE."

With regard to the children going to the Coombe School it is the best proof that they were Catholics. For Catholics that school and others of a similar character were established; to deprive them of their faith is the sole object of these institutions. Every inducement is offered to these poor children, nay we have heard that violence is sometimes resorted to for the purpose of gaining possession of them.

Thus contradicted in her statement that statement is certified by all the Colvins, the value of such verification we leave the reader to estimate.

There is a certificate from Mistress Mills, saying that Mrs. Kirley had attended a Sunday school between 1837, and 1840. It is not material; the next, a letter from Mr. Kingston, we give in full:—

Ashfield, Harold's Cross,
December 3rd, 1857.

My Lord,

I trust the circumstances of the case will excuse the liberty I take in writing to you. Having seen in the "Freeman's Journal" of the 24th ult., extracts from a letter addressed by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin to your Lordship, in which mention is made of the Widow Kirley, she being a parishioner of mine, I was led to enquire from her the truth of the allegations of Archbishop Cullen respecting her. I send you a brief summary of the statement made to me by Mrs. Kirley in presence of her own mother, who certainly did not express dissent, rather appeared to concur in what was said by her daughter. The Widow Kirley said she is, and always has been, a Protestant, and never professed herself a Roman Catholic. She told me she was living in Dundalk when the news reached her of her husband's death. On being then asked by the gentleman who gave her the information, what she intended to do she replied, "God is good, and He will provide for me and my children: as long as He leaves me my health and my senses I have no fear, and I will bring up my children as I was brought up myself in the Protestant faith." With that determination she left Dundalk and came up to Dublin, in the suburbs of which she lived, and sent her children to Protestant schools. They were attending the Protestant Ragged School on the Coombe when she first manifested an aberration of intellect. She went to the school one day to bring home her children, and was proceeding with them home when she was taken up by a policeman who charged her as being under the influence of liquor. She and her children were committed to Grangegorman Penitentiary, and there entered, (as appears by the registry,) Roman Catholics. But of such entry she declares she knew nothing, nor by whose direction she was so entered. (Query—By whose authority was such entry made?) She also says that when taken to mass she recollects having knelt down in her seat with her back to the altar, and she heard an officer of the prison say, "that woman is a Protestant for no Catholic would do what she has now done." She was afraid to refuse going to mass, for she was told, (but by whom she does not recollect,) "that if she did not she would be fed on bread and water and would not be allowed to see her children." Be it observed it was not pecuniary distress which caused her to be committed to prison, for when taken up she had on her person £2 2s. 6d. besides some coppers. Her subsequent committals to Grangegorman Penitentiary were occasioned by manifestations of insanity, until at length she was placed in the lunatic department. When, in the providence of God, her senses were restored to her she had her children placed under Protestant care and instruction. She further told me that some weeks ago the Rev. Mr. Grimley, Roman Catholic priest, sent for her and required her to sign a paper, promising her if she would sign the paper he would take good care of her and her children. She refused and did not sign, nor did she know what was in the paper. On another occasion the Rev. Mr. Kenedy, Roman Catholic priest, importuned her to sign a paper, and made her a similar promise; but she absolutely refused. She also told me that during the life-

time of her husband one of her children, with the knowledge and concurrence of her husband, was baptized by a Protestant clergyman. It is, my Lord, quite apparent what a slender foundation Archbishop Cullen has had for his mighty fabric in connection with the Widow Kirley and her children. If your Lordship considers the facts I have herein stated of any value in the consideration of the case you are at perfect liberty to make what use you please of this letter.

I am, &c.

Thomas Kingston,
Vicar of St. James', Dublin.

To put a climax to the long series of misrepresentation, sneering, insolence and falsehood, which characterize the case of the Kirleys, it was hardly necessary to furnish a document in which all four attributes are combined. Notwithstanding, we find a document composed of such ingredients in the letter of Vicar Kingston. Whether this letter be the invention of a "mind diseased," or the production of a mind debased, we shall not pause to consider; enough for us that it is false in almost every particular, and foully false as to that portion of it in which it is sought to sully the good name of an upright, honourable, and useful official, by insinuating that in the discharge of his office, he would allow himself to be made the tool of any sect or of any party, (Query by whose authority?). Pie on you Mr. Kingston. These are *your* words. Had they been the expression of the poor lunatic, we would have passed them over, and even coming from you they are not worth much notice. They are referred to, to be contradicted. Had you the feelings of a gentleman, not to speak of those of a Christian, if these two characters can ever be separated, you would not think upon the *ex parte* statement of a person who had been in confinement as a "dangerous lunatic" of maligning the motives and aspersing the conduct of a gentleman who fills an important office and discharges its onerous duties with zeal and efficiency. We shall now consider the letter in detail, "she never professed herself a Roman Catholic," we proved false by Harris's letter. "The grandmother of the children informs me that Sergeant Kirley was a Roman Catholic, and Margaret Kirley brought up as a Protestant. But as it is contrary to custom to marry two persons of different religion, the latter *changed* for the purpose of the ceremony."—Extract from Harris's letter, 26th March, 1857. "She was taken up by a policeman who charged her as being under the influence of liquor. She and *her children* were committed to Grangegorm Penitentiary." There is no date given, so we cannot positively

deny the statement. It is, however, highly improbable that her children would be committed along with the mother, she being charged as drunk. When the report appeared, persons were struck by Kingston's allegations and Dr. Grey, one of the Board of Superintendence of the Penitentiary, drew the attention of Mr. Synnott, the governor, to the "facts" therein stated. The following is Mr. Synnott's reply:—

" Grangegorman Prison, Dublin,
" 31st March, 1858.

" DEAR DR. GRAY,

" I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which, in your official capacity, as a member of the Board of Superintendence of City of Dublin Prisons, you forwarded to me on last night, together with the Second Report of the Royal Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund; and as you directed, I have read over, with particular attention, the passages marked by you 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, in the Appendix 45, at page 62 in that document. Permit me here to thank you, as the governor of this institution, for giving the opportunity of contradicting the many, to say the least of it, gross misrepresentations made by Margaret Kirley, lately a prisoner in that establishment.

" The Appendix above referred to is a letter from the Rev. J. Kingston, Vicar of St. James's, addressed to the Right Hon. the Lord St. Leonards, in the first passage of which it is stated that, 'Mrs. Kirley and her children were committed to Grangegorman Prison, and there entered (as appears by the registry) Roman Catholics, but of such entry she declares she knew nothing, nor by whose directions she was so entered.'

" (*Query.*—By whose authority was such entry made.")

" *Answer.*—By the authority of Margaret Kirley to the Registrar, who, as you desire to know his name and character, is a Mr. Warren, a highly respectable and respected officer, who, for twenty-one years, has filled the office without the slightest stain or imputation being cast upon him in any respect, and I may further add, by religious profession an Episcopalian Protestant. The assistant clerk in the office, too, has a distinct recollection of this woman entering herself on the books of this prison as a Roman Catholic; and, if necessary, as you seem to think it may be hereafter, the statements of these officers can be verified on oath.

" *Second.*—She also says that when taken to Mass she recollects having knelt down in her seat with her back to the altar, and she heard an official of the prison say: 'That woman is a Protestant, for no Catholic would do what she has done.'

" *Answer.*—None of the officers have the slightest recollection of this circumstance occurring, nor do I believe a word of it, for the prisoners are regularly marched to their respective places of worship by the officers in charge of their class, and when they enter the church or chapel, they take their places next to each other, and it would, indeed, be an unseemly affair to see one of them sitting with her face to the prisoners and her back to the altar.

" *Third.*—She was afraid to refuse going to Mass, for she was

told (but by whom she does not recollect) that if she did not, she would be fed on bread and water, and would not be allowed to see her children "

" *Answer.*—The officers of the prison have been assembled and interrogated upon this point, and all utterly deny their knowledge of such a matter. On the contrary, they all, both Protestants and Catholics, say that when the chapel bell rung, she went like the other prisoners to Mass. Her incarceration was generally fourteen days at a time; and she could, upon any of these occasions, have herself entered with respect to religion in any way she pleased. Her children, as she was committed for vagrancy, were always left with her, as are the children of all vagrants, both Protestants and Catholics.

" *Fourth.*—' Be it observed, it was not pecuniary distress which caused her to be committed to prison, for when taken up she had on her person £2 2s. 6d., besides some copper.'

" *Answer.*—The prison officers, whose duty it was to search this woman, know nothing of the affair, nor is there any record in the books: it is simply untrue.

" *Fifth.*—Her subsequent committals to Grangegorman prison were occasioned by manifestations of insanity, until at length she was placed in the lunatic department.

" *Answer.*—This statement is also untrue; she never was committed to this prison for anything but vagrancy, except on the last occasion (March, 1857,) when she was committed as a 'dangerous lunatic,' and, as I understood from Major Harris, at his request, he having waited upon Police Commissioner Colonel Browne for that purpose, her intemperate tendencies, as I also understood from that gentleman, being the occasion of her lunacy.

" In conclusion, allow me to state that I trust this letter will satisfy your mind that there has been no violation of duty on the part of the officers of this prison. If, however, on the other hand, you think otherwise, and deem an investigation necessary, I assure you the officers will not shrink from it, but rather court the most searching inquiry into their conduct, having no fear of the result.

" Should you require any further information on this unpleasant subject, it shall be most cheerfully afforded by,

" Dear Dr. Gray,

" Your's very truly,

" THOMAS L. SYNNOTT,

" Governor.

" John Gray, Esq.,

" etc., etc., etc.,

" *Freeman's Journal.*"

Copy of Mrs. Rawlins' Answer.

" Grangegorman Penitentiary,

" March 31, 1858.

" DEAR SIR,

" In reply to your favour of yesterday, I beg to acquaint you that I have this morning examined the deputy-matron, and every sub-matron of the prison, on the subject of the following extract from

the Report of the Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund: 'She was afraid to refuse going to Mass, for she was told (but by whom she does not recollect) that if she did not, she would be fed on bread and water, and would not be allowed to see her children.'

"I have read this extract to the matrons assembled together, and the decided reply of each was, that no such threat had ever been used by them to Mrs. Kirley nor to any other prisoner. I never heard of any such threat, or I should have felt it my duty to have brought it at once before the Board of Superintendence, and certainly I never myself used any language to a prisoner that could be so construed.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"**MARIAN RAWLINS, Matron.**

"To Dr. Gray, etc., etc."

The charge against the Rev. Messieurs Kennedy and Grimley is positively denied by both these gentlemen. As to the child being baptised by a Protestant clergyman we honestly confess we know nothing. If it be the child born at Leith it was not there baptised a Catholic, for there was no Catholic priest or chapel in the district.

We shall close Mrs. Kirley's case by inserting an extract from the Archbishop's second letter, in answer to the report, on the subject of the rights of Catholic soldiers. We do so in this place as it will serve as a comment on the case, we have just been considering, and an introduction to the one we are now about to enter upon.

"It is fresh in the minds of every one that for the past the rights of Catholic soldiers and sailors were not held sacred. Though fighting with undaunted courage for their country, it was penal for them to practise their religion during life, and they were left at the hour of death without any spiritual assistance. Hundreds of thousands of Irish Catholics have shed their blood for the glory of England in every quarter of the globe, but nothing was done in past times to provide for the salvation of their immortal souls. Things are now greatly improved, but many grounds of complaint still remain, and a great deal is to be done before the Catholic soldier can be said to be on a footing of equality with his Protestant companion. There are no regular Catholic chaplains; no Catholic chapels in the barracks; no military schools or orphanages, to which Catholic children can be safely sent; and Catholic sailors whilst engaged in fighting the battles of the empire, are still left without any religious provision whatsoever. Your Lordship will easily understand how afflicting this state of things must be to Catholics, who believe that there is but one true faith, and know that they are obliged to live up to the teaching of that faith, in order to secure the salvation of their immortal souls. Men not having any definite system of belief, and not attaching much importance to any creed, or to religious obser-

vances, may be indifferent as to the education of their children, and think it no grievance to be left without any religious worship. Of course their indifference in regard to the education of their children will be increased if they believe that they can be saved in the profession of any religion, or that one religion is as good for them as another. Such men may be considered as expressing no wish regarding the religion of their children: But the case is different with Catholics: their opinions are decided, and they must always feel the greatest anxiety, if their children be exposed to lose the true faith, or to be separated from that Church out of whose pale there is no salvation.

But returning to the present question, as her gracious Majesty declares that Catholic soldiers have sacred rights, we may ask what these rights are: I submit that one of the most sacred of them is that a Catholic soldier falling in battle should have it in his power to secure to his children the faith in which they were baptized, and in which he wished them to be brought up, and without which he believed they could not be saved. He should be enabled to die in the conviction that the country to which he has given his life will receive his children, and guard for them as jealously as he should have done, the only inheritance he has to leave them. If a Catholic soldier expiring on the field were to take by the hand an officer whose life he had saved at the cost of his own, and conjure him to see that his orphan children should be educated in the faith of their father, I think too highly of human nature to believe that the sternest Protestant living would not in such a case preserve those children from contact with any influence that might change or weaken their religion. Is the case different, when he bequeaths them, not to this or that officer, but to his country and his sovereign? But let us suppose our dying soldier unable to speak: if the captain, for whose life he has thus given his own, and whom we still assume to be a Protestant of no doubtful hue, well knows the humble hero to have been as loyal to the Catholic faith as he had been true to his colours, well knows him to have incurred cruel penalties for the sake of educating his children in that faith; what views, my Lord, may I be allowed to ask, would he take of the rights, the "sacred rights," of his dying soldier? Would he say: "My poor friend has given his life in my defence: his wish throughout life was to preserve his faith and hand it down to his children: death, incurred in my service, has stopped his utterance before he could give expression to his wish: and I am therefore at liberty to condemn and to defeat it?" Could he lay his hand upon his heart and say this, it would be an argument that the curse of Nabuchodonosor had fallen upon him—that in very deed the heart of a man had been taken from him; and that he had received the heart of a beast. Again, my Lord, substitute the country for the captain, and are the rights and duties different?

Without entering into further discussion, I may take it as admitted that the Commissioners representing the country are guardians of the "sacred rights" of Catholics who have fallen in battle; that one of the most sacred of those rights is the education of Catholic

orphans according to the wishes of their parent; that the Commissioners, thus standing in the place of a parent, are bound to act in every particular towards the orphans as their natural father would have done; and that their duty so to act is the same, whether it arise from express direction or from necessary implication. And if the rights we treat of be so sacred, no oppressive rule of law, and above all, no arbitrary regulations of individuals, should turn aside the consolations of charity from the death-bed of the Catholic soldier and from the cradle of his orphan. The same justice, which makes his informal will as regular and powerful an instrument as any that your Lordship ever drew or certified should interfere to protect his sacred rights from confiscation by rules, minutes, or regulations. If the Catholic soldier say to you: I have married a thriftless and dissipated wife: her desire of indulging in spirituous liquors may induce her to sell to the highest bidder the faith of her children, for money to enable her to indulge her wicked propensities: her habits of intemperance may lead her to the workhouse, the prison, or the lunatic asylum. I got my children baptized in the Catholic church; while I could I gave them Catholic education: will my country continue to do so after my death in her service? it is my last wish—it is my sacred right. Shall my right be defeated in consequence of the lunacy or intemperance of my wife? shall my children be placed in the hands of a Protestant minister, to be educated in a religion contrary to my own? Or suppose he should say: I have married a wife; *she is an ignorant, uneducated woman, and evinces great vacillation regarding the care of her children*—(Second Report, par. 33;) will you see that the children I leave to my country shall be educated as Catholics—it is my wish—is it not my right?—

Will you answer: It is in truth your right, but the decision in Alicia Race's case stands in your way—and then there is a minute of the Commissioners that cannot be gotten over: in some way or another, which can be properly explained no doubt, when your widow comes to apply for relief, she will meet with a Protestant clergyman in the first instance (Appendix to Report No. 49, 52, etc. ;) her mind is weak by nature or weakened by poverty; he will acquire influence, ascendancy, dominion: she will transfer your children in due form to him, and that will bring them within the rule of the decision in the Queen's Bench. Your rights are undoubted, but all the chances are against you; the law indeed will be respected—nothing unfair will be done; but the rule in Alicia Race's case, and the minutes of the Commissioners—these are inflexible. Die in peace, but your children must be Protestants. If they be in India they will be consigned to a Protestant orphanage; if at home, they will be placed in the Duke of York's school, or the Hibernian school, where apostacy is of frequent occurrence, or sent to some other school in which, according to Captain Fishbourne, the "teaching is Protestant;" or the choice of a school for them will be left to a Protestant clergyman, who will hand them over to the sister of a Protestant schoolmaster, and keep them under his own immediate superintendence (Appendix to Report, No. 49.) My Lord, was it upon this understanding that we gave our money and our blood? We did not weigh the one in a

hair balance, or measure the other in a graduated glass; and we did not expect that we should have reason to complain, or that in case such reason should exist, our complaints would be met with special pleading and the manipulation of evidence."

We shall now consider the case of Mrs. Norris. A Catholic herself, the widow of a Catholic soldier, her children were seized upon by a parson, placed at an asylum devoted to Protestant purposes, when rescued by the mother were retaken by the parson, committed to the care of a Protestant school-mistress under the control and supervision of this parson, every effort which the wretched mother made to regain her daughter, (happily the son is safe,) defeated by forms not used in cases of application by Catholics for admission to Protestant Schools until worn, out by anxiety of mind operating on a weakened frame, and that again re-acting on her mental faculties, she yielded her daughter to the staff-officer to be sent to Hampstead. The decision in the Court of Queen's Bench has nothing to do with this case, for all the iniquity we shall presently detail, was perpetrated before that decision was made. Looking at this case in an ordinary point of view, it seems to us not probable that a Catholic would select a Protestant School in preference to one of her own persuasion for the education of her children supposing no inducement to be held out to her to do so, and no impediments thrown in the way of her pursuing that course which appears to us the natural one for her to pursue. We say it is not probable that she would have acted as she is represented to have done supposing that she got fair play. Now the question before the public is, did she get fair play. We have no hesitation in saying she did not. It is not from extrinsic documents, nor from private information, that we have come to that opinion, but simply upon the facts set out in the Report and the appendix. From the meagre details furnished in the appendix, we glean the following facts, which we shall relate before entering into an examination of the documents which are published in the appendix as forming the correspondence upon this case. Incidentally we may mention that the first application of Mrs. Norris to the Commissioners for a recognition of her claim is not included, so that we are left completely in the dark as to the period at which she first applied to be put on the pension list of the Patriotic Fund. It is to be regretted that something more than extracts of those interesting letters from Mr. Hare have not been produced; information too full could not be

given on matters of such grave importance, involving, as they do, questions of the deepest interest as well to the administrators as to the recipients of the nation's bounty. From these documents, however, we collect the following history. On the 12th July, 1856-7, Mr. Hare informs Captain Fishbourne that he placed the little daughter of Mrs. Norris at a certain orphanage. The mother took her home, but Mr. Hare afterwards placed her with a Miss Shepherd, and asked permission to place the little boy, who was about six years of age, with his sister. This permission Captain Fishbourne at once grants. On the 1st August, 1856, Mrs. Norris put her mark to a petition, certified by Canon Grimley, requesting to have her daughter sent to St. Clare's orphanage. That petition was forwarded to Mr. John Ball, a Member of Parliament, Under-secretary for the Colonies, and one of the Royal Commissioners. Mr. Ball being on the Continent, did not get this petition until his return in September. He at once sent it to Captain Fishbourne. This memorial was sent to Parson Hare. The letter accompanying that memorial is not published, and a blank seems to occur here, for there are two letters from Hare, the 19th and 25th September, and no letter from Fishbourne. Mr. Ball not receiving any reply to his note, and having been spoken to, when in Ireland, on the subject, wrote again on the 4th November, calling Fishbourne's attention to the fact that no answer had been received by Mrs. Norris. To that note Fishbourne replies, stating that the memorial had been sent to Mrs. Norris. The first reply that Mrs. Norris received directly from the office was a note dated "5th November," and signed "Mugford." On the 13th of that month, Mrs. Norris again petitioned to have her child sent to Harold's Cross, her letter being certified by Alderman Reynolds. To that petition came the reply that her petition should have been forwarded through the Staff-Officer of Pensioners. She does so, and the Staff-Officer writes that she wants to have her child sent to Baggot-street Convent. Presentation papers had been applied for by Captain Fishbourne, and when he got them, he would send two of them signed. Meantime whilst all these proceedings were going forward, Mrs. Norris had got married, but unfortunately the man of her choice had then living a prior claimant on his purse and his affections. In pursuance of one of the rules of the Committee, made in contemplation of a second marriage on the part of those in receipt of relief from the fund, she lost her pension. But on the production of the letter from Cap-

tain Mansfield, she is approved for half allowance. On the 10th January, she forwards a petition to some person, the name is not given, signed with her name, asking to have her child placed at the London Infant Home. This is communicated to Ormsby, who gets the woman to sign the form, appendix 14, and to the letter which he writes on the 30th January, Fishbourne sends an answer on the 2nd February, ordering the child and mother to be sent up to London and the expenses of both paid, and money given to the mother to pay her passage back. These things were done, the child is in Hampstead, the mother in the grave.

Such is the state of things presented by the appendix. Now let us see what the report says. The italics are our own, and we use them for the purpose of arresting the reader's attention to that particular point which, out of the appendix, we are able to contradict. The report says—"It there (in the appendix) appears that Mrs. Norris *had placed* her daughter in May, 1856, in charge of the managers of the General Orphan Home in Dublin, from which place she was removed by her mother at *whose earnest request*, to the Rev. William Hare, military chaplain, she, together with her brother, was then placed under the care of Miss Shepherd a Protestant." Now let us see how that is verified by the appendix. In the letter of Mr. Hare dated 12th July, we find the following:—

Dublin 12th July, 1856-7.

"I some time ago placed two orphan children of Crimean soldiers, Mary Ann Norris and Agnes Arnott, under the care of the guardians of the General Orphan Home Richmond Street, Portobello, by whom they were given in charge to a woman named Mrs. Collins, living in Bride-street, Dublin, there being no institution for the reception of female orphans. Mrs. Norris, thinking that her child was not properly taken care of, and especially that her education was neglected, took her away from Mrs. Collins without consulting any one, and on her own responsibility. I did not by any means approve of this summary method of proceeding, but on inquiry I found the poor woman had some ground of complaint, as, in point of fact, her child had never been sent to any day-school since she had been with Mrs. Collins, though at her request.

"I have found in my own neighbourhood a person named Miss Shepherd, who is disposed to take charge of these two children, and of any others who we may wish to entrust to her. Miss Shepherd is the sister of the schoolmaster of Harold's Cross. She is highly recommended to me by the clergyman of the parish; she lives within a few doors of the parish school, where the children under her care would have an opportunity of attending both during the week and on Sunday;

the locality is healthy, being out of the town ; and the children would be under my own immediate superintendence. *If you approve of the above arrangement being made, I will have it carried into effect immediately.*"

Apart from the palpable contradiction given by the letter to the statements in the report, it would strike a person as rather odd that a Catholic should seek out and *earnestly request* a Protestant minister to place her children at a Protestant school, their being numbers of priests in Dublin who have opportunities of placing children at schools. But the fact is patent from Hare's letter that he placed the children at this home, and he does not say when more precisely than by saying "sometime ago." The mother's name is not mentioned as assenting, her authority is not referred to, and the only act which we find that mother doing, is taking away the girl from the woman to whom she had been confided, of which Hare did not approve, but which showed clearly her disapproval of the steps that had been taken. As to her placing the children with Miss Shepherd, that is clearly false. Hare found out and recommended Miss Shepherd, and in his letter he does not say that the mother asked him or authorised him to place her children with Miss Shepherd. Why it is that this Hare should be so much interested about these children, so anxious that they should be brought within the influence of Miss Shepherd's pious ministration as to agree to make up the difference between the fund allowance and Miss Shepherd's demand by a private subscription, we are really at a loss to find out. Had a priest so acted with regard to Protestant children we should be inclined to suspect that he desired to make proselytes of them, but as Hare was acting for the Patriotic Fund, of which the moneys were always disbursed, "with even-handed justice and complete impartiality," we cannot attribute to him any such purpose. We shall leave it to our readers to form their own judgment. The next sentence in the report is as follows :—

"Early in September of the same year, a paper dated August 1st, signed by Mrs. Norris, Mark, requesting to have her girl placed in St. Clare's Orphan House Harold's Cross, was received at this office. *This request was not then acted on, as Mrs. Norris had in the interim placed her child under the care above stated, and as she did not express any wish for her child's removal although informed of the request that had been made in her name.*"

We see plainly what Fishbourne is driving at, but we cannot

undertake to explain letters which are not printed in the verifying appendix; by a reference to that letter of Hare, it will be perceived that the application to have the children placed with Miss Shepherd, is dated *12th July, 1856-7*, the answer granting the application, is dated *15th July, 1856*. How Fishbourne can say that these dates are "in the interim," as regards the *1st August*, and the *5th November*, we know not; the only way in which we can account for these errors is, that now as ever, truth will out, suppress it though we may. But let us ask why the petition of Mrs Norris was allowed to remain unanswered from the 8th September, to the 5th November? Mr. Hare's application is answered in due course of post, but the petition, certified by a Catholic priest, and forwarded to the office by one of the Commissioners, is quite unattended to for two months, then not noticed until the Commissioner writes again, and then his note is answered with a lie; this would seem to contradict the assertion with regard to the unvarying attention which the applications of Catholics have received, when we find a Commissioner, because he is a Catholic, snubbed by his servant. If a gentleman request a domestic servant to do something, which apart from such request he is bound to do, that servant neglects that request, and when again spoken to, says he has done, not what he was asked, but something else, and in so doing lies, he ought not to be retained in any service. Such is the case here. We wonder is lying consistent with the character of an "officer and a gentlemen." But Fishbourne knew he was quite safe from censure. There were not three Roman Catholics on the Commission. It is then clear that it is not the fact that "Mrs. Norris had, in the interim, placed her children, &c." With regard to her not expressing a wish to have her child removed, &c., we think it is pretty plain, that she did, and, notwithstanding the insinuation that is thrown out of improper interference on the part of Canon Grimley, the charge being, that he used her name without her sanction. Such an imputation is strictly in accordance with the doctrines of the I. C. M. R. C., who teach that lying, cheating, robbery, murder, &c., are the principal dogmas of the Catholic Church, and amongst the chief practices of its members. The imputation is wholly false, and could emanate only from a jaundiced mind, which tinges everything around, with the hue of its own distemper. There is no mention made of the part which Mr. Ball took in this matter, no mention of sending the memorial

and the Commissioners' letter to Parson Hare, or of his "questioning" her, or of the falsehood which the parson writes when he says "not receiving any answer to this application *she asked* to have her little girl placed with Miss Shepherd." This Hare only knew of the memorial on the 10th of September, yet he has the face to make the above, statement when he knew the girl was at Miss Shepherd's in July. There were a great many forms to be gone through, when the child was to be sent to a Catholic school. She must apply to the staff officer. Hare got his request at once. We think we cannot do better than here to give the language of the Archbishop on the latter portion of this distressing case:—

"I now apply myself to the remainder of the case, every portion of which is affected by the suspicion attaching to its commencement. When Mr. Hare is the applicant, things run smoothly, and without reference to Commissioners, committees, clerk of committee, or staff officer. When Mrs. Norris is applicant, the rules of the service become stern and complicated in the inverse ratio of the intelligence and strength of the widow. The clerk of the committee, Mr. Mugford, directs her "if she wishes to remove her child," to apply to the staff officer, who will write to Captain Fishbourne, who will obtain the decision of the Committee. In her bewilderment, or perhaps from a reluctance to be "questioned" and "pressed," Mrs. Norris applies to Mr. Mugford himself, evidently interpreting his former letter as a refusal. Mr. Mugford, however, adheres to the inflexible rule, and directs her once more to communicate with the staff officer. She does so accordingly, and upon the occasion of this third application, her request is, that her children be sent to the Sisters of Mercy in Baggot-street. Lest any doubt should remain upon the matter, the poor woman is again subjected to the "question," and persists in her choice of the Baggot-street orphanage. Captain Fishbourne's letter (Ap. to report, No. 60) appears to have something mysterious in it, stating as it does, that the child Maryanne Norris was under seven years of age, whereas she was more than nine;* and speaking of a memorial of Mrs. Norris to have her child placed at Miss Shepherd's, of the existence of which memorial there is no evidence whatever.

Meanwhile, the Sisters of Mercy having failed through some mischance to forward the mysterious presentation forms, it becomes necessary to send a second letter to them before the memorial can be granted, and a second letter is dispatched in two days after the formal wishes of the applicant had been extracted by another application of the "question." The presentation forms at length arrive, and the presentation itself is actually made out, when Mrs. Norris, under what influences besides those of weariness and disappointment God

* Maryanne Norris was baptized on the 18th July, 1847, in Chester, by the Rev. Canon Carbery; so that she was nine years and five months old when Captain Fishbourne states that she was not seven!

alone can tell as yet, alters her request, and seeks admission for the orphan into the Hampstead school. It is remarkable that the report does not explain how this last request came into Captain Fishbourne's hands, to whom it was addressed, and by whom forwarded. Every other document received from her is attested with her mark; this alone is represented to have been signed by her. Why she speaks of the Hampstead school now for the first time, or who it was that suggested it to her, we have no means of discovering. I formerly inquired by what agency, or by what official, she was induced to change her mind, and my question remains to be answered still, though the Appendix throws great light on the matter. The Hampstead school did not occur to her by intuition, nor is her violent and decided change of purpose referable to vacillation or caprice: for it is one thing to waver between two Catholic schools in Dublin, and another thing to choose a Protestant school in England, of which she herself could have no knowledge.

Observe the sequel. It did not occur to Captain Fishbourne to forward the new memorial to Canon Grimley, who certified her first application, with a view to his "questioning" and "pressing" her, so as to discover whether the memorial which bore her signature had been previously read and explained to her. But perhaps it is allowed to stand over for a month or so? Far from it. At all events, we are bound to suppose that Mr. Mugford is desired to inform her that her application is irregular, that it should have been forwarded through the staff officer, and that the Committee are as decided not to relax their rule in this instance as they were in the instance of her first, second, and third application. By no means. "*Facta est hæc lex omnibus non tibi.*" The rule was inflexible when the child was to be sent to a Catholic school, but it does not hold where the application refers to a Protestant school. Captain Fishbourne (Ap. No. 67) forwards the letter himself to Major Ormsby, stating that the presentation had been already obtained (why was it not already forwarded?) but that as the child was not as yet an inmate of the institution, the Committee would give her mother an opportunity of choosing a school for her. May we not doubt whether the Committee was ever consulted on the matter? At the same time he encloses a written engagement to be signed by Mrs. Norris, binding her to abide by this last engagement, on the distinct understanding that the teaching in the Hampstead school was purely Protestant. Captain Fishbourne and Major Ormsby claim great credit for having informed Mrs. Norris that the Hampstead institution was Protestant. Truly, a man does not need to be an abstract of official virtue, in order to explain to a woman who does not know how to read, a document she is required to sign; and this was in fact the only thing done in the case of Mrs. Norris. The Royal Commissioners have very unnecessarily identified themselves with these transactions, when, speaking of themselves, they say that, in this case at all events, "*We*" evinced no desire to proselytize. In my conscience I acquit them of participation at the time in every little overt or covert act of treason against human nature; but if they persist in adhering to the Report with all its iniquities upon its head, are they not accessories after the fact, if ever there were such?

The case is near its end. On the 30th *January* Major Ormsby (Ap. 68) forwards to London the last application with its irrevocable engagement; and on the 2nd *February* the request is carried into effect (Ap. 69). The memorial for presentation to a Catholic school is under consideration for five months; it is defeated by a breach of official duty almost without example, or by the stringency of rules that seem to exist only for the Catholic; whereas the application for admission to a Protestant school is granted after just three weeks of easy and unembarrassed routine from date of the application, but probably within a much shorter term from the day when it was received by Captain Fishbourne."

So ends Mrs. Norris. She is dead—and when that day comes, as assuredly it will, when Hare and Fishbourne shall stand before their God, the truth will then appear, for no report "verified by the appendix," will avail. Incidentally, the following cases are mentioned:—

"At great risk of wearying your Lordship, I am bound to notice some other cases which are incidentally mentioned in the Appendix to the Report. I allude to the cases of Bridget Ryan, Agnes Arnott, and Anne Kyle. I shall take them in their order. The only mention made of the first two occurs in the letter of the Rev. Mr. Hare, of the 25th September, 1856, Appendix 53 to Second Report, in which Mr. Hare states: "I have this day made application to Major Ormsby for payment for the first quarter for Bridget Ryan, Agnes Arnott, and Anne Kyle, under the care of Miss Shepherd, Harold's Cross, and for William Norris, in charge of Mrs. Magee in the same district." The names Bridget Ryan and Anne Kyle sufficiently indicate a Catholic parentage, and it remains to be explained who they are, and how they came into Mr. Hare's hands. As to Agnes Arnott thus casually mentioned, I find that her father, although a Protestant, wished to have his child baptized and brought up a Catholic, and in fact the child was baptised in the Catholic Church in Youghal (Doc. No. 22). It also appears that Arnott after his wife's death, continued in the determination to educate his child a Catholic, and that when leaving for the East, he confided his orphan to a Mrs. Gregory, also a Catholic now in Dublin, with strict injunctions to have her educated in the Catholic faith. I have been able to ascertain from Mrs. Gregory herself that, under the pressure of want and inability to support her charge, she was induced to relinquish her to Mr. Hare. Now Mrs. Gregory was neither the natural nor the testamentary guardian of the child, and she was recognized, whereas Canon Grimley was denied recognition on the ground that he was not such guardian. To proceed, however; Mrs. Gregory touched with remorse for her breach of faith with the deceased, and for her breach of higher obligations still with God, is anxious to repair the evil she has done, and Mrs. Minchin, the maternal aunt of the orphan, applies to have the child removed to a Catholic school, and her application is rejected. What becomes of the Queen's Bench decision? The Protestant father of the child wished to have her reared a Catholic; he and her Catholic mother got her baptized a Catholic; her mother's sister, a

Catholic, demands her removal to a Catholic institution, and she is set at defiance. My informants are prepared to prove these facts before any competent tribunal ; and so far as the facts go, they enable me, perhaps, to rate at its proper value the boasted adherence of the Commissioners to the rule in *Race's* case and the five instances in which it has been applied favourably to Catholics.

This case is easily disposed of. It is that of the widow Catherine McDonald, of the 62nd regiment. Her name occurs in the Appendix 59 to the Report, from which it appears that she applied to have her child placed with the Sisters of Mercy, Baggot-street. Major Ormsby's letter, notifying the application to Captain Fishbourne, is dated December 16, 1856, and the application was acceded to, as I have learned, in about *eleven months* after the date of its presentation. The delay, I presume, will be explained ; and minutes, and resolutions, and presentation forms, and rules, and references back to proper, and perhaps to improper authorities, will account for it to the satisfaction of the Commissioners' officials upon trial before themselves ; but I may be permitted to doubt of the result when they come to trial before the country, especially when this delay is contrasted with the rapidity of the decisions of Captain Fishbourne, when the Kirleys and the Norrises were to be sent to Protestant schools. Major Harris brings the case of the Kirleys under the notice of the Captain on the 17th March, and the answer is dated the 18th. The Major writes again on the 23rd March, and the reply is dated the 24th. Mrs. Norris's case, when her child was to be sent to a Protestant school, was disposed of with equal haste. Major Ormsby informs Captain Fishbourne on the 30th January that Mrs. Norris wishes to place her child in Hampstead school ; and on the 2nd February the Captain orders the child to be sent to London, and all the expenses of the mother and the child to be defrayed. There was no delay there ; but when a poor Catholic widow applies to have her child placed in a Catholic school, she is compelled to wait *eleven months* for an answer."

Now as to the allocation of the surplus fund. We are told by the report that these several sums have been allallocated to institutions, either Protestant in their teaching, or in which the system of mixed education is followed. We would much prefer the former as being the more honest ; the latter is like that plant which tastes like honey but operates as a poison, or like that fruit which grows on the banks of the Dead Sea, which seems so pleasing to the eye, but turns to ashes on the lips. It is true Catholic children may come, but judging by the specimens we have of that style of arrangement in the Hibernian, the District schools in England, and in the military schools at home and abroad, we think it much safer to keep our children to ourselves. This is a matter which Protestants cannot understand, they thinking as the present Chancellor of Ireland is reported to have expressed himself

that "indifference to all religion is a fearful state, but still it is better than Popery." When, however, the Archbishop objected to the allotment of so much money he was bound to give a reason, and what better reason could he give than that deducible from experience? The manner in which similar schools under similar patronage were conducted, the effect of their arrangements upon the religious faith of the Catholic portion of the scholars, the character of the class books in use, the tendency of the teaching therein contained, to elevate one party at the expense of the other—the neglect to appoint Catholic officers and superiors in proportion to the number of Catholic boys, these are the means by which he must form his judgment, these the grounds on which to base his objections. Now the only means of doing that was by examining the management of the military schools at present existing, and also that of the district schools in England, and by laying before the public the result of that examination, enable them to judge of the justifiableness of his Grace's opposition. Therefore when his Grace complains of the management of this or that school it is to enable us to form an opinion as to what will be, by what is. The Commissioners with great skill and considerable judgment have endeavoured to withdraw the attention of the public from these complaints, by asserting that they have nothing to do with the accusations preferred by him against the Commissioners. We think it has a great deal to do, and therefore we shall give some of his Grace's remarks on the Hibernian school:—

"You are aware that in the Phoenix Park, in the vicinity of this city, we have a large institution, called the Hibernian School, established for the education of the children of Irish soldiers. We learn from a published Parliamentary Report, that when it was visited by the Commissioners of the Endowed Schools, * there were in the house 230 Protestants of the Established Church, 127 Catholics, and 8 Presbyterians, thus closely observing a bye-rule of the managers, that only one-third of the boys should be Catholic.

This small proportion of Catholic to Protestant boys, in a Catholic country like this, is worthy of observation. It cannot be explained by the fewness of Catholics in the army, for it must be admitted that there are far more Irish Catholic than Irish Protestant soldiers in her Majesty's service; nor can it be alleged that the Catholic soldier has not as good a claim as his Protestant comrades to have his children provided for by the state, for no one will venture to assert that he is

* See Report of said Commission, vol. iii., p

not as brave and faithful, and as ready as they are, to risk his life for his country.

Why, then, are there so few Catholic boys in the school? Why is a regulation enforced that they are not to exceed one-third of the entire number of pupils? What the answer of the authorities of the school may be, it is not for me to conjecture. But, considering things as they appear on the surface, it would seem that the policy of the place is to maintain Protestant ascendancy even among those who fight side by side against every enemy, and are ready to shed their blood with equal profusion for their country; and to proclaim, if not in words, at least in deed, that the children of a Catholic soldier who died or fought for his sovereign, have not the same rights as those of his brother in arms. Whatever the object of the regulation just referred to may be, it is a snare and a temptation for poor Catholic widows, who, in their anxiety to provide for their children, are tempted to enter them as Protestants in the school, when they are told that the few places allotted to Catholics are occupied, but that many places for Protestants are vacant.

But there are other and stronger grounds for complaint. Whilst about one-third of the boys is Catholic, justice and equity would induce us to expect that a similar proportion should be preserved in the appointment of superiors and masters. Now, what is the case? The board of government, the commandant, the major, in fine, all the officers, about twenty in number, are Protestant, with the single exception of one serjeant. The professors or masters, and the Chelsea monitors, fourteen in number, are all Protestant. The books, too, used in the school have been compiled in great part by a Protestant parson. Thus, Catholics are excluded from the slightest interference in the management of the institution; and the only privilege that is conferred on them in regard to it, is the honour of contributing their portion of £8,000 per annum, paid to the school out of the public taxes of the country.* Catholics pay their share of the annual grant; Catholics send their sons and brothers and relatives to fight for their Queen and country; Catholic blood was shed in torrents at Alma and Delhi; Catholic soldiers were among the first and the bravest in every battle where the English flag was unfurled; but they seem to be considered unfit to take any part in the direction of an institution supported by themselves and the public for the education of their children."

His Grace then proceeds to relate the effect of the influence exercised by these masters over the Catholic children. It has been said these conversions are the result of conviction; would they were, but we can hardly attribute to a child of eight years old, a power of forming an opinion on points of doctrine, yet such an one has renounced the errors of Popery, and such was the scandal thereby created that a rule was made that no one should be allowed to be converted until arrived at the age of fourteen. The result of this regulation is detailed in the following extract:—

* See Report of said Commission, vol. iii., p. 22.

"Passing all such unhappy and deplorable cases over in silence, I shall merely refer to a fact which occurred last month. It is a fact which can be stated in very few words, though it is of great importance, as it illustrates the working of the mixed system of education and the condition of poor Catholic children in the Hibernian School. The case is simply this, that as many as five Catholic boys, by name, John Molloy, John Guckins, Thomas Dowling, Charles Cunningham, and Patrick McCoy, publicly declared their determination to renounce the faith of their fathers, and to embrace some form or other of the innumerable denominations of Protestantism: which of them I have not been able to learn, and very probably the poor children themselves do not know. The three first boys, being over fourteen years of age, were allowed by the authorities to carry out their intentions immediately. The two last, being a few months younger, were told that they could not change their religion until they should have reached fourteen, when, they were informed, Protestantism of some form or another would be ready to receive them. However, as the Catholic chaplain very properly refused to allow them to remain among his little flock after their public declaration that they wished to cut themselves off from the Catholic Church, probably they too have already accomplished their wishes."

With regard to the Union Schools, we shall give the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Bagshaw:—

"The Oratory, Brompton, London, S. W.,
December 18, 1857.

MY DEAR LORD,

As I am told that your Grace wishes for particulars as to the practical working of the District Schools, established under the act 7 and 8 Victoria, with respect to the education of Catholic children, I take the liberty of sending you the following short account of the state of things at the North Surrey District School at Annerley, so far as it has come under my observation.

I went there to visit several children of Catholic parents from the workhouse of Chelsea, which I attend. I presented letters from the parents to the superintendent, requesting him to prevent their children from attending any prayers, services, or instructions, other than those of the Roman Catholic religion, and to allow me to visit them as often as possible for the purpose of religious instruction. An answer was brought me by the chaplain, who informed me that I might see the children; but upon my further requesting that they might not be allowed to attend any of the Protestant prayers or instructions, he said that he considered he was put there for all, and that as the children formed one community, he had a right to speak to all without distinction, and that he considered any such separation of the children very injurious, as tending to make the other children have doubts about religion, seeing the difference of teaching.

I pointed out to him the act, whereby it is provided "that no rules, orders, or regulations of the said Commissioners, nor any regulations made by such District Board, shall oblige any inmate of any such school or asylum to attend any religious service which may be cele-

brated in a mode contrary to the religious principles of such inmate, nor shall authorize the education of any child in any religious creed other than that professed by the parents or surviving parent of such child, or to which such parents or surviving parent may object, or, in the case of an orphan or deserted child, to which his next of kin may object"—7 and 8 Vict., cap. 101, §. 43.

In reading it he laid a marked stress on the word "oblige," and concluded by stating that he was acting under the authority of the District School Board, and could make no change without their orders. The superintendent also said that no exception could be made until it had been referred to the board, but promised to lay the case before them at their next meeting. The following week he gave me their decision, which was, that he was not to force any child to go who objected. I asked if any notice would be taken of the objection made by the parents to their receiving Protestant education. He said that the board had given him no further instructions; that it was extremely difficult and inconvenient to be constantly separating the children from their classes; that he had no one appointed him to mind them at such times, and that he could not do so himself.

This is as far as the negociation upon this point has as yet proceeded, the result being that they are still daily attending *Protestant worship, receiving Protestant instruction, and having Protestant principles and prejudices instilled into them*; and this is in spite of protests to the contrary, which it has cost much time and trouble to make with all the necessary formalities. It is evident, therefore, what will be the fate of those children whose parents have no one to show them how to protect them and to assist them in doing so.

The result was evident when I came to see the children. One who had been at school five years, who had formerly gone to a Catholic school, and whose father believed him still a Catholic, had been changed into a bitter Protestant. Another, whom I had received into the Church with his mother, before going into the workhouse, and who, according to her account, was most anxious to be a Catholic, turned his back upon me and would not speak to me. Some of the others also, who the first time were civil enough, when I went again, would hardly speak to me or answer my questions.

So far as regards protecting the children from Protestant teaching: now for the facilities afforded for Catholic instruction.

The decision of the board upon this point was also given me by the superintendent. It was, that I might see the children from half-past two to four o'clock on Saturdays, and only then. It was in vain that I represented that I could not go at that time, and that another priest, who succeeded me, also objected to the hour as most inconvenient. The board have refused to alter it. It must be observed that Saturday is the half-holiday, and the children, I was told, are accustomed often to walk out on this day. One lesson a-week, and that rendered obnoxious by being taken out of their playtime, and fixed for an hour when the priest might often be prevented from coming, is what the board consider a sufficient allowance of Catholic instruction for Catholic children, and is all the opportunity we as yet have of counteracting the overwhelming influence of Protestantism by which they are surrounded. Whether catechisms and books will be allowed the children, I cannot say.

This, my dear Lord, is all that we have as yet been able to obtain under the existing law, and even this little has been obtained after various vain attempts for years past, and with much troublesome negotiation.

I remain, my dear Lord,

Yours most faithfully and respectfully.

EDWARD G. BAGSHAWE,
Of the Oratory.

The Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, etc., etc.

P.S.—It is to be added, that I have learned regarding the same schools, that some of the elder children, besides being insolent and unruly themselves, have begun to disturb the instructions which the Priest who succeeded me gives to one child who remains docile and obedient, and to dissuade her in every way from paying attention to them. This shows still more what sort of chance poor Catholic children have in such institutions.

E. G. B."

Surely such will not be the school which is meant to be "a visible and permanent memorial of the national generosity which has provided the means for its foundation," exclaims some benighted Protestant unversed in the tactics of those who prefer to see the rising generation indifferent to all religion, than adhering to Popery. We regret to say such is the model upon which these new schools are to be founded. Those appointed to report upon this subject, examined many persons, Protestant clergymen, &c., but did not think it judicious to ask the opinion of any Catholic priest or layman. Therefore it is, that we read the following, as the result of the deliberations of the Sub-Committee :—

"Your Committee also feel confident, that if the regulations upon the subject of religious teaching which have been enacted in 7 & 8 Vic. cap. 101, for district or Union schools, be adopted as a precedent and principle for the schools now contemplated by the Royal Commissioners, no real difficulty can arise from those differences of religious belief which the Commissioners, will, no doubt, feel, ought on every account to be scrupulously respected.

Your Committee therefore, recommend that the proposal of the Executive Committee, to found one school for 300 daughters, and one for 100 sons of soldiers, sailors, and marines, be adopted by the Commissioners."

Assuming for the present, that the management of these schools was perfectly impartial ; that teachers, inspectors, monitors, &c., were appointed in proportion to the respective numbers of the two religions ; that safeguards against any undue influence being exercised by the professors of one religion, on those of the other, were provided ; and that everything was done which could be done, to obviate any difficulties which might arise from differences of religious belief ; yet we do say, that the

allocation of so large a sum to these institutions, is not in accordance with that "even-handed justice," to administer which the Commissioners were associated, and for the administration of which the Commissioners now claim our grateful applause ; for the proportion which Fishbourne asserts to be the true one, but which is not so, is that which will guide the Commissioners in the apportionment of places. That will give to Catholics in the girls' school fifty places, and in the boys' school eighteen, making together sixty-eight places, which, supposing none but Irish Catholics were to apply, would leave a large number unprovided for in an educational point of view. There are 668 children of Irish soldiers ; of that number at least one half, or 334, are Catholics ; deducting then the 68 from 334, and there will remain 266. This will show the injustice of the arrangement, even taking the most favourable view of it.

But when we find that in those schools, in accordance with the regulations of which the new schools are to be governed, Proselytism of the grossest and most nefarious character, is openly and avowedly perpetrated ; when we see the rules laid down by Parliament, with the intention of obviating interference with religious opinions, perverted to the attainment of that very purpose they were framed to prevent ; when we observe the representations of the Catholic clergyman treated with such official nonchalance, and despite his remonstrances, the day appointed for him to instruct the members of his creed, that particular one in the seven, which is most inconvenient to him and most distasteful, for the reason furnished in Bagshawe's letter to his pupils ; when we find these things done by persons who have no wish to proselytize, no inducement to do so, and who decide those matters in pure ignorance of what they are doing, and on the supposition that any and every suggestion made by a Catholic priest, is only a new phase of the papal aggression, some new plots of the Jesuits against the Queen's crown and dignity, which they as loyal men are bound to protect ; when such a course is pursued by such persons, and when it results as Mr. Bagshawe has related, with what apprehension must we not regard the adoption of a principle and of rules, which when conducted even by men such as we have above referred to, have been productive of such disadvantage to the Catholics, by a body, many of whose members are enlisted in the glorious cause of Popish annihilation, whose subordinate officials have shewn such an antagon-

ism to Catholics, and whose secretary is so deeply interested in the developement of Scriptural religion in these countries. Even were we perfectly assured that the principle of the Union Schools would be carried out in its purity, yet would we object, and justly, to that system being adopted in any scheme of education in the benefits of which Catholics were allowed to participate.

The voluntary system, the maintenance of which, with regard to religious duties, is so highly commended, by Protestant divines, but the introduction of which, in the pecuniary arrangements of the Protestant Church, is so severely reprobated, is in our mind most destructive. Could such a system be carried on in literature, could any improvement be expected unless certain hours of the day were appointed for certain exercises, and how can it be expected that boys will be good and faithful Christians unless they be brought to practise the duties of Christians while still young. Train up a child in the way in which he should go, and when he is old he will not depart therefrom. Is it possible to conceive that great trouble and pains will be taken with the bodily health, great care taken with the cultivation of the mind, whilst the soul, that better part of man, that undying principle of our being, that will be allowed to be an unweeded garden, growing no seed, and things rank and gross in nature shall possess it merely. Can these things be possible? We had hoped not, but fear it is so; for in a rigmarole which presumed to be an answer to the Archbishop's letter on the Hibernian School, and which bore convincing testimony that the ligneous properties of all the "trees in the parade," one of which the writer assumed to be, had concentrated in the respondent's head, to the exclusion of every other quality, the whole work of the day is mapped out, from the rising in the morning to the retiring to rest at night, yet *not one minute of the day is devoted to God*, to acknowledge His supreme dominion and our total dependence; to thank Him for past favours and beg for future aid and protection. This is the military school to refer to which was considered irrelevant. It is quite true that the management of the Hibernian School is not attributable to the Patriotic Commissioners, but when we learn that they have resolved to establish schools of a certain character, and founded on a certain model, it becomes our duty to see how schools of a similar character, at present existing, work with regard to the Catholics. Now these were to be military schools—military schools fashioned after the district schools. It is to be presumed then

that they will be hybrids—something having some of the qualities of the Hibernian School and of the District Schools. Was it not fair, right and proper, and nothing but what was the bounden duty of the Archbishop, to expose the evils which have arisen, as a warning to Catholic parents not to trust their children within their walls? The result of establishing these new schools on the basis announced, will be, that unscrupulous Catholic parents will sacrifice their children, and really conscientious parents will be precluded from all the advantages to which nevertheless they are fully entitled. The Report says that there is a sum of money reserved for those who do not wish to send their children to either of the new schools. Now there are many Orphanages in this country, but we would particularly refer to the St. Vincent's Orphanage, for boys, which has gained a little notoriety from the fact that it harbours the poor little boy, Norris. As the *Commissioners* have been all through, and are still, but for Fishbourne's interference, most anxious to act in the most impartial manner, we would really recommend them to purchase in that St. Vincent's Orphanage—we will be satisfied with very little—say twenty-five places, and let them allocate £25,000 for that purpose, as they have in the case of the Wellington College, and they will secure for the children the blessings of a religious and moral training, and will thereby make some reparation for all the injuries and insults which have been heaped upon the Catholics of the Empire, by the intolerant prejudice of their subordinates.

Having now proved that in every material point, the "appendix" supports "Dr. Cullen's" statements, and contradicts the report, and having shown what is to be expected from schools founded under such auspices, from the manner in which schools similar to those about being erected are conducted, we shall ask this question, and then conclude with the closing remarks of the Archbishop.

This question is particularly addressed to Lord St. Leonards. Suppose a person convey by deed a large sum of money, say £1,000,000, to trustees in trust to distribute the amount amongst those described in the deed, "in the most impartial manner." A bill is filed to declare the trusts of the deed, and "an order of reference" made thereon. The master "reports" allotting to some of the claimants a perpetuity in the larger portion of the sum, and to the others, only a life interest in the remaining smaller portion. Would any Lord Chancellor that ever sat on the woolsack, dare to confirm that report? If he did, he

should not hold his office for one hour. Yet this the Commissioners have done in the allocation, and this Lord St. Leonards has confirmed by signing their report.

We shall now furnish the conclusion of the Archbishop's pamphlet, and in leaving this subject shall merely say that a more able document than his Grace's second letter, we have rarely, if ever, read.

"Probably the many defects and contradictions in the statements for which your Lordship has made yourself responsible, will not be a matter of surprise, when you shall have been made acquainted with the religious tendencies of some of the gentlemen on whose authority you have been led to rely.

From many statements in the Appendix to the Second Report, it is easy to infer that a close connexion exists between some of the officials of the Commissioners and the agents of proselytism in Ireland. Major Harris corresponds with M. A. Holden, of the proselytizing school at the Coombe, in this city, who, replying, writes to him as his "Dear Sir" (Appendix No. 35), and does not think it necessary to abstain from insulting language against Catholics, even in an official communication. Captain Fishbourne sufficiently indicates a bias in the same direction, by the selection he makes of schools for the children of a Catholic soldier, and by his connexion with the Reverend gentleman to whom their education is confided. Besides, in the Report of the Society for Irish Church Missions, of May 1, 1857, at page 4, we find the name of Captain Fishbourne among the subscribers. Now what is the object and character of this society, thus sanctioned by the name of the honorary secretary of the Commissioners? It is constituted for the purpose of what are called "Missions to the Roman Catholics." It has its staff of missionaries, lay and clerical; it holds controversial classes, and establishes controversial schools for the exclusive benefit of Catholics. The principal points of the teaching appear to be that the Pope is Antichrist—that the Pope is the man of sin—that Catholics are idolaters—that Catholics are taught to lie—that Catholics are taught to steal—that Catholics are taught to break faith. The grossness of its language in speaking of the Blessed Sacrament, and of Her whom all generations shall call blessed, is such, that I cannot do more than allude to it without defilement. Handbills containing these doctrines are thrust into our hands, or slipped under our doors; our churches are not safe from the agents of the Society, who consider it an exploit to leave a tract in the prayer books of the worshippers; our own houses do not always afford us sanctuary from the missionaries. Captain Fishbourne is responsible for every sentiment to which he lends the sanction of his name, and if he do not believe all this of Catholics, his responsibility is heavier yet as a bearer of false testimony. Yes, my Lord, the Catholic community does hold him responsible for every one of the disgraceful placards that flare upon the walls in the name of his society; for its handbills that are fluttered in our faces, and its advertisements that figure in the newspapers, exhausting the varieties

of indecency to create new varieties of insult. We must hold him responsible for them. Yet, in the whole range of Protestant officials, civil and military, one could not be found outside of this society to fill a position of such exceeding trust and honour as that now occupied by Captain Fishbourne.

Could we conceive a Catholic society at all resembling the society of which your secretary is a member; could we represent it to ourselves teaching the Protestant people of England to believe that her gracious Majesty as head of the Established Church, is the realization of types of abomination in the prophet Daniel and the Apocalypse; did it teach that Protestants esteem it no sin to lie, to steal, to worship idols; did it, in handbills and placards, apply to your religion and to its cherished and peculiar doctrines the foulest epithets the language can supply; did it speak from the platform or the pulpit in a similar strain; did the emissaries of this Catholic society dog your heels, ambush in your path, thrust papers into your hand, follow the Archbishop of Canterbury into his house, nay pursue him to the cathedral and insult his episcopal chair, as Captain Fishbourne's society has repeatedly done in Catholic churches in Ireland; I ask you, my Lord, would a member of that society be considered a proper secretary for a Commission such as yours, would the Protestant people of England put faith in its administration by him, and would they suffer the scandal to endure for an hour?

I have now done with the report. I have impeached it in its statements and its arguments. I have given a probable explanation of the cause of its defects and contradictions. If the Commissioners allow things to remain as they now are, if they refuse all endowments to Catholic institutions, if they refuse to give full and accurate returns of the children under their care, such as were required by the Duke of Norfolk, it must be admitted that they have not acted with the *utmost impartiality*, as they were required to do by her Majesty, and the doubts regarding their proceedings will be confirmed, and public suspicion increased. It concerns the honour of this great empire, and above all, it concerns the interest of the military service, that the fullest light should be thrown upon this controversy, and that proofs of the most perfect impartiality should be given. The Irish love the military service, and very much of its glory is due to them; but they love their religion more, as centuries of persecution testify. The Catholic soldier will not fail to inquire: "Is our's the service of a gracious Queen and of a grateful country? or is it a kind of Moloch to which we must sacrifice the souls of our children? Must the very bounty of my country," will he say, "become my torment and my loss? Shall it be, that almost before my remains are cool, the minister of a hostile religion will be allowed to buy up my children from their mother, and teach them that their father was a perjurer, a thief, and a liar by profession? Must the weakness, the poverty, the vice, or the ignorance of my widow be watched and turned to account? Will her eagerness, perhaps, to contract new obligations, and relieve herself from the charge of my orphans, be improved to the advantage of the soul-merchant? and should my children escape the dangers that beset their infancy, is the spirit of our military schools to be maintained so adverse to Catholic faith that their ultimate safety is hardly possible?" Trust me, my Lord, it will not do to meet all this with the case in the Queen's Bench.

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soldier will plead the original compact between the
self—that compact, than which there is none more
man and man—that compact, in virtue of which the
om the father of a family gives up his life, becomes
mother to his children as he should have been a father.
compact, my Lord, is the offspring neither of statute

It was not enacted by the Queen, although it is em-
Commission; it was passed without the consent or
ament. “*Est hæc non scripta sed nata lex, ad quam
cti, non instituti sed imbuti sumus; quam non didi-
is, legimus; verum etiam ex ipsâ naturâ arripimus,
ssimus.*”

Withstanding the hands and seals that authenticate
re me, I refuse to hold the Commissioners, and prin-
rdship, responsible for all that it contains. The
our for which those signatures stand, and the great
nted by one of them, give an air of paradox to their
he foot of such a document. I do not presume to
anation, unless, perhaps, easy faith and a misplaced
account for its adoption. But I hope to see her
issioners as forward as others in the work of repara-
ls. Catholics seek no triumph—their humble ambi-
to safety; they ask nothing better than to be dealt
to military honour and commercial honesty; but not
my contractors, nor the honesty of the Royal British
e injurious ligatures that ignorant or malicious hands
on this or that member of the body politic, and suffer
e nation to flow through all her arteries. It is no pro-
y the depletion of another. If an impartial distribution
nds be decided on, if the children of Catholic soldiers
Protestant schools be placed under Catholic care, if all
asked for by His Grace the Duke of Norfolk
be made plain to the comprehension of the Catholic
has rights in fact as well as upon paper, and that no
ical, shall be suffered to encroach upon their sacred-
he bad effects of this Report be corrected; but un-
e promptly, broadly, and intelligibly, it will have to
ver did there issue from any department of the state
rtful to the best interests of the country and of the
than the document upon which it has been my duty
Lordship.”

the above passage would be useless. We have
have shewn the injustice done to the Catholic body,
representatives in such a small minority. We
result of having such a Secretary in the cases to
referred. We have only to add, that we regret the
y necessity for complaints, but we regret still
genuous and untruthful manner in which those
ve been met. But that disingenuousness has
punishment, as by means of those documents
compelled them to produce, we have been able
bsence of those they have suppressed.

ART. XI.—A LETTER TO THE EDITOR ON THE
DERBY LEGAL APPOINTMENTS IN IRELAND.

Four Courts' Library, June 24th, 1858.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

You and I have often talked over that faculty of the poetic mind, which very frequently makes the poet appear the prophet. Of modern poets, Goethe, perhaps, develops most clearly this faculty. How the soul of the reader reels, as it were, before the flashes of that intellect, which, long years ago, in his quiet home at Weimar, could thus word-paint the Derby appointments in Ireland—

“ Das Unbeschreibliche
Hier ist gethan ! ”

Could anything be more perfect? at Last the Indescribable is Realized, or, has Realized Itself.

From the day on which Lord Eglinton quitted the jetty of Kingstown, at the close of his former viceroyalty, to that which again brought him to our shore, the people of Ireland had read little in the Conservative and Orange newspapers, but dispraise of those in office, and emphatic descriptions of all the wonderful things to be accomplished as soon as that conglomeration of genius, ability, learning, eloquence, and Orange Protestantism, a Tory administration, should have once again obtained its proper position—office, and ascendancy.

Then we should behold learning on the Bench ; then we should be overwhelmed and astonished by eloquence at the Bar ; then we should be dazzled by the splendour of a vice-regal court, rivalling, if not surpassing, that of St. James's—gorgeous dresses, family jewels, which it would be sacrilege to show at Carlisle's Drawing Rooms, lovely women, the ladies, *pur sang*, coming up from their country places, where they had vegetated during the usurpation of the Whigs ! And thus we dreamed of a life of joy, and thought of the bright days in store for Ireland, and extatic stuff gownsmen who read Tennyson in place of Pitt Taylor, were heard to mutter, as they fondly gazed at the Castle—

“ We drank the Lybian Sun to sleep, and lit
Lamps which outburn'd Canopus. Oh ! my life
In Egypt ! O ! the dalliance and the wit,
The flattery and the strife.”

But there were graver matters than these latter. Papas had long looked for the time when once again they could eat the vice-regal dinner free from the company of a Whig, and secure from the contagion of Popery, to which they were exposed in dining with Lord Carlisle's guests. The Poor-houses wanted looking after; nuns were actually admitted to attend Catholic paupers; the elected guardians were becoming troublesome, and were nominating Catholic officers; the elective franchise, founded on poor law valuations, was going to destruction,—more ex-officios could alone make matters secure. This was an awful state of things; down with the Whigs! out with them! a nest of brainless destroyers, minions of the Pope, and satellites of Paul Cullen, out with them, Toryism for ever, down with Ultramontanism, civil and religious liberty all over the world, founded on sound Protestant principles!

Well, the wished for moment arrived. "Me and the Queen," said Mr. Smith, the lessee of the Drury-lane Theatre, to the electors of Bridport, "had a difference, and I wouldn't give in to her;" so it was with Lord Palmerston, he and the House had a difference, he would not give in, and therefore he went out. Loud was the joy; *The Evening Mail* was in ecstasies, *The Warder* was in pious convulsions, in a state, like *Judy M' Cann*, of "Wind and devotion;" *The Saunders* went as near writing something original as possible; several quires of drafting paper were sold by the Librarian of the Courts, and in snug quiet corners of this library might be seen, writing with a more than Alexander Dumas power of speed, the herd of briefless, brainless waiters upon Providence and Faction, those, as Macaulay describes the species, "venal and licentious scribblers, with just sufficient ability to clothe the thoughts of a pander in the style of a bell-man," who toady Napier, and flatter Whiteside, in that burlesque of *The London Standard*, *The Daily Express*.

And what did it all come to at last? Where was the administrative talent? Naas for the chief secretary! The "Fat Boy" of the Carleton sent to regulate the affairs of Ireland! "What," writes the correspondent of *The Liverpool Albion*, "is the use of a chief secretary? It is astonishing how the question can be asked with Naas to the fore. What *can* be the functions a capacity like his is adequate to the efficient discharge of? He

looks like the winner of a first-class medal in Barnum's prize Baby show, a Titanic infant, rubbed, scrubbed, combed polished, and spread out on the hearth-rug to play with the cat and a lollypop, for the admiration of surrounding maternities and nursery maids. And he is in every respect worthy of his looks. Yet is he deemed a rising statesman. Happy state that shall have him when he is fully risen ! When that blessed hour comes there will be no need to trouble ourselves about the millennium,"—and I add, unhappy the country which has him, and his herd of hungry, grasping followers quartered upon it.

But who was to be Attorney General, who Solicitor General? Something resplendent was expected in their appointments. There was that grand galaxy of learning and eloquence, of which Ireland had heard so much, to be selected from ; and after delays without number, after disappointments and false reports, distracting to all, the whole difficulty of selection was solved—Oh ! shade of Curran, of Plunket, of Bushe, of O'Connell, of Sheil !—in the ignorance, the factiousness, "the wrath and cabbage" bluster of Whiteside ; in the sound sense and respectable Northern stolidity of Hayes !

But there must be a Chancellor. Who shall be Chancellor? Who can tell? Is there not all the resplendent Tory bar open for selection? So it was open, all open, with its brilliant intellects, its towering reputations, its perfection of all qualities mental and physical, and yet the Court of Chancery was turned into an auxiliary ward of the Hospital for Incurables, by the appointment to the Chancellorship of the godly but afflicted, the pious but fanatic, the moderately learned, but incurably and notoriously deaf, Joseph Napier. I object to this appointment on public and on private grounds. On public grounds, because it places in the Court of Chancery a man who was never an equity lawyer of any standing. I object to it on private grounds because, my voice being naturally weak, I cannot make the Chancellor hear me, even with the assistance of that reputed acoustic chair ; and I object further to the appointment as the principles of acoustics are not laid down as part of the Chancery rules or orders ; perhaps, however, Mr. Blackham may print them from Lardner in his forthcoming *Chancery Practice*.

Have you ever, my dear friend, fancied what glorious scenes of fun we shall have in the Courts as soon as, his

relative and register being provided for through the Consolidated Nisi Prius court, the chief justice shall be induced to retire? Fancy the Right Hon. James bellowing, as is his style, in the Queens' Bench, as chief justice *at* the bar; and Francis Fitzgerald, and Mr. Brewster roaring, as they will be forced to do, in the Court of Chancery, at the Right Hon. Joseph *on* the bench. Fancy Macdonough, and Armstrong, and O'Hagan, and John Thomas Ball, and David Lynch, and Sullivan, taking their LAW from James Whiteside. It will be the most laughable thing in the world, and will recall the gay days when Dan and Chief Baron O'Grady used to make the Exchequer better value than Hawkins-street: or when, later, Doherty kept his court (no his audience) in roars at his mixture of wit concealing his want of law, and with a drollery sufficient to make the fortunes of half-a-dozen comedians. Thus between the man who has some law, could he hear the facts to which it is to be applied, and the man who has no law to apply to the cases which he can hear, the Queen's Bench and Court of Chancery in Ireland will present, in due time, objects of the most intense interest to a genuine Pantagrueist, as they will remind him continually of that famous third book treating of the sayings and doings of the good Pantagruel, and of those immortal lawyers and judges, *Goatsnose* who was deaf, and that voluble *Bridle-goose*, who was ignorant and insolent: and when justice Bridle-goose, we beg pardon, Chief Justice, that is to be, Whiteside, shall be set before us as having often carried Judges with him when at the bar by the aid of his juniors; and when he shall as judge, have decided cases with the help of his puisnès, what can we say but that Rabelais was right when, referring to the decisions of *Bridle-goose* he makes Pantagruel say, "In good sooth, such a perpetuity of good luck is to be wondered at. To have hit right twice or thrice in a judgment so given by hap-hazard might have fallen out well enough, especially in controversies that were ambiguous, intricate, abstruse, perplexed, and obscure."

But it will be said, Whiteside is a legislator, a great reformer of our law as administered in Ireland. This, my dear friend, I deny. I know that with the help of English acts of Parliament, and through the aid of Mr. William Dwyer Ferguson, Mr. Whiteside has introduced some legal alterations; but if I called a monkey Romilly, or if I nick-

named an ape Brougham, would these names make either monkey or ape a Samuel Romilly or a Harry Brougham, even though I should be able to make them Attorney Generals or Chief Justices, or Chancellors.

There was a time when a judgeship, or any other high legal office, was the right of a great lawyer; of one who had worked through the hard, stern, iron realities of his profession. In those old days men felt the full force of that grand truth proclaimed by Terrasson in his eulogy on D'Aguesseau,—“ Quand la vertu sort victorieuse de tels combats, elle n'a besoin d'autres épreuves; il ne lui faut que des couronnes. Celle qui est due à tant de travaux, ne s'est pas fait attendre long-temps.” Now the great legal posts are the rewards of faction, the marks of gratitude for unscrupulous support; and I am firmly convinced that if any man were now living, who combined in himself all the learning of Coke, all the ability of Blackstone, all the scholarship of Mansfield, all the practical knowledge of Chitty, and all the powers of advocacy of Erskine, of Brougham, of Scarlett, of Thesiger and of O'Connell, JAMES WHITESIDE would be secure of any legal position before such man, even though he were of the faction, but out of Parliament!

Having secured the services of Napier, Whiteside, Hayes and Co., it became necessary to inflict silk gowns on the bar, and accordingly various names were set floating about the Courts. At last it was evident that “a fell,” a very “fell swoop” upon the value of the silk gown, was about to be made by the man of all others who should uphold its worth and dignity, by the Chancellor, by that high-minded, exemplary, most pious and most God-fearing man, Joseph Napier.

Having, like *Geoffrey Wildgoose*, in *The Spiritual Quixote*, “wrestled with the Lord in prayer,” he resolved to call no less than twelve of the outer to the inner bar; and these following were the names given to the public:—Charles Andrews, Edward Burroughs, Hedges Eyre Chatterton, William C. Dobbs, M. P., Thomas Rice Henn, William C. Henderson, Charles Kelly, Alexander Norman, Henry Ormsby, Edward Pennefather, Edward Sullivan, and Robert R. Warren. Admitting that every one of these gentlemen was fully entitled to a silk gown, but in fact Sullivan, Chatterton and Norman, were the only men of the number entitled to it, and they were fully entitled to it, from business, does it not strike any Irish lawyer as disgraceful to Chancellor Napier that

he should of himself, or through the instigation of others, call eleven men, all of one religion, and pretty much of one political creed, in one day to the inner bar.

To be sure Mr. Charles Kelly, a Catholic, was called, and made up the dozen. Mr. Charles Kelly is a very respectable gentleman, a man who does not depend for support upon his profession, a member of the Kildare-street club, and therefore will never degrade his gown, and will always keep his wig as white, and his silk as glossy as they look this moment, whilst he sits before us shining, glistening, and rustling, fresh from the hands of his Four Courts' dressing room; but I believe there is not a Catholic in Ireland who will regard Mr. Kelly's call as an acknowledgement of any principle of selection, or as shewing any desire in the Chancellor to recognize the Liberal Bar.

But, it has been said, and I hear, by Chancellor Napier,—“Brady promoted every man upon the Liberal side who should have been promoted, and a good many who should not have received the silk gown were called to the Inner Bar.” As this topic has been very frequently pressed by the newspapers believed to be under the inspiration, or dictation of the Chancellor, and of the Attorney-General, it is right that it should be noticed at some length; and the following article from *The Dublin Evening Post* of Thursday, May 27th, supplies an answer to the most important portion of the objections:—

“QUEEN'S COUNSEL—‘PERSONAL AND FAMILY NEPOTISM.’

The *Daily Express*—the organ of Messrs. NAPIER and WHITESIDE—availing itself of the convenient testimony of what it designates ‘a paper of ultra-Liberal politics’—a species of evidence ready on all occasions for the sustenance of the intolerant party now in office—lauds the present Lord Chancellor as a model judge, and thus concludes, referring to the new batch of Queen's Counsel:—

We agree with our contemporary, that ‘the rule of legal promotion amongst us has hitherto notoriously been that of political partisanship or personal and family nepotism,’ and it is impossible that the Lord Chancellor can speedily make full reparation for the injurious operation of such a rule, extending over a period of six or seven years; but in the list of names which we have published the Chancellor

As regards the lists we have given, the results may thus be stated :—

Mr. Brady nominated *twenty-nine* Queen's Counsel in *seven and a-half years*.

Mr. Blackburne nominated *sixteen* in *ten months*.

Mr. Napier nominated *twelve* in less than *three months*, and two others refused to accept the proffered honor! His Lordship sent it a-begging amongst the Tory Bar.

Of the twenty-nine nominated by Mr. Brady there were—

Liberals	..	..	..	13
Conservatives	..	..	..	16

The *Daily Express* has also forced upon us the necessity of particularising religion. Of Mr. Brady's appointments there were—members of the Established Church and Dissenters, 20; Roman Catholics, 9.

In Mr. Napier's list all but one, or two at most, are Conservatives. One Roman Catholic—a man of high professional position, Mr. Charles Kelly, has been put in, for two reasons—first, to counteract the manifest 'family nepotism and political partisanship' in some names, to which we have referred; and secondly, by the admission of *a single Catholic*, to delude the Catholic public into the notion that the policy of rigid exclusion is not extended to honorary distinctions at the Bar as well as to *all* official appointments in the public departments."

That Chancellor Brady appointed his sons and relatives to certain offices in his patronage no one will deny; but he acted in this case as all Chancellors in England and Ireland of whom I have ever heard. And surely the men appointed by Chancellor Brady were as competent, at least as competent, to discharge the duties of their offices faithfully and honestly to the crown and to the suitor as the Praise God Barebones members of the Oratorical Society, and other serious, but Orange flavored, individuals with whom Chancellor Napier has, with such indecent precipitation, crammed his court.

But what can be thought of this man who has been so constant a talker about the dignity of the Bar, and the nobleness of the profession. He knows that the silk gown is the legitimate ambition of every lawyer; he knows that from the hour when, with weary feet and longing heart, the

junior begins to wear out the flags in the Hall of the Four Courts, to that hour when he has worked his way to a lead amongst the Outer Bar, the obtaining the silk gown, by merit, honest merit, is the dearest wish of every man worthy of the name of Barrister. No man knows this better than Chancellor Napier, and yet the first act of his Chancellorship is a call to the Inner Bar of a mob. Surely the fact that two or three men of ability or standing were amongst this "ruck" cannot save Joseph Napier from the imputation of having done, for faction and party, more to degrade the Bar, to lessen the value of the honor that used to belong to the rank of Queen's Counsel, than any man who ever held the Seals in Ireland. Truly the public may now exclaim with Samuel Lover,—

"Of modern Queen's Counsel this truth may be said,
They have silk on the back, but stuff in the head."

It was not thus that Plunket acted. He had resolved to call two gentlemen of undoubted ability to the Inner Bar; it was pressed upon him, urged with force from powerful quarters, that he should call others of whom he did not approve, whose learning and standing at the Bar he did not consider sufficient to entitle them to the call; and Plunket who had in other times defied the minister in defending Irish independence, refused to lessen the dignity of that last remaining monument of her glory, the Bar. He would, he said, if the Castle insisted on this mobbish call, refuse to call any. He would have "*la noblesse de la robe*" or nothing; he would have the Bar, being Chancellor, as it was when he was Barrister,—when men were proud of their profession; when it was, as Sir William Jones wrote, "the only road to the highest stations in the country," when the gown of the lawyer was as honorable as the ribbon of the peer, when the profession of the Irish Barrister was, as D'Augesseau said of that of the Advocate in France—"nobility without title, rank without birth, and riches without an estate."

But Joseph Napier is not Plunket; he is beset by greedy partizans; he is said to be but the puppet of his blustering relative, the Attorney-General, who cares as little for the dignity of the Bar, as he cares for common sense or reason, when, in his wind-bag speeches on Ireland, he murders facts and mangles truth. These are the men whose literary Swiss slander the official character of Chancellor Brady,

every year of whose public and private life was marked by deeds that gained for him the esteem and regard of his fellow citizens ; who knew nothing of factions, who considered not what might be the religion or the politics of the man to be appointed, but only, and merely his fitness ; who never endeavoured to mobilize the Inner Bar, and who will be remembered as a good lawyer, as an able judge, as an honest Irishman, long after Joseph Napier and James Whiteside shall have passed from pensioned oblivion to the oblivion of the grave. Or should their memories live in the traditions of the Courts, lawyers who are now young, can tell in after years, how James Whiteside and Joseph Napier, who, when out of office, were always prating of political virtue, who then soared above all others in talk, yet when in office, sunk below all others in deed : who out of office, floated away, cloudward, upon the wings of declamation, and sunk down grovelling, when in office, battenning upon the very corruption of a decaying faction.

Whilst writing, in the former part of this letter, of the indecent nepotism displayed in the shameless appointments made by the Chancellor and the Attorney-General, I had not before me the following paragraph from a London correspondent, which shows the appointments to be still more glaring in all those particulars calculated to excite disgust and contempt. He writes :—“ According to the statements of the Irish place-hunters (who are now as plenty as blackberries in the lobbies of the House of Commons and about public offices here), two other Judges are likely to avail themselves of their great age, and right of superannuation, to retire, causing vacancies in the Queen’s Bench and Exchequer. Mr. Whiteside, it is said, has made up his mind not to accept a puisne judgeship, as his ambition is directed to the chief seat in the Queen’s Bench. These expected vacancies would cause several changes and promotions, in which both the present Attorney-General and the Solicitor, Mr. Hayes, would be *benched*. A grand object with the Napier-Whiteside division is to force up Mr. James Robinson, the present law adviser, into the Attorney-Generalship. There are at least a dozen claimants in the field, all considering themselves far better qualified to become Law Officers of the Crown ; and some of them have consi-

derable interest amongst the Parliamentary supporters of Government; but Mr. George, late member for Wexford county, and Mr. Miller, member for Armagh, seem to hold the best position in the running—that is to say if the Napier-Whiteside party fail in getting up Mr. Robinson into the Attorney-Generalship. If what is designated the ‘Family Party’ succeed, either Mr. Miller or Mr. George would have a fair chance of the Solicitor-Generalship.

“But other arrangements, connected with the wholesale and reckless jobbing said to be in preparation, are bruited here. It is said that Mr. Long and Mr. Yelverton O’Keeffe, Registers in the Irish Court of Chancery, are to retire—that Mr. Robinson, brother of the Law Adviser, and a cousin of the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney-General, who had been a solicitor of some eminence before he became proprietor of the *Daily Express* government organ, is to obtain one of those Registerships, with £1,200 a-year; but there are other candidates, some of whom, including an Irish Queen’s Counsel, are pressing their claims here with remarkable energy and apparent success.”

I see one friend of the family connected with the *Daily Express* is not mentioned here. What is to become of Mr. Porter of that office; his ability as a cash-keeper was fully proved in the employment of the “Trustees for Bettering the Condition of the Irish Poor,” why not prevail on Starkey to retire, and put Porter in for the Accountant-Generalship of the Court of Chancery.

Mr. Robinson, attorney and newspaper proprietor, or as some will have it, the partner of his relatives, the Chancellor and Attorney-General, is provided for; William Dwyer Ferguson, who was act-of-parliament grinder for “the Brammagem,” as Cobbet would call him, law reformer, the Attorney-General, is secure, and Mr. James Robinson, being Castle Adviser, is, should all be made safe by the shelving of Baron Pennefather, and the peerage of the Chief Justice, certain of a good thing.

But what claims has Mr. James Robinson, extra the fact that he is the Attorney-General’s relative, and brother of *Daily Express* Robinson? I know of none. He was in fair business, on *Circuit*, and was chiefly known in Dublin as having evinced the grasping, grabbing spirit of the whole family, by throwing up his prosecutors, because Justice Keogh, when Attorney-General, required him to

attend to crown cases alone, and for which he was very well paid.

Thus the whole family are provided for, or soon will be comfortably quartered upon the revenues of the country. With a generosity, and a family affection which would be quite touching, were they not exercised at the cost of the public, and in a manner reminding us of that patriot who "built this bridge at the expense of the county," the Chancellor and the Attorney-General have proved how true was that thought expressed in the old Roman proverb, "*Ex alieno tergo lata secantur.*"

To be sure there was one appointment out of the family, that of Mr. Brereton, to the Assistant Barristership of the County Kerry; and if the appointment is to be considered as one representing the learning, the ability, and the polished elegance of the great Conservative Bar of Ireland, I certainly shall not object to it, not being a member of that body; and I presume anything was considered good enough for the county of lakes and mountains. Besides, this appointment winds up fitly that list of nominations, evincing nothing but "political partizanship, or personal and family nepotism;" and which does not include, in any case, "real merit, irrespective of party or politics."

Surely it is a fit ending to a roll of appointments, proving that what was once the great Conservative party in Ireland has dwindled into a talentless, place-grasping, wretched rump of the old Orange faction. Knowing how uncertain, even in its briefness, must be their possession of office, seeing that the Cabinet exists but on sufferance, and through the temporary disorganization of the Liberal party, and seeing that higher adventures in England are throwing off all reserve in taking, or making appointments, the lesser adventurers here in Ireland are becoming equally bold, equally shameless, and equally greedy in making, taking, and accepting place. Fitness, merit, propriety of selection are all forgotten, and we live in the epoch of the Dunciad of the Irish Bar, in an age of "brazen, brainless" nepotism, the era of Napier and Whiteside.—Alas poor Conservative Bar! what has it come to? To a Zenith in Whiteside—a Nadir in Brereton!

Were it not for the peril to the Bar, I should be glad that these men have come into office. We shall now hear no more of the grand Conservative Bar of Ireland, and we

shall hear no more of Whig corruption. Compare the Whig appointments with those of Blackburne and Napier, and who can deny that bigotry and faction were, in these instances, much more frequently than fitness, the sources of the call to the Inner Bar. All men now know that in genius, in learning, and in powers of advocacy, the Liberal Bar is richer than the Conservative, and its members having, in most cases, neither relatives nor friends upon the Bench, obtain the honors of the profession by work, by proved ability, and by stern self-reliance; not by nepotism, or through a brazen, dishonest, factious partizanship.

When I look back now, upon the events of the past six months, it astounds me to remember how absurdly people used to talk about the Conservative Bar. How its reputation has dwindled away to nothing—to James Whiteside and Joseph Napier!

Oh! Dogberry, Oh! Verges, Oh! Bridlegoose, Oh! Goatsnose, Oh! Midas, (of Kane O'Hara), Oh! Justice Shallow, Oh! all ye spirits of Judges, who have "set the table in a roar," ye gather around me as I write, and lo! ye fade away, resolving yourselves into the embodiment of Joseph Napier and James Whiteside—and as the Chancellor stands before me,—

"——Mr. Napier,

With his hand on his ear;"

as the Attorney-General sways, and rocks, and mouths and shouts, as is his custom, I cry, in terror and admiration of Goethe's "prophetic soul,"

"DAS UNBESCHREIBLICHE
HIER IST GETHAN!"

At last the INDESCRIBABLE is realized.

Yours, my dear friend, most truly,

AN APPRENTICE OF THE LAW.

THE
IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XXXI.—OCTOBER, 1858.

ART. I.—ODD PHASES IN LITERATURE.

SEVENTH PAPER.*

1. *Analectabiblion, ou Extraits Critiques de Divers Livres Rares, Oubliés ou Peu Connus.* Tirés du Cabinet du Marquis D. R. * * * 2 Tomes. Paris : Techener, 1836.
2. *A Collection of Old English Customs and Curious Bequests and Charities, extracted from the Reports made by the Commissioners for Enquiring into Charities in England and Wales.* By H. Edwards. London : Nichols and Son, 1842.

ODD AND SINGULAR TASTES.—Several illustrious men have evinced a marked predilection for certain days in the year. We know that Napoleon felt such a disposition for the 20th of March.

“Charles V.,” said Brantôme, “was particularly fond of the festival of St. Matthias (24th of February), and sanctified it beyond all other days, because on that day he was elected Emperor, on that day crowned, and on that day also he took King Francis prisoner, not himself but through his lieutenants.”

Brantôme adds, also, that the Emperor was born on the feast of St. Matthias (24th February, 1500), that on the same day, in 1527, his brother Ferdinand was elected King of Bohemia, and that, on the 24th of February, 1556, he abdicated the empire.

The 1st of January was to Francis I. what the 24th of February was to Charles V. Born on the 1st of January, it was on the 1st of January that this prince lost his father, that he became king, on which his daughter was married, and that on which Charles V. made his entry into Paris.

Sixtus V., born on a Wednesday (13th of December, 1521), made his profession as a Franciscan friar on a Wednesday, was promised a Cardinalship on a Wednesday, was elected Pope on a Wednesday, and exalted to the dignity the following Wednesday.

* For the other Papers of this Series see IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. VI., No. 23, p. 439 ; No. 24, p. 647 ; Vol. VII., No. 25, p. 1 ; No. 26, p. 267 ; No. 27, p. 629 ; Vol. VIII, No. 29, p. 1.

Louis XIII., some hours before his death (Thursday 14th of May, 1643), called his physicians and asked them if they thought he could live until the next day, saying that Friday had always been to him a fortunate day, that he had on that day engaged in enterprises which were uniformly successful, that he had ever gained battles on that day, that having always considered it his happiest day, he wished he might die on it.

"Augustus," according to Suetonius, "had a senseless fear of thunder and lightning, and it is believed protected himself from this danger by always carrying about him the skin of a sea-calf. When a storm approached he ran to conceal himself in a subterranean vault or cavern. This fear was occasioned by an incident, during a nocturnal march, in his expedition against the Cantabri, when the lightning having struck his litter, killed the slave who walked before bearing the flambeau."

A Roman Emperor at the age of fifty-nine, was seized with an insurmountable terror at the sight of the sea. Returning from an expedition into Syria, he sojourned in the palace of a king, on the confines of Asia; "The chief of Constantinople," says Nicephorus, (ch. vii.) "commanded the Prefect to build a bridge of boats over the Bosphorus, and to adorn it at each side with planks and branches of trees, in order that he might pass without beholding the sea. This work having been finished very promptly, the Emperor crossed on horseback, as if he had been on dry land."

One of the Spanish kings could not endure any one in his presence who had taken tobacco. He had, besides, the mania of feeling incensed at any man's demanding the age of a woman, unless he had intentions of marriage.

Louis XIV detested *les chapeaux gris*, almost as much as he did the Jansenists.*

* It is related by Saint-Simon, "the king wished to know in what manner of people were followers of the Duke of Orleans (1709) the Duke mentioned amongst others Fontenay. At the king assumed an austere air, "How is that, my nephew king, Fontenay the son of this Jansenist, of this fool who is running everywhere after Arnaud? I cannot see of what this man can be to you," "Sire," replied the Duke "I do not know what his mother may have been, but the son, he has no desire to be a Jansenist, I can vouch for that he does not believe even in the existence of a God."—"Impossible, my nephew?" replied the king, becoming assuaged, "I am more certain, Sire," replied the Duke, "I assure you, if that be so, you can manage him, I see no harm in the scene, for I call it by no other name, occurred in the night after dinner the same day, the Duke related to me while seated with laughter all I have written, word for word."

Nothing could exceed the timidity, or, we might rather say, the poltroonery, of the celebrated moralist Nicole ; he dreaded travelling, excursions on the water, and to the end of his life he never went into the streets without trembling in incessant fear, lest a tile should fall on his head. He dwelt for a long time in the Faubourg Saint-Marcel, "because," as he said, "the enemies who threatened Paris would enter by the Porte Saint-Martin, and would be obliged consequently, to traverse the whole city before they could arrive at his house." In a word, he could say, as the actor who bungled Racine,

"Je crains *tout*, cher Abner, et n'ai pas d'autre crainte."

Henry III., who had so decided a passion for little dogs, could not remain in the same room with a cat. The Duke d'Epemon fainted at the sight of a leveret.

Marshal de Brézé (who died in 1650) swooned at the sight of a rabbit, as related by Tallemant.

Marshal d'Albret got ill at a repast where either a sucking pig or a wild boar was served. Erasmus could not even smell fish without getting feverish. Scaliger trembled all over at seeing water cresses. Tycho-Brahe felt his limbs failing when he encountered a hare or a fox. Bacon fell into a fainting fit during an eclipse of the moon. Bayle got convulsions when he heard the sound of water issuing from a spout. Lamothe le Vayer could not endure the sound of any instrument. Favoriti, an Italian poet, who died in 1682, could not bear the odour of the rose.

Many celebrated personages are distinguished by their affection for certain animals. Thus, Alexander cherished Bucephalus; Augustus, a parrot; Commodius, an ape; Heliogabalus, a starling, &c., &c.

Honorius, Emperor of the West, had a profound tenderness for a hen, which, probably, was not reciprocated. Being at Ravenna, and having had the precaution of placing between himself and the Goths the channel of the Adriatic Sea, when after the capture of Rome by Alaric, in 410, the slave having the charge of the imperial aviary came to announce to him that the capital of Italy and of the West was lost. "How is that?" cried the Emperor, dismayed, "How! Rome lost! It was but a moment since she was eating from my hand." Thus it was towards his favorite hen, whom he called Rome, that the thoughts and anxieties of the monarch reverted, and he felt much relieved when assured that it was not his beloved

bird but the capital of his empire that was lost. "Ah!" rejoined he, "I thought it was my hen." So great, adds the Greek historian, Procopius, to whom we are indebted for this anecdote, so great was his stupidity and brutishness.

The celebrated French financier, Samuel Bernard, (who died in 1739), thought his existence was bound up with that of a black hen, who, thanks to this circumstance, experienced much care and tenderness, for God knows how long. They both died about the same time, Bernard having attained his eighty-eighth year.

Passeroni, the Italian poet, (who died in 1802,) had a strong affection for a cock, and alluded to it in all his poems.

Saint Evremond and Crébillon were always surrounded by cats and dogs.

Lipsius liked only dogs, and had amongst others, a dog he called Saphir, in whom he surmounted the natural repugnance of animals of this species for wine. Thus, said he, "I have in some manner assimilated Saphir to man, as he is fond of wine, and subject to the gout."

Godefroy Mind, a Bernais painter, (who died in 1814,) had been surnamed *le Raphaël des chats*, in consequence of having excelled in painting those animals, towards whom he entertained an ardent affection; he had at all times many of them about him. "During his work," writes M. Depping, "his favourite cat was invariably beside him, with whom he kept up a kind of conversation; sometimes she occupied his knees, two or three little cats were perched on his shoulders, and he remained in this attitude for hours together, without stirring, lest he should discompose the companions of his solitude."

It was not alone for one or two species of the animal kingdom, that Denis Rolle, an English member of Parliament, in the eighteenth century, manifested his sympathies, but for all animals without distinction, and he was under the impression that they both knew of, and appreciated his kind intentions.

"I have," wrote he in a pamphlet he composed on the abolition of bull-fights and cock-fights, "I have proved the recognition of wild bears, who, after absence, allowed themselves to be taken by me and led by the snout. I cannot better exemplify the truth of my axiom than by stating that I have frequently thrust my hand down the throat of a bull-dog, and without any particular skill on my part, have been enabled to

render horses, wild in the fields, docile at my approach ; the most venomous serpents have not inspired me with the least fear. During some years I have traversed dense forests, without ever being attacked ; I have reposed in morasses filled with reptiles and venomous insects : serpents have been in my ears without stinging me. I could also tell of a crane, who ran always after me, following me through the fields ; and of a strange dog, who, every time I crossed Waltham, hastened to defend me, and expressed, by his lamentations, the grief he felt in quitting me. I remember also a little cat of Florida, who rushed at some dogs who were barking at me, fearing they were about to attack me. I cannot better explain these proofs of attachment than by supposing that Providence thus wished to reward my feelings of benevolence and humanity towards animals."

"They relate that Demosthenes," writes Gellius, " was exceedingly spruce in his dress, and that he carried this care of his person to the most delicate and fastidious refinement. This called forth all the railleries of his rivals and adversaries on his coquettish mantle, on his effeminate tunic. Thence also sprung those injurious and obscene discourses, representing him as effeminate, and accusing him of the most infamous crimes. The same account has been given of Hortensius, the most celebrated orator of his time, (after Cicero,) a gentleman always studiously elaborate, whose dress was arranged with art, whose frequent gestures, and studied and theatrical action, drew on him a crowd of sarcastic and outrageous apostrophes."

The English poet, Gray, made himself remarkable by the foppishness of his manners and dress ; a foppishness which he carried almost to folly.

Cavendish, the English philosopher, who left in dying, the largest fortune ever known to be possessed by a Savant, (£1,500,000) was always dressed in grey cloth, and had his clothes made precisely as of the same date. He collected a magnificent library, which was at the command of all the learned, but that it should not be put out of order, he had it placed twelve miles from his dwelling. Whenever he wanted a book he sent a written order for it, and returned it again with the greatest punctuality.

Another philosopher, Desmarests, (who died in 1815,) never changed the form of his dress, and up to the end of his life, his wig and dress would recal one to the modes in use under Cardinal Fleury.

The great English chemist, Davy, clothed himself entirely in green, to go fish, and in red to hunt; he pretended that, dressed in this manner, he frightened the fish and game less.

Towards the end of the last century some individuals adopted the kind of nourishment recommended by Pythagoras. We will mention amongst others, Ritson whose only food was legumes, and who published, in 1803, an essay on total abstinence from all animal food.

Another English author, Wakefield, (who died in 1801,) abstained from wine, as well as from animal food. He only followed the example of the philanthropist, Anthony Benezet, (who died in 1784.)

In the seventeenth century, the German enthusiast, Hoyer, (who died in 1656,) never ate anything but fish which had died naturally.

Spinosa spent between five and six sous a day for his food. Buttner, a German naturalist and philologist, of the eighteenth century, made but one single repast in the day, which cost him but three sous.

Everybody knows that the astronomer, Lalande, affected to eat with delight spiders and caterpillars, of which he carried a stock in his *bonbonnière*.

C. Gracchus, said Gellius, "made use of a flute to modulate the intonations of his voice, when in the tribune. It is not true, as several suppose, that a musician playing the flute was placed behind the back of Gracchus whilst he spoke, and by his various notes moderated and excited by turns the movements and action of the orator. What absurdity to fancy that a flute could mark for Gracchus, haranguing in public, the measure, the rhythm and the different cadences according to the same rule as you would arrange the pace of a buffoon on the stage! The authors better instructed on this fact relate only that a man was concealed near at hand who was engaged to moderate the intonations of the voice, when becoming too vociferous, by drawing a slow and solemn note on a flute. That was all. Nor do I believe that the naturally impassioned genius of Gracchus required external excitement whilst in the tribune. However, Cicero thought he employed this flute player for a double purpose, and that according as his notes were lively or calm, he enlivened his tone of voice if too slow, and moderated its impetuosity if too boisterous." This is the passage from

Cicero: "Thus as Licinius, a well informed man, formerly his secretary and now his client, has told Catullus, that this same Gracchus had in his service an intelligent man, who concealed himself near the tribune with an ivory flute, giving rapidity to the sound which was necessary to excite when his action was too slow, and softening the notes to a calm when he was too rapid."

"Æschylus," relates Athnæus, "was always a little excited by wine whilst composing his tragedies. We know that Alcman, the lyric poet and Aristophanes the comic, wrote their poems in a state of inebriety"

Madame dela Suze, the humanist Lefèvre in the seventeenth century, and Buffon in the eighteenth, could not work without being dressed with the greatest elegance; nothing, not even a sword, was wanting in the toilet of the latter.

Bacon, Milton, Warburton, Alfieri, required music to enable them to work; and it is related that Bourdaloue always executed an air on the violin before preparing himself to write a sermon.

Thomson, author of *The Seasons*, passed entire days in his bed, and when asked why he did not rise, he replied, "I see no motive for my rising."

Thomas remained every day until twelve o'clock in bed, the curtains closely drawn. There it was he composed the works which he afterwards wrote "off hand," when he arose. It was thus that during all his life he only aspired to the production of what Voltaire called *du galithomas*.

Casti, the lively author of the *Animaux Parlants*, composed his pretty verses whilst playing cards all alone on his bed.

Corneille, Malebranch and Hobbes composed most frequently in the dark, whilst Mézeray on the contrary never worked but with candle-light both by night and day, and never failed even at mid-day to reconduct, light in hand, into the middle of the street those who visited him.

Goethe composed whilst walking; Descartes on the contrary practised like Leibnitz the *méditation horizontale*.

Gluck caused his harpsichord to be transported into the middle of a meadow; a vast space, the open sky, the heat of the sun and some bottles of champagne, gave him inspiration to compose two divine songs, *Iphigénie* and *D'Orphée*. On the contrary, Sarti could not work but in a spacious room, with an arch roof and obscurely dim. The silence of night, the sombre glimmer of a lamp suspended from the ceiling, were

indispensably requisite to create the solemn ideas which formed the character of his style. Cimarosa wished to hear around him the clamour of an animated conversation; it was whilst laughing and prating with his friends that he composed *les Horaces* and *le Mariage secret*, two inimitable chefs d'œuvre, the style of each being distinctly opposed; the air *Pria che spunti in ciel l'aurora* he improvised in the midst of a pleasure party in the environs of Prague.

“Whilst rendering homage in his *Lettere Haydine* to the talent of Ferdinand Paëz, Carpinì said that this witty composer wrote the rôles of *Camille*, of *l'Agnese* and of *Sargine* whilst jesting with his friends, and made a thousand merry recitations, whilst at the same moment he found leisure to grumble at his domestics, quarrel with his wife and children, and bestow the most tender caresses on his beloved dog. Paesiello could not find a note if he was not lying in bed; and it was between a pair of sheets that he composed the charming movements of *Nina*, of *la Molinara* and of the *Barbier*. Zingarelli before taking his pen, transported himself into a high intellectual region, by reading several passages, both of the Fathers of the Church and of the Latin classics; thus prepared he in less than four hours improvised an act of *Pyrrhus* or of *Romeo and Juliet*.”

Carpani speaking of one Marcantonio Anfossi, brother of the celebrated Anfossi, and who probably would himself have attained a high musical renown, were it not that he died very young. This Marcantonio was a monk, and his method of stimulating the creative faculty was passing strange; he did not place himself before a harpsichord in order to compose, but before a table on which he had placed seven or eight dishes overladen with roasted capons, sucking pigs nicely browned, and smoking sausages. In the midst of this agreeable exhalation the sweetest inspirations were produced without effort.

Hayden, demure and regular as Newton, shut up in his study, had also his little stratagem: he shaved, powdered, put on clean linen, dressed himself from head to foot as if going to present his respectful homage to Prince Esterhazy, his patron, or even to the Emperor of Germany; then seating himself before a desk on which he had paper carefully lined and pens well made, he put on his finger the ring presented to him by his revered sovereign; after these preliminaries he commenced writing; five or six hours glided by, without his

experiencing the least fatigue ; not an erasure appeared to disfigure the extreme neatness of his notes, at other times scarcely readable, so that he himself used to call them his pothooks, they were so cramped and illegible.

It is worthy of remark that singularity of taste, for particular colors and numbers, occasionally exhibits itself even in the making of wills. In the *Reports* of the Commissioners for Enquiring into Charities in England and Wales, we find the following bequests recorded :—

Whimsical Partiality for Nine.—

Samuel Rabank, at Danby, Yorkshire, by indenture of bargain and sale, enrolled, dated 24th February, 1631, conveyed to Thomas Reeve and Samuel Pruddom, and the heirs of Pruddom, certain premises, upon trust that they and the heirs and assigns of the said Samuel Pruddom, out of the rents and profits of such premises, upon the 9th day of June, or the 9th day of December, from the day of his death, and upon every 9th day of every month for ever thereafter, cause to be paid to nine poor people, to be nominated and elected as thereafter mentioned, 9*d.* a week, or 3*s.* a month ; and should also, upon every 9th day of December, pay the sum of 10*s.* to some godly and able preacher, who should on that day yearly preach the Word of God in the parish Church of Danby ; and that the said Samuel Pruddom, his heirs and assigns, should, after the sermon, give and deliver one peck of rye to every such of the said nine poor people, as well to those who were present during the service, as also to such others as should be absent by reason of sickness or otherwise ; and as to the choice of the poor persons, he directed that, on the 9th December, the curates, churchwardens, and overseers of the poor of Danby, should nominate eighteen poor persons, men or women, of Danby, six by the curate, six by the churchwardens, and six by the overseers, of whom nine should be immediately elected by Pruddom, or his heirs or assigns, but, if they were absent, then such nine persons should be chosen on the next Sabbath day, by the curate and overseers, or any three of them, whereof the curate should be one ; and that, if there were not so many poor persons of the poorest sort and best report in the parish of Danby, the number should be supplied out of Glaisdale ; so, however, as such number should not exceed three.

The sum of £18 10*s.* a year is paid on account of this charity, out of lands called Howe Farm, Castleton and Bottom or Dale Head, in this parish. £17 11*s.* of the money is distributed in monthly payments of 3*s.* each month, to nine poor persons of Danby, 10*s.* are paid to the minister for a sermon which is preached on the 20th December, the day on which the rent-charge is paid ; and, in lieu of a peck of rye, it has been customary, for many years past, to give a shilling to each of the poor persons, which makes up the present amount of the payment.

Whimsical Predilection for Colours.

Henry *Green*, at Melbourne, Derbyshire, by will, dated 22nd December, 1679, gave to his sister Catharine *Green*, during her life, all his lands in Melbourne and Newton, and after her decease to others, in trust upon condition that the said Catharine *Green*, should should give four *green* waistcoats to four poor women every year, such four *green* waistcoats to be lined with *green* galloon lace, and to be delivered to the said poor women on or before the 21st December yearly, that they might be worn on Christmas day.

Thomas *Gray*, by his will, bearing date the 25th April, 1691, directed his executrix, Mary *Gray*, and others to lay out £200 in the purchase of lands ; and out of the profits of such land to lay out six nobles yearly to buy six waistcoats of *grey* cloth, edged with blue galloon lace, and 40s. to buy three coats of *grey* cloth, to be faced with baize ; and that four of the said waistcoats should be given yearly to four poor widows or other poor women living in Castle Donnington, who were to be of good behaviour and endeavour to live honestly ; and the other two waistcoats to two poor widows or women of like behaviour, of the parish of Melbourne : and two of the coats to be given yearly to two poor men of Castle Donnington, and the other to a poor man of Melbourne. And he also directed that copies of his will should be entered in the Town books of Castle Donnington and Melbourne, and also hung up in the respective churches, and that the same should be read yearly on St. Thomas's day, or the following Sunday, after prayers, for the performance of which he directed that ministers of the said parish should have five shillings a piece ; and he further directed that fifteen dozen of bread should be given to the poor of Castle Donnington, and ten dozen to the poor of Melbourne, yearly, on St. Andrew's day ; and if any residue of rents and profits of the said land should arise, the same should be laid out for the benefit of the poor children of Castle Donnington and Melbourne, in the proportion of two thirds for the former, and one-third for the latter place, towards putting them out as apprentices.—

SINGULAR DEATHS OF CELEBRATED PERSONAGES.

The Emperor Adrian, immediately before death, composed some Latin lines, which *Ælius Spartianus* has recorded ; they are very defective, and exhibit but little taste. They are as follows :—

Animula, vagula, bladula,
Hospes, comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca
Pallidula, rigida, nudula ;
Nec ut soles, dabis jocos.

Fontenelle gives the following version of them :—

Ma petite âme, ma mignonne,
 Tu t'en vas donc, ma fille ? Et Dieu sache où tu vas.
 Tu pars seulette et tremblante, hélas !
 Que deviendra ton honneur, folichonne ?
 Que deviendront tant de jolis ébats ?*

The Count de Maugiron, lieutenant-general, who died in April, 1767, wrote, an hour before his death, the following lines :—

Tout meurt, je m'en aperçois bien !
 Tronchin, tant fêté dans le monde,
 Ne saurait prolonger mes jours d'une seconde,
 Ni Dumont en retrancher rien.
 Voici donc mon heure dernière :
 Venez, bergères et bergers,
 Venez me fermer la paupière ;
 Qu'au murmure de vos baisers
 Tout doucement mon âme soit éteinte.
 Finir ainsi dans les bras de l'amour,
 C'est du trépas ne point sentir l'atteinte,
 C'est s'endormir sur la fin d'un beau jour.

"M. de Maugiron was residing at the house of the Bishop of Valencia ; the clergy hastened to afford him spiritual assistance, when he, turning to his physician, said : ' I have outwitted them : they imagined they had me ; I am, however, going from them.' He died after repeating the last word."†

"Vespasian, in his last illness," according to Suetonius, (ch. 24) "observed all the forms of state, with the same punctilio as, if in perfect health ; he received deputations even in bed. Finding himself sinking : ' an Emperor,' exclaimed he, ' should die erect' ; and whilst attempting to rise he expired in the arms of those who supported him."

DEATHS OF CELEBRATED PERSONAGES CAUSED BY SINGULAR ACCIDENTS.

Traditions reports the deaths of three great tragic poets of antiquity as having occurred by very singular accidents.

"Æschylus, according to Valerius Maximus, was going one

* *Dialogue des Morts*. Pope's paraphrase all know.

† *Secret Memoirs of the Republic of Letters*, 23 of April 1767.

day from the town where he resided in Sicily, when an eagle who was carrying a tortoise chanced to pass over him, and deceived by the smoothness of his head, which was entirely bald, and taking it for a stone, he let the tortoise fall for the purpose of breaking it to eat the flesh. Under this stroke fell the originator and father of the highest and most vigorous tragedy."*

We have our doubts of the truth of this statement, which would give rise to innumerable questions. First, do eagles eat tortoises? That is possible—yet it is a fact of which we are ignorant. Secondly, to whom did the eagle relate that he had taken a bald head for a portion of a rock? This supposition has been gratuitously formed, and does small honor to the piercing glance of the king of birds; though we must admire the correctness of his aim, when from a height, probably very considerable, he with a precision worthy of all praise lets fall his prey on the very point he wishes.

This is but one of the innumerable fooleries which have been bequeathed to us from antiquity, and which have been taken by the moderns for genuine coin.

"Euripides," relates the same author, "after having supped one evening at the residence of the King Archelaüs at Macedonia, was torn to pieces by dogs whilst regaining the house of his landlord."

We have already seen, that according to Valerius Maximus, Sophocles died of joy. An anthologic epigram assumes that the poet was choked by the kernel of an unripe grape.

This latter species of death terminated also the career of Anacreon. "Whilst sucking the juice of a sun grape," wrote Valerius Maximus, "to sustain his sinking strength, a green pipin stuck obstinately in his throat and deprived him of life."

A favorite slave of the Caliph Yezid died in the same way;

* L. 9, ch. 12—La Fontaine has thus translated this chapter.

“ Quelque devin le Menaça, dit-on,
De la chute d'une maison.
Aussitôt il quitta la ville,
Mit son lit en plein champ, loin des toits, sous les cieux.
Un aigle, qui portait en l'air une tortue,
Passa par là, vit l'homme, et sur sa tête nue,
Qui parut un morceau de rocher à ses yeux,
Etant de cheveux dépourvue,
Laissa tomber sa proie, afin de la casser
Le pauvre Eschyle ainsi aut ses jours avancer.”

(iter of the seventeenth century, was
e; and Henry Knox, an American
g by a chicken bone in 1806.
erodotus (l. m. ch. 64—66), "hear-
in of Smerdis, of the Magians, threw him-
se horse with the intention of hastening
to ping on horseback, the scabbard of
his scimeter fell, and the scimeter being unsheathed wounded
him in the thigh, in the same spot where it had formerly
struck Apis, the God of the Egyptians. Shortly after the
bone decayed, and the gangrene quickly spreading through
the whole thigh, Cambyes died."

The comedian, Baron, wounded himself in the foot with a sword at the theatre, and died of the wound in consequence of not permitting amputation.

"The King of Castile, Henry 1st, whilst at play in the Court of the Bishop's Palace at Palence with some young noblemen of his own age, (he was about thirteen), was killed, according to Mariana, by a most melancholy accident. A tile having fallen on the head of the young prince, wounded him so severely that he died eleven days after, on Thursday the 6th of June, in the year 1217."

The deaths of several princes were occasioned by falls from their horses; we shall merely mention the following:—

"At this period, (13th October, 1151)," according to Suger, "an accident of the strangest and most unheard of nature occurred in the kingdom of France. The eldest son of Louis VI., Philip, a youth in the flower of his age, and of great sweetness, the hope of the good, and the terror of the wicked, was riding one day in a faubourg of the city of Paris; a detestable boar rushed before his charger, and threw him rudely, the noble boy falling beneath the horse's weight, and that of a rock under which he had been thrown, and was crushed almost to death. The bystanders, overcome with grief and horror, ran to his assistance and bore him into a neighbouring house; but sad to relate, he resigned his pure spirit into the hands of his Maker before the night had come to a close."* This young prince of great promise had only attained his seventeenth year.

The Prince of Orange, William III., having, by a fall from

* *Vie de Louis le Gros*, see Guizot's collection, vol. 8, p. 149.

his horse, put his collar bone out of joint, and refusing to take the rest which his situation required after such an accident, died, from the effects of this accident, on the 16th of March, 1702, being then fifty-two years old.

A great number of princes have perished in the chase, by various accidents. Thus, William Rufus was killed by an arrow aimed at a stag by one of his knights, Walter Tyrrell; Henry the First, King of Jerusalem, and Count of Champagne, perished in a manner even more singular.

"One day (in 1197) before going to a repast, Henry asked for some water to wash himself; it being brought to him, he went near to an open window at the top of the tower where he was lodged. As he washed his hands he leaned too far forward, and, falling from the window, was killed on the spot. The valet who held the napkin threw himself after him, lest it should be said he had pushed him out. He was not killed, however, but had his thigh broken; having fallen between two walls he crept on till he came near a postern. Hearing some people passing outside, he commenced to cry out; on hearing him, they immediately came, and demanded what it was he required; he begged them for God's sake to send some of the gentlemen of the court to the Count, who was lying dead. The valets and attendants of the Count came instantly on being summoned, and found the tale too true. He was borne to a neighbouring monastery, where he was interred. He had ordered several times a lattice to this window, to guard against children being hurt; he had, it would appear, a presentiment of evil occurring through its means. There was great mourning for the Count's death."*

Leo IV., Emperor of the East, was passionately fond of precious stones. The Byzantine historians relate that this prince, assisting on the eighth of September, 780, at the Divine Office, in the church of Saint Sophia, was so struck by the brilliancy of the precious stones that enriched a crown, which the Emperor Maurice had caused to be hung above the altar, that he caused it to be instantly detached, had it placed on his head, and bore it away to his palace. But the enormous weight of this gem wounded him in the forehead, which instantly mortified, causing his death the same day. This sudden demise was regarded as a signal punishment from Heaven.†

* Bernard le Trésorier, Collection Guizot, t. xix, p. 227.

† Theophanes. p. 362; Zonare, t. xv., ch. 9, t. 11, p. 114.

excess at table, are very numerous. Priscus, the historian, after having the custom of his nation, espoused a sister of his in marriage, almost at the same time to a young girl named Ildico, endowed with the festivities attendant on this marriage to great joy, and overpowered lay down on his back; as the blood, which issued from his nostrils, could not, in its ebullition it took a fatal course, and, collecting in his mouth. Thus, drunkenness led to a glorious end in his battles. The next day had already expired when the king, suspecting something wrong, broke open the door, and found Attila dead, with a fatal hemorrhage; the young spouse, with a paled face, was bathed in tears. Then, each of their nation, each cut off part of his own flesh, and laid deep wounds on their hideous countenances, as if this illustrious warrior might receive as much grief, not alone the tears and sighs of women, but the blood of men of true

Caliph, having been surprised by the age which he made to Mecca, in 717, he died, and there eat seventy pomegranates, and an enormous quantity of raisins. It is said that he died from the effects of this

DEATHS WHOSE DEATHS HAVE BEEN OCCASIONED BY GRIEF, JOY, FEAR, ETC.

of biographers seem to feel ashamed of the persons of whom they have written and like M. De La Palisse they have gloried in life, and gild the approach of the end with a halo of romance. For this purpose they have been made to play a part in the most important species, as important as the role of

ch. 96, translated from the collection of

the lungs in the medical theory of the servant of the *Malade Imaginaire*. It sufficed to have proved that a personage in the course of his career has met some violent opposition, or experienced some great sorrow, to behold in this opposition or grief the evident cause of death irrespective of sex or age. In order not to be accused of exaggeration, we shall take a cursory glance over a few volumes of the excellent *Biographie Universelle* of Michaud in order to assure our readers of the truth of what we advance. Amongst other examples taken from this work we shall cite one. It is recorded of Nicholas Abilgaard, a Danish painter: "that the destruction of the pictures at the chateau at Copenhagen when that edifice was consumed by fire in 1794, and which he considered his chefs-d-œuvre, had such an effect on Abilgaard that it conducted him slowly to the tomb." Abilgaard died in 1806, that is to say *twelve years* after the burning of these paintings. Who could say on this occasion, *Time goes for naught here?*

Be that as it may, we have a number of deaths caused by grief, recorded in Michaud's *Biographie*, for the truth of which he is responsible.

The number of learned men who died of grief in consequence of various accidents is very considerable. Tribolo, a Florentine engineer of the sixteenth century, died of grief (and of illness, adds the *Biographie*) for having caused the inundations in the territory of Florence. Viglius, a German lawyer, died in 1577, at the age of seventy, in consequence of the ingratitude of the Prince whom he served.

An English writer, died, 1557, at the age of forty-three, for having been forcibly converted; the famous heretic of the twelfth century, Amaury, died from the same cause, having been forced to deny his belief. The Benedictine Lami ended his days at seventy-five because a young man whom he had converted from heresy, relapsed again into its fatal errors.

Sibouyah, an Arabic grammarian of the eighth century, died, it is said, of grief, because, the Kaliph Haroun-àl-Raschyd decided in favor of another savant on a grammatical point on which they differed. The Spanish theologian Valentia betrayed equal susceptibility; he died in 1598, aged fifty-two, because the Pope had reproached him with falsifying a passage of Saint Augustin. The historian Avrigny, born at Caen, in 1675, died of grief at sixty-six, in consequence of some alterations made by Lallement in his works.

ston died they say of grief occasioned by the execution of Charles of sixty-nine. The physician of the king of Denmark made y.

ay of grief occasioned by the They cite amongst others, the of Vic.

, died, in 1560, at seventy-two s of his chapter wished to force

1808, of regret for having his own, under the name of

the seventeenth century, died quence of having discovered his taphalian painter, Lely, died at ed by the success of Kneller; e Scarlatti told him he was de; Lepautre, in consequence of XIV. to Mansart, the Italian y one, in the year 1735, because d to him was given to another. engraver, from Lorraine, who asioned by the jealousy and eau.

erman, born in 1656, and the the criticisms of Boileau, died, what age, the latter at fifty-four, f their fortunes. Schidone died ive years of age, after having Breughel, at fifty-eight, in con- ighter's dowry. Terence died having lost in a shipwreck one eces which he had composed. d the Italian Pindar, repairing Clement XI. the fine copy with lies of the Pontiff, which he had

transposed into verse, discovered, on the way, an error in the printing, which overwhelmed him with such grief, "ing at Frescati, he was seized with apoplexy, and a few hours, on the 12th of June, 1712."*

We may add to these the names of Ximénès, eighty-eight, from the sorrow he experienced at the death of the poet Sarrasin, who, at fifty-one, died; Prince de Conti had struck him with a tongue; de Vauban, who, because he could not present himself to the Bourbons, in 1814, died of chagrin, at the age of eighty. We could form a much longer list of celebrated persons who died away, more or less slowly, by household griefs. I know of very few individuals, who, (according to the romance,) died of grief for having lost their wives. In the deaths caused by love, we are limited to the case of Giorgione, who died at thirty-four, from the grief he experienced on discovering the infidelity of his mistress, whose pupils had taken away.

It appears, however, not quite so easy as people think, to die of love, if we may judge by the attestation of Grimm, who became enamoured of an opera girl. The following has been told by J. J. Rousseau, in a strange matter:—

"He fell quite suddenly," wrote he, "into a malady, which I, or perhaps any other person, ever saw. He passed days and nights in an uninterrupted sleep, his eyes open, the pulse going, but without speaking, eating, appearing sometimes to hear, but never replying to a sign, and apparently without agitation, pain, or appearance of fever; he remained there as if dead. Baynal divided the labor of watching with me, I was stronger and more robust than I, cared him through the night, whilst I passed the days without leaving him; never together, as one left when the other came. The Friere (at whose house he resided,) becoming a Senac brought to him, who, after having examined him, made no remark, and ordered him nothing. My anxious friend caused me to examine the physician's conduct closely, and I observed him smile when going out, but the invalid remained several more days

* Valéry, *Voyages en Italie*, l. xv. ch. 28

nothing else, save some pre-ally placed on his tongue, w. One fine morning, he ended his routine of life in at ever making the slightest or as far as I could learn, to y any one relative to this care we had bestowed on

re now oppose the following

12) relates that a certain gue of Tiberius Gracchus, ffering up a sacrifice " when to him that the senate had giving to the gods. He nted and fell lifeless at the

ttained an extreme old age, n. 13,) having read in an l for a long time with much which were being given ; the e joy which he experienced

an, Thomas Baroncelli, that e *Poggio Imperiale*) to meet e, was so delighted to learn le of Grand Duke on his tant. There were various

The first king of Prussia, e day in arm chair, when his had lost her intellect, escap-ge of her reached his apart- g through a glass door which an egress, threw herself on

The king, from whom they , appalled by the aspect of d clothed only in white gar- en *la femme blanche*, an ap- tradition announced always

the death of a prince of the house of Brande, instantly seized with fever, and died six weeks of fifty-six.

Peuteman, a German painter of the seventeenth century, died in 1624 of fright, occasioned by seeing a skeleton shaken by an earthquake; and Madame de Glou, of the Count de Flesque, died in 1672, from

Marshal de Montrevel "who according to the mere ambition of being considered valorous, slightest pretension, having never distinguished himself in any way, concealing his universal ignorance under the name of a philosopher, was favoured by fashion and his high birth," died in 1672, seized with fever, and died four days after, in

ROYAL PERSONAGES WHO HAVE DISTINGUISHED
THEMSELVES AS AUTHORS, MUSICIANS, PAINTERS.

A paragraph has lately been going the round in the newspapers, in which it is stated, that a custom prevails in France, which makes it necessary that male members of the nobility should be each acquainted with some trade or profession. We learn from the paragraph in question that the Prince lately married to the Princess Royal is a virtuoso. As this paragraph appears to have excited a considerable number of readers, we present before our readers a few facts regarding royal personages who were authors, musicians, painters, or locksmiths.

"Augustus, according to Suetonius, composed epigrams in various styles, which were recited to him amongst a circle of friends who acted the part of censors as regarded censorship. Such as Cato's vindictive epigrams, the greater portion of which he read himself, the remainder, however, was read by his friends. He also composed the philosophic discourses, and the life, in thirteen books which reached to the war with the Carthaginians. He also essayed poetry, and left a small history of Sicily, and a little collection of epigrams composed generally in his bath. He commenced a tragedy of Ajax; but not being of dramatic style, he destroyed it, and his friends having one day 'what had become of Ajax'—'Ajax,' replied, 'guished itself on a sponge.'"

* It will be recollected that amongst the ancients the sponge was used for the purpose of effacing.

me author, ardently cultivated the and selected for his model amongst la Corvinus, whom he considered yle was, however, obscure owing to gance of his diction; it has been re prolific than even he himself had a lyric poem entitled : Lamenta-sar. He also wrote Greek poems, in uthors in whose genius he took works and portraits he caused to aries amongst the most illustrious

says also Suetonius, attempted to oy Livy, and assisted by Sulpicius read his work before a numerous during his reign, and had his works e of his lictors. His history com-the dictator Cæsar, but he passed epoch, that is to say, to the end instant remonstrances of his mother his writing freely, or with truth, He left two books of the first part of the second. He also composed of his life which was entirely a nce. He also composed a rather in reply to the books of Asinius

s, which he thought necessary to had already published a volume ing Emperor; and when he had ot much trouble in obtaining the . They are to be found in the public deeds, and inscriptions of ibit less ardour in the study of the fied on all occasions the esteem in nguage. A barbarian spoke be-; 'I behold with pleasure,' said know my two languages. 'I am,' eece by the ties of education.' In bly replied in Greek to the orations his tribunal he frequently cited baffled by an enemy or conspirator,

and when the tribune on guard demanded from him the parole, he gave it to him thus in Greek :—

“ ‘ I will take immediate vengeance on the first who offends me.’ ”

“ Finally, he wrote in this language twenty books of the history of the Tyrrhenians, and eight of the Carthagenians. It was in consequence of these works that to the ancient Museum of Alexandria another was added, bearing the name of the Emperor, and it was also decreed that on certain days every year that there should be given in turn by the members of these two Museums, two public lectures, in one the history of the Carthagenians, and in the other the history of the Tyrrhenians.”

“ Charlemagne, according to Eginhard, devoted under the direction of Alcuin, much time and labour to the study of rhetoric, logic, and above all to astronomy, tracing the progress of the stars, and following their course with the most scrupulous attention, and marvellous sagacity ; he essayed even to write on the subject, and had tablets constantly under the head of his bed, that he might employ every leisure moment in writing ; but he failed this in study commenced too late, and at an age unsuited to such avocations. None of the nations subject to him had up to that period written laws ; he decreed that their constitutions should henceforward be in writing, and deposited at the registers ; he had also ancient and rude poems composed, in which were recorded the warlike deeds and heroic actions of the ancient kings, by which means they were transmitted to posterity. A grammar of the national language was also commenced through his assiduity.”*

“ Robert II., relates the monk, author of the History of Saint Bertin, was very pious, prudent, literary, and sufficiently philosophical, but he excelled as a musician, He composed the hymn of the Holy Ghost, which commenced with these words :—*Adisit nobis gratia*, the rhythems, *Judæa et Hierusalem, concede nobis, quæsumus*, and *Cornelius Centurio*, which he offered at Rome on the altar of St. Peter, with a melody suitable to the words ; he composed many other fine pieces. His wife Constance seeing him always occupied with these pursuits, asked him jestingly to compose something in memory of her. He then wrote the lines *Constantia Martyrum*, which the queen, in consequence of the name Constantia, conceived to have been written for her. This king was frequently in the

* See *Life of Charlemagne*, translated from Guizot's Collection, vol iii. pages 151—153.

habit of repairing to the church of Saint Denis in his royal robes, and with his crown on his head, and there directing the choir at matins, vespers, and at Mass, and uniting his voice with the monks in chaunting the sacred service. As he was besieging a certain castle on the feast of Saint Hippolytus, for whom he entertained a particular devotion, he quitted the siege in order to visit the church of St. Denis, and lead the choir during Mass, whilst he was devoutly singing with the monks *Agnus Dei, dona nobis pacem*, the walls of the castle suddenly fell, and the king's army took immediate possession; a happy incident which Robert always attributed to the intercession of Saint Hippolytus."

From the reign of this prince up to the end of the fifteenth century, we cannot discover a single King of France, who signalized himself in any particular way either in literature, science, or the arts.

We know that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, princes and noble lords made use of the pens of scribes to correspond with their most intimate friends, and even their mistresses, who replied to them in the same manner. We have here some curious details which have been transmitted by Arnauld D'Andilly, on the way in which Louis XIII. wrote to his mother Marie de Médécis, at the period when she retired to England, to negotiate with her son.

"M. de Bèrulle, wrote he, was the person employed by his majesty to effect a negotiation with the queen mother; and one day the king being still at Saint Germain he was about to depart for England on that mission, when M. Drageant requested me to compose a suitable letter for his majesty to copy, and send to his mother. I complied, and M. de Bèrulle entertaining for me a particular regard, and reposing complete confidence in me, spoke to me during his sojourn at Tours of the negotiation which was still pending, and told me, that on presenting the queen mother with the last letter written by the king from Saint Germain, she wept on reading it, that he, feeling surprised at this strong ebullition of feeling, expressed to her majesty his regret at being the bearer of a letter that caused her such pain, to which she replied: 'You are quite astray in your supposition, as joy, not grief, causes my tears. I have received several letters, since our separation, from the king, but this is the only one I have received from my son.' As I had not forgotten the purport or diction of the latter, I asked M.

de Bèrulle if it did not commence with the word *Ainsi*. He appeared all astonishment, and immediately replied 'yes;' But how did you know that?—I had good reason to know all about it,' I answered, 'since it was my own composition.' On hearing which he embraced me tenderly."*

Returning to singular words referred to at page 680 of the second paper of this series we note the following words.

There exists in an old collection of inscriptions a distich which bears some analogy to the Venetian placard. It is thus conceived :

Defunctis patribus, successit prava juvenus,
Cujus consilio quæ valuère ruunt.

This distich is preceeded by another which has been represented as engraven on the doors of the cathedral of Breslau; here it is—

Quas sacras ædes pietas construxit avorum,
Has nunc hæredes invadunt more luporum.

It appears that the authors of these bitter jests were anxious to attack the youth of their time, which was in the sixteenth century; and as there is nothing new under the sun, we recognize at the present day some waspish people who, with the smile of irony on their lips, take it into their heads to speak as slightingly of our youth, as was done in former times. We are very glad to take this occasion of denouncing to our readers a pitiable article inserted some time since in the *Bibliothèque de Genève*, under the following title: DES ADOLESCENS de notre époque, comme gros d'avenir. We limit ourselves to a short extract, for in quoting nonsense the shorter it is the better: "In the happy age in which we live," writes this satirical jester, "there are men of fifteen. We have no longer youths, they pass at once from infancy to mature age, from the top to the gazette, from the rudiments of science to its acme. Before they get their beard, the mind is perfectly formed, they hesitate no longer, they have fixed ideas on things, men, principles, systems, the heart is cold, blasé; those feelings are exhibited to all, but especially to their father, whom they consider old. Behold the consequence of this new order of things, sound principles, just and invariable from which they never swerve; here they are as adopted.

Experience is a useless thing."

* See *Memoires d'Arnauld d'Andilly*, compiled by Michaud-Ponjoulat, p. 432.

"Intercourse with men and observation teach nothing.

"In this age of enlightenment youth alone possesses ability.

"The age in which the passions are in all their effervescence, is naturally that in which reason predominates. The culminating point of judgment is necessarily to be met with between twenty and twenty-five and rarely beyond that. After this age, society is no longer composed of useful men; this fact is fully proved by the following category:—at twenty he becomes a man;—at five and twenty his maturity of judgment is complete,—at thirty false hair,—at forty a wig;—at fifty stupid; at sixty a mummy;—at seventy a fossil, childish, extinct."

In 1835 a poet expressed the same ideas, and gave them under the same denomination in a piece of poetry entitled *Le Septuagénaire, ou le chant du Cygne*! We will not say where the tirade on these designations is to be found.

When the *Orestes* of Voltaire appeared for the first time, February 12th 1750, the concourse was great at the representation, and they placed as a check or countermark on the pit tickets the following letters.

O. T. P.

Q.

M. U. D.

which signifies this line of Horace:—

"Omne Tulit Punctum Qui Miscuit Utile Dulci."

A sorry jester interpreted these sigles in the following manner:—

"Oreste, Tragédie Pitoyable, Que Monsieur Voltaire Donne."

Whilst discussing the subject of Voltaire's tragedies, we must not omit the mention of another by the same author:—*Zaire*, of which they have abridged four lines, and which have been discovered in a manuscript deposited in the bureaux of the police at Paris. These four lines form part of the third scene of the second act, towards the middle, the part where old Lusignan calls on God, after having recognised his daughter:—

Ne m'abandonnez pas, Dieu qui voyez mes larmes!

"Et toi, cher instrument du salut des mortels,

"Gage auguste du Dieu, vivant sur nos autels,

"Bois rougi de son sang, relique incorruptible,

"Croix sur qui s'accomplit ce mystère terrible,

Dieu mort sur cette croix et qui revis pour nous,

Parle, achève, ô mon Dieu, ce sont là de tes coups.

The four lines preceded by inverted commas, are those which have been abridged.

THE FIVE LATIN WORDS OF LOUIS XI.

They say that this prince, so amiable, so frank, so humane, gloried in his own ignorance; and it was for this reason that he wished to banish from his court, and from the education of his son (Charles VIII), the Latin language, preserving, however, five words, which he reserved as a special favor, having found them so useful that he made them through life his rule of conduct. "Not," said he, "that Latin is useless to a king, or at least a little of it; it will suffice, however, for my son to know the five following words, QUI NESCIIT DISSIMULARE, NESCIIT REGNARE; here lies the entire art of governing." Thus, he laid down as a principle in his *Rosier des Guerres*, this maxim:—"No counsel is better than that your adversary should be ignorant of your intentions." That is to say: dissimulate all your resolves, in order that your adversaries may not be aware of them until after their execution. The following is a maxim taken from the same work:—

"De tant que fust vault mieulx que escorce, Autant vault mieux soustilleté que force."

Which signifies:—

Know, that as far as the wood excels the bark, So does subtlety exceed strength.

MAXIMS DRAWN FROM THE BREVIARY OF POLITICS.

These maxims are of the species we are about to treat, but being from another source, they are a little more extended. It is affirmed that they were handed down by Mazarin to Louis XIV., as the most secure rule of conduct in the administration of public and private affairs; the following will show the tone and scope:—

SIMULA, DISSIMULA; NULLICREDE; OMNIA LAUDA;

NOSCE TE IPSUM; NOSCE ALIOS.

As these principles are extracts from a furious dietribe, published against Mazarin, it is very natural to suppose that the conscience of the minister is not charged with this machievelian delinquency. The book from which this noble maxim has been extracted is entitled *Breviarum politicorum secundum rubricas Mazarinicas*. Colon. Agrip., Joan Selliba, 1684, pet. in duodecimo. *La Bibliothèque historique de France*, N. 32, 564, in announcing an edition *Parisiis*, J. Le Petit, 1695, in 24, added that "this book is very curious,

and is not a bad specimen of devilry. We know another edition, *Vesaliæ, et Amstelodami, Joh. Wolters*, 1700, pet. in duodecimo ; this work must not be confounded with *Le grand Bréviaire de Mazarin* in-quarto, a jocular piece on the manners of Cardinal Mazarin, and the manner in which he passed his days.

FEMALE WARRIORS.

If we may credit Dalémile, a Bohemian poet of the fourteenth century, there existed in Bohemia, up to the eighth century, a corps of Amazons, under the rule of the Duke Prémislas. We here append a resumé of the traditions with which he has furnished us.

Libussa, or, Libossa, wife of Prémislas, who died in 735, formed a guard of young girls, dressed in military costume. After the death of this princess, Vlasta, the Amazon, by whom they were commanded, assembled them on the Mount Widoulé (not far from Prague,) and erected there a fort, which she destined as the centre of her new empire. Prémislas, on hearing this, sent one of the lords of his court to treat with them ; they, however, mutilated the unfortunate envoy in the most brutal manner, by cutting off his nose and ears.

The number of her adherents increasing, Vlasta had a second fortress erected opposite Wissegrad, which she designated *Diewin*, or, the *Young Girl's Fort*. Thence they ravaged the neighbouring countries, and all who did not belong to their sex, were cruelly mutilated or murdered. After a victory gained over the troops of Prémislas, Vlasta published a code, the three last articles of which decreed that men were to be prohibited from carrying arms, under the penalty of death ; that they should never go on horseback but with their legs joined and hanging on the left side of the horse, that those who dared to mount otherwise should undergo the like punishment ; and that the men, no matter to what class they belonged, should conduct the plough, and do all the laborious work, whilst the women did battle for them ; that the young girls were at liberty to make choice of their husbands, and whoever refused to submit to this decree should undergo the penalty of death.

After several ineffectual attempts at conciliation, Prémislas attacked the fort of Widoulé, and murdered all the women he found there. Vlasta having been apprised of this disaster, decreed that they should offer at Diewin a sacrifice to the

gods ; and on the altar they murdered twenty-four prisoners, whose blood they gathered in charmed cups ; they then retired from Diewin, and perished arms in hand.

Such is the Poet's tale, and it amazed us to perceive that it was taken up so seriously by the author of the article dedicated to *Vlasta* in the *Biographie de Michaud*, an article from which we have in part borrowed the details just given.

Dalémile had certainly done no more than collect some old traditions, which he, perhaps, embellished, if this task had not been already accomplished. This legend, however, was popular in Bohemia ; as there is mention of these Amazons in a chronicle of the eleventh century, that of Cosmus of Prague. We here subjoin a relation very different from that of Dalémile. The original is in Latin prose, diversified and filled with poetical illusions. It might be said on reading it, that it was a fragment of some poem, written in barbarous Latin.

“ At this period (under Prémislas) the young girls spread over the land, free from all species of restraint. Like Amazons they bore military arms, and, under self-government, fought like young soldiers, and gave themselves up with ardour to the chase. It was not the men who at that time enjoyed the privilege of selecting their spouses, it was the young girls who chose them for their husbands. There was no perceptible difference between the dress of men and women ; their audacity increased to such a degree that they constructed a fortress on a rock not far from Prague, possessing merely natural defences ; to this fort they gave the virginal name of *Diewin*. The young men, on their part, indignant at such womanly boldness, assembled in much larger numbers on an adjacent rock, and built in the middle of the wood a town, which the moderns have called *Wissegrad*, but which, at that time, derived its name, *Nurasten*, from the trees with which it was surrounded. Sometimes peace, at other times war, reigned between the two parties : the young girls were more cunning, the young men more brave. On one occasion, peace having been concluded between them, they determined on celebrating the truce by a series of festivities, which were to continue during three days ; they, consequently, abandoned their arms, and relinquished themselves to all manner of riot and dissipation ; at the termination of these orgies, the young men set fire to the fortress, and thus *Diewin* was consumed. From

that period, the women were content to dwell in peace under the sway of the men.*

During the middle ages, female warriors were not uncommon. We here furnish a few examples, the greater number of which are of French origin.

At the battle gained by Robert Guiscard over the Greek Emperor Alexis Comnenus near Dyrrachium, Gaëte, wife of the Norman Prince, "who according to Anne Comnenus followed to the war and fought like a Pallas," she rallied spear in hand, and led to combat the troops of her husband who had been dispersed by the Greeks.†

Orderic Vital, in book 8th, spoke thus of Isabel, daughter of Simon de Montford and wife of Raoul de Conches. "She was," wrote he, "generous, enterprising, gay, amiable, and courteous to all who approached her. During the war she mounted on horseback, armed as a knight amongst the other knights, and like to the young Camille, the pride of Italy in the troops of Turnus, she yielded in intrepidity neither to knights covered in mail, nor to soldiers armed with javelins." After the death of her husband she retired into the convent of Haute-Bruyère.

In the 12th book of the same chronicler, we find the history of Juliana wife of Eustatius of Breteuil and illegitimate daughter of Henry I. King of England. Having been sent with the troops by her husband to defend the castle of Breteuil, she was there besieged by her father, whom the inhabitants had admitted into the city. Seeing the impossibility of a long resistance she demanded an interview with her father.

"The king, who never dreamed of treachery in a woman, and one so nearly allied to him, granted the interview, during which his unfortunate daughter sought his life. She bent a balista and hurled a shaft at her father, whom, by God's protection, it failed to strike. Henry on perceiving her unnatural design, ordered the draw-bridge leading to the castle to be destroyed, in order to intercept all communication with the exterior. Juliana, seeing herself thus encompassed on all sides, and without hope of succour, surrendered the castle to Henry, but could not obtain from him her liberty. After his prohibition she was obliged to let herself slide from the top of the highest

* *Cosmæ Pragensis Decani Chronica Bohemorum*, inserted in Freher's Compilation, *Rerum Bohemicarum Scriptores* 1002, in folio, p. 6.

† *Alexiade*, book iv. ch. 5.

wall of the castle, and without the assistance of a bridge, or indeed of almost any support, creep ignominiously to the bottom of the ditch and expose her naked person to the army. This incident occurred at the commencement of Lent, in the third week of February, when the water in the dyke being frozen pierced the delicate flesh of the princess as she was plunged into it on her fall. This unfortunate warrior retreated thus ignobly, and hastened with speed to rejoin her husband at Paci (sur Eure.)*

Amongst the number of women who contributed to the defence of castles and towns we must not omit to mention Jane Hachette, the sister of Duguesclin, and another heroine less known, Jane Maillotte, who distinguished herself at Lisle, during the revolt of the *Hurlus*. We refer to Froissart for an account of the adventures of the two Countesses of Montfort and de Blois, who, during the captivity of their husbands, kept up a bloody war against each other, the termination of which was the possession of the Duchy of Brittany. We must not omit the mention of an attempt at a crusade made by the Genoese ladies in 1301—or the defence of the castle of Benegon by Marie de Barbançon in 1569.

As to Joan of Arc, and other adventurers who, after her death, aspired to play the same part as she had done, their history is too well known to need recital here.

The celebrated female poet, Louise Labé,* had scarcely attained the age of sixteen, when having accompanied her father to the siege of Perpignan, in 1542, she was seized with an ardent desire of becoming a warrior, and so distinguished herself by her bravery as to earn for herself the surname of *le Capitaine Loys*. Her exploits have been celebrated by an anonymous author in a very long and laudatory piece. We here transcribe a sample of these very indifferent lines.

Louize ainsi furieuse,
En laissant les habits mols
Des femmes, et envieuse
Du bruit, par les Espagnols
Souvent courut, en grand'noise,
Et maint assaut leur donna.

* Orderic Vital, t. xii. collection Guizot, t. xxviii. p. 289.

† She was born at Lyons in 1526, and died in 1566.

Quand la jeunesse françoise
 Perpignan environna,
 Là sa force elle déploie,
 Là de sa lance elle ploye
 Le plus hardi assaillant ;
 Et brave dessus la selle,
 Ne montrait rien en elle
 Que d'un chevalier vaillant.

After raising the siege she returned and married at Lyons, from which time she resigned herself unrestrainedly to her taste for literature, and her passion, which was not less lively, for the beaux-esprits of her time ; she entered on a life nearly similar to that pursued by Ninon d'Enclos in the following century. In forming her society the bourgeois or traders were not admitted, no matter what wealth they were possessed of. She admired men of learning above all, patronising them by her marked favour, and holding them in far more esteem than the highest nobles, preferring to admit them free to her coteries, than the others for a large premium.

Much about the same period a Spanish religious, named Catherine d'Erauso, escaped from her convent, and assuming the dress of a man, served as cabin-boy on the ships trading to America ; then deserted, and after various adventures by sea, entered the army, where she signalized herself in the engagements against the Indians. She attained the rank of officer, and quitted the service in consequence of a wound received in a duel, by which her sex was discovered ; she then returned to Europe, where she received a pension from Philip III. Such, at least, are the facts which have been recorded in the memoirs written it is said by the heroine herself, and published for the first time at Paris, with some justificatory articles, in 1829, in octavo, under the title of *Historia de la Monja-alferez* (the History of the Religious Officer.)"*

"It was about the year 1638, if I do not deceive myself," wrote the Abbé Arnauld, "that I had the honor of becoming acquainted with the Amazon of our day, Madame the Countess of Saint Balmont,† whose life has been a real prodigy of valour

* See on this work, which is after all perhaps only a romance, an article inserted in the xliii volume of the *Revue Encyclopédique*, p. 742, and following.

† Barbara D'Ernecourt, Countess of Saint-Balmont, was born at Neuville, between Bar and Verdun, in 1608.

and virtue, having united in her person all the courage of a determined soldier, and all the modesty of a truly Christian woman. Part of this testimony was given in my presence, by some Spanish soldiers whom she had taken in the war, and whom she had dispatched to M. De Feuquières at Verdun : he having asked jokingly of them, if they had in their country women equally brave, one of them replied with the greatest seriousness, that he never could have supposed she was a woman, having seen her perform feats which would be daring for a reckless soldier. To those who wish to read these memoirs, it may not be uninteresting to learn further particulars of so extraordinary a woman. She was descended from a very high family at Lorraine, and born with ideas worthy of her birth. The beauty of her countenance corresponded with that of her mind, but her height did not correspond with her beauty, she was small and rather fat. God who designed for her a more laborious life than ordinary women, rendered her thus robust, in order that she might be better enabled to endure bodily fatigue ; he also bestowed on her a supreme contempt for beauty, so that having had the small pox she rejoiced as much at being marked as others felt sorry at a like misfortune, saying that it gave her more the appearance of a man. She married the Count de Saint Balmont, who yielded nothing to her either in birth or merit. They lived together in perfect unity ; but the commotions which broke out at Lorraine obliged them to separate.

“ Madame de Saint Balmont dwelt on her estate in order to preserve it. Up to that period she had never indulged her warlike tendencies but for the chase, which is, after all a kind of mimic war, but the occasion soon presented itself of exercising it in reality ; it was this. A cavalry officer having come to reside on her estate, lived in a very disorderly manner. Madame de Saint Balmont with much courtesy expressed her disapproval of his conduct, which he received very ungraciously ; this piqued her, and she resolved to bring him to reason herself, and without any consultation, but the promptings of her own heart, she wrote him a note to which she affixed the signature of the *Chevalier de Saint Balmont*. In this billet, she pointed out to him that the bad treatment experienced at his hands by the *Chevalier's* sister-in-law demanded some expiation, and that he desired to meet him sword in hand. The captain accepted the challenge, and repaired to the appointed place Here Madame

de Saint Balmont awaited him dressed in male attire. They fought, she conquered him, and after disarming him said with peculiar grace; 'You were under the impression, Monsieur, that you fought against the Chevalier de Saint Balmont; but it is Madame de Saint Balmont who returns you your sword, and who requests that in future you will have more consideration for a lady's behest.' She departed, after these words, and history records, that he, full of shame and confusion, retired, and was never again heard of. As to her, this occurrence only served to inflame her valour; she did not content herself with preserving her own property, in repelling force by force; but gave protection to several neighbouring gentlemen who took refuge upon her estate, and ranged themselves under her banners when she went to war, from whence she always returned victorious, accomplishing her undertaking with equal prudence and valour. I met her several times at the house of Madame Feuquères, at Verdun; and it was amusing to see her embarrassment at being dressed like a woman, and with what ease and spirit she mounted her horse on getting outside the city, and acted as escort to the ladies who accompanied her, and whom she permitted to remain in her coach. Notwithstanding this strange life, at variance with nearly all the feelings of womanhood, and which might in another lead to freedom of manner, or it might be libertinism, yet for her it possessed but the one attraction, namely, the power of doing good by redressing grievances, and repelling injustice. When in her own quiet home, each day was employed in offices of piety, in prayers, in holy reading, in visiting the sick of her parish, whom she assisted with a most praise-worthy charity, which gained for her the esteem and admiration of all who knew her, and caused her to be regarded with the respect and homage paid only to a queen."*

Madame de Saint Balmont, after the peace of Westphalia, occupied herself with literature, and published in the year 1650 *les Jumeaux Martyrs*, a tragedy in-quarto; it was republished in 1651 in duo-decimo. She died amongst the religions of Saint Clare, at Bar-le-Duc the 22nd of May, 1660. Pere de Vernon has written her life, and entitled it *l'Amazone Chretienne*, Paris, 1678, in duo-decimo.

* *Memoirs de L'Abbe Arnauld*, from Michaud Ponjolat's collection, p. 494. See also a chapter of Tallement, t. viii. p. 217.

We do not know the name of the heroine, whose biography James de Joigny, printer at Rheims, has given under the title of *Les Merveilles de la vie des combats et victoires d'Ermine, citoyenne de Reims, Rheims, 1648*, in octavo. We are also in doubt about another heroine in the earlier part of the seventeenth century.—*L'Histoire de Louis XIII.*, by Dupleix, p. 225.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century an English-woman named Maria Read concealed her sex, and passed her life on the American seas, in the midst of pirates whose dangers and profits she shared. The vessel on which she was having been taken by the English, she, with her companions, was condemned to death at Jamaica the 16th of November. She declared herself enceinte, and thus obtained a respite, but falling ill, she died in prison, being at the time about forty years of age.

In the latter part of the same century, an amazon of another species, Mademoiselle Maupin, an actress at the opera, filled France with the noise of her sanguinary and scandalous adventures. Skilled in fencing, and wearing usually the dress of a man (a costume by means of which she could more readily abandon herself to her infamous pursuits) she one day insulted a woman who was accompanied by three men; they, ignorant of her sex, challenged her to a duel, in which she killed successively the three. She obtained pardon by quitting Paris, to which place she however returned, and re-appeared at the opera. She finished her career by renouncing the world, and died in 1707.

The mother of Wyermann, a Dutch painter, who died in 1747, was vulgarly called Lys Saint Mourel. She had served in the armies, and retired with the rank of serjeant, the dress and staff of which she continued to wear during the remainder of her life.

We shall conclude our sketch with the following fact.

The first woman who made a tour of the world was a young Briton, named Barry. She was dressed in man's attire, and accompanied as a servant, the French botanist Commerson in his travels (1767 to 1770.) Her sex was discovered at Taiti by the islanders.

ART. II.—DELPINE GAY.

1. *Le Vicomte de Launay, Lettres Parisiennes, précédées d'une Introduction, par Théophile Gautier.* Par Mme. Emile de Girardin. Paris: Michel Levy, Freres, 1857.
2. *Les Contemporains: Mme. de Girardin (Delphine Gay),* par Eugène de Mirecourt. Paris: G. Havard, 1856.

The lady with whom we wish to make our readers better acquainted, having devoted twelve years to the chronicling of such small beer as fashions, and the topics of the passing hour in Paris, an introductory word or two on these subjects will not be out of place.

We seem to feel ourselves as on a sand-bank drifting we know not where. Our poor planet has not a moment's rest from New Year's day to St. Sylvester's, nor can its inhabitants stop to realize their condition for the nonce, to reckon up their joys and sorrows, or adjust the balance. But in time, mother earth finds herself starting from the same point again, and at the renewal of some cycle—if we could live to witness it—it is probable that every phase in the world's economy would find itself repeated. The drop of water that with its countless fellows, rushes westward past the Cape of Good Hope, in obedience to the moon's pleasure, will in the lapse of years glide again by the same headland; but what variety of climate, and what myriads of kindred drops, will it not have encountered in the interim. Mme. de Girardin in one of her pieces, contrasts the diary of a fine lady in 1812, as preserved in the "*Chaussée d'Antin*," with one of the year 1840, and finds no members of the same families presiding over the popular emporiums of the two eras, except in the instance of a fashionable mercer, and the proprietor of a flower magazine; hence she jumps too hastily at a conclusion, and says that nothing here below remains the same, but fashions and flowers.

If being slaves to the same absurd style of dress at this day, to which our great grandmothers of a century since were victims, proved anything, our poetess would be in the right; but let all the varieties of style, more or less at variance with good natural taste, which ruled during their fitful hour in the interim, be also taken in to account. And while we are on the sub-

ject of fashions, a subject on which the celebrated *Jeames* of the *Morning Post* is much better informed, let us reflect for a moment on the waste of God's time, the abuse of money, and the misapplication of talents, for which those rulers of the fashionable world must account one day, when the result of their labours is the adoption of expensive, immodest and unserviceable clothing by the myriads of foolish women, who have not the moral courage to refuse to bow down and worship the cruel idol, dress themselves according to the impulses of a natural good taste, and the ascertained principles of gracefulness and beauty in form. Would that the August Lady, who nominally governs the men and women of these islands, was absolute mistress in the article of female fashions, and then would we for a certainty be relieved of the sight of painful-looking foreheads from which the natural ornament of the hair is so tightly pulled away, from dustmen's fantails on the beautiful heads which they disfigure, and from those garments of which a hay-cock is the ungraceful type.

The women of London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, probably fancy that their "Great Diana of the Ephesians," resides in Paris; but people who are supposed to be better skilled in the mystic rites of that money-lavishing goddess, assert that she has her shrine on the banks of the "dark rolling Danube." And after all, what a flimsy and fragile rod of power she holds, if her slaves had even a shadow of moral courage or common sense! Were our Queen and a few influential ladies of her court, to return to a natural and graceful style of dress, and steadily persist in wearing it, for a reasonable time, the mode would by degrees shew its colours beyond the *Manche*, take Paris by assault, occupy the cities that behold their faces in the "winding Rhine," get possession of Munich, and drifting down the Danube, seize the trembling tyrant on her throne, and boldly free the fair mistress of Vienna and her equally fair court ladies from the iron hoops and other harness of her ponderous though fantastic car.

This may be said to be begging the question; but let us see what Englishmen have already done; and if Englishwomen will take a lesson from the books of their natural vassals for once, they will live to bless the happy inspiration.

Did John Bull in the matter of training his horses to execute steeple chases, races, and fox hunts, cross the water to learn how his Gallic neighbours went, or went not about these things?

Not a yard. He moulded his canine and equine amusements and pursuits after a model constructed in his own hard head, till they acquired a systematic and stable form (*no pun intended*) till they became in fact a national institution ; and now see the consequence. Your Parisian lion who must do violence to his own tastes and instincts, when he rides a race, risks his neck in a steeple-chase, pursues a reynard, or practises *le bore*, caricatures these exercises as well as he can, and works himself into a factitious enthusiasm about them, merely because he sees our islanders practise them with genuine eagerness and enjoyment.

A Parisian is associated in the minds of most of us with ideas of fickleness, frivolity, love of change in dress and customs, and every thing allied to unsteadiness. Let us examine with what reason. From the days of Racine and Corneille to the first appearance of *Hernani*, who were they that uniformly sat out, and seemed to enjoy the long-winded tirades, the no-action, and the unsuitable costume of the Classic drama ? The Parisian play-goers. Who for about a century and a half were satisfied to bury themselves, and their cares and their interest in passing events, in the tremendous romances (each 10 volumes folio) of the 17th century ? The French reading public. And in the matter of dancing, a recreation so intimately associated with a Parisian's enjoyment, the same stereotyped forms, are repeated from year to year. The ballet may be called the *Highland Sylph* or the *Apples of Atalanta*, but the same mode of flying on to the foot lights, the same nonsensical and ungraceful postures, the same twirls, and the same unintelligible language of arms and hands, will be strictly repeated still. Performers from the Bog of Allen, the coast of Bohemia, the country of the Cossacks, Andalusia, the Carse of Gowrie, or the Sands of Sahara, may come and obtain some cold applauses by the performance of their national dances ; but they vanish in time, and *Mons. Silvain*, who sometimes happens to be Jemmy Sullivan from Dingle, and who has been waiting round the side-wing, bounds forward, supports Mlle. *Frelebras* with the tip of one finger, as she winds her arms like the sails of a mill, twirls her empty head, and holds out one leg parallel to the earth's surface ; the claqueurs bring their horny palms together, and the stereotyped manœuvres and *pedœuvres* then witnessed for the thousandth time, put to flight all remembrance of Irish jigs, Scotch reels, Spanish boleros, and all the lively and joyous emotions connected with them.

A pleasing feature in the Fauborg St. Germain portion of Parisian society, one most worthy of imitation by ourselves, is the assembling of talented, titled and agreeable individuals for the purpose of social and intellectual entertainment among themselves at little expence, and with no obligation of lavish expenditure in entertainment or decorations. When invitations are distributed on this side of the water, thousands are expended on costly meats and wines, profusion of plate is ostentatiously paraded, apartments are transformed into leafy thickets, and lights innumerable are reflected from diamonds and pearls. Guests get a nod or bow from their negligent though anxious entertainers ; they are stewed in the high-born mob at a temperature of 85° ; they are crushed to a pan-cake in the progress to the supper room ; ices hiss on their parched tongues ; the bare necks and shoulders of ladies meet deadly chilling draughts as they rush forth in desperation ; and galloping consumptions shortly overtake them in the race of dissipation. They can only get comfort by railing at their entertainers ; and this is the recompense to these hapless heads of families, for heavy expense, for worry and anxiety, and for the temporary upsetting of all domestic comfort.

We may naturally look for a greater demand on the mental resources of a Parisian lady hostess from her select evening society, in the absence of such *agremens* as wait on the *social* reunion just described. Herself and her guests feel it a matter combining duty with pleasure to bring out all their stores of wit, fancy, and anecdote to entertain each other, and make the evening pass pleasantly ; and from this good intention and the natural sprightliness of their character, an electrical current of animation and satisfaction is diffused through the party. It is not unnatural to suppose that if the English and French matrons took pen in hand next morning, there might be seen in the comparison of their productions, an instance of the balance of gifts bestowed on the human kind. The one exhausted by the evening's efforts and excitement, producing only a cold lifeless sketch of what she has so much enjoyed ; the other having been a mere stewardess, and noter of what was going on, producing from her stores of comparison and observation, a living image of what is so vividly present to her own perception.

Thus, comparatively few actors have produced good works of fiction or acting plays, however intimately they may have felt and represented the various moving passions ; or few great

statesmen have written standard histories ; or great generals have left us enduring pictures of their campaigns. It is one thing to be interested in an animated, witty, or humorous conversation, and bear your part therein to the delight and admiration of the company, and another to present afterwards a lively counterpart of what took place ; so materially do the relations of the parties to each other, the temporary circumstances of place and time, and the characters and talents of the individuals present, contribute to the effect produced. In like manner, the grand or striking result of some chemical experiment depends on the presence, the proportion, the mode of combination, and the peculiar properties of many differing ingredients. Hence the great disproportion in number between those continental ladies who have been, or now are, perfect presiding goddesses of salons, and of those who may be cited among the standard writers of their age. The disproportion is also evident on our side the channels, but in an inverse ratio.

The lady cited at the head of our article, a close observer, and a most vivid delineator of the follies, fashions and manners of her day, a paragon of beauty and accomplishments, a perfect mistress in presiding over, and delighting a select reunion of talent, wit, and agreeability, and the author of successful dramas and novels, is no more. George Sand, like her German sister, the Countess Hahn Hahn, has resigned her perilous trade, and devoted the remains of her life to the service of her Creator ;* and of the really inspired women of genius living, we can quote few besides Mme. Charles Reybaud, Mme. Léonie D'Aunet, and Mlle. or Madame Marie Aycard, if the writer who bears the name is indeed of the gentler sex. Now omitting the female writers who have been called away in our own days, Miss Edgworth, Miss Ferrier, Mrs. Opie, Mrs. Inchbald, Miss Baillie, Miss Austen, Lady Blessington, Miss Brontë and sisters, L. E. L., the Misses Lee, the Misses Porter, Miss Mitford, Miss Pickering, and others for whom space should be found, there are still living and delighting our generation with their writings, Mrs. Burbury, Mme. Blaze de Bury, Miss Bunbury, Mrs. Crowe, Lady Dacre, Mrs. Ellis, Lady Fullarton, Mrs. Gore, Mrs. Gascoigne, Mrs. Grey, Mrs. Gaskill, Mrs. Hall, Mrs. Howitt, Miss Jewsbury, Miss Kavanagh, Lady Morgan, Mrs. Marsh, Miss Mulock, Mrs. Norton, Mrs. Oliphant, Lady Emily Ponsonby, Miss Pardoe, Lady Scott, Miss Sewell, Mrs. Smedley, Mrs. Stewart of Cork, Mrs. E. M. Stewart, the

* Such a report has prevailed here for some time at all events.

Baroness Tautphoeus, Mrs. Trollope, Miss Wallace, Miss Yonge, the authoresses of *Mount St. Laurence*, *The Flirt*, *Whitefriars*, *The School for Fathers*, *Kathie Brand*, *The Wreckers*, *Lady Granard's Nieces*, *The Henpecked Husband*, *The Lady of Glynne*, *The Old Chelsea Bun House*, *Tender and True*, and many others whose bead roll would be too long for the reader's patience.

As a large proportion of French works of fiction make their first appearance in the *Feuilleton* form, of the generally evil character of which no reader of the *Irish Quarterly Review* need be reminded, it may well be supposed that a French *Miss Mulock*, a French *Mrs. Hall*, or a French *Miss Edgeworth*, would feel loth to commit the pure offspring of their minds to the companionship of such vile associates as the *Arthurs* and the *Antonys* of Sue, Dumas, and Co. Even if they were inclined to run the risk, it is not likely that they would be welcomed by a public accustomed to the ranting, the indecency, and the convenient moral philosophy of the reckless or diverting vagabonds, to whom they have become habituated.

In the comparative scarcity of harmless works for the Gallic novel-reading public, it is pleasant to know that there is a variety of cheap, entertaining and useful books got out for the behoof of youthful readers in Paris, Tours, Cambrai, and other provincial cities, under the patronage of the Archbishops.

In our last two articles on French literature, Mirecourt's determined enmity to Emile de Girardin was slightly handled, and mention made of Mme. Girardin, and the esteem in which she was held by our critic. Since his biography was published, Parisian society and Parisian literature have been deprived of one of their fairest ornaments by death. Her biographer and admirer thus enters on his pleasing task.

"Do you recollect the wondrous tales of our infancy, where the fairies seated round a cradle, endowed the newly born princess with the rarest qualities of head and heart, and gave her in addition, fortune, worth, grace, and beauty?"

"Madame de Girardin had for godmothers every one of these beneficent fairies; she was born on the——"

"Ah, too curious reader! now we have you with mouth open, and ears cocked. Do you know what you resemble in thus ferreting out every one's age? you are the exact image of a Lord Mayor's valet or a president of the chamber. I am quite tired of your inquisitiveness.

"You are the sole cause of all the annoyances that beset us. Mlle. Dejazet will never forgive us, for blabbing her birth-day; Mme. George Sand has found our conduct so inexcusable that she has

added a year to her age to convict us of falsehood. Paul de Kock belches out fire and flames. He swears he is only thirty years old, and will furnish the proofs. Théophile Gautier enters his protest, and declares that he wrote *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, on his nurse's knees.

"Once for all we renounce the registry, and refuse to listen to its treacherous revelations. The age of a woman is written on her countenance, in her eyes, in her smile; and the smile, the eyes, and the countenance of Mme. de Girardin are just twenty-five years old.

"Before uniting her destiny to that of the too celebrated journalist whose biography has caused us such woes, our heroine was known by fame to the whole kingdom of France. The pure and delicious poems of Mlle. Delphine Gay fell from Parnassus in streams of sweetest honey. Daughter of a poetess, she was hushed to sleep with rhythm, and learned, while yet an infant, to make the lyre-chords vibrate in unison."

Delphine Gay, daughter of Sophie Gay, was born at Aix la Chapelle, and baptized (it is said) on the very tomb of Charlemagne. Her mother, who was a wit, a poetess, and a novelist into the bargain, and moreover, wife of the receiver-general of the district, indulged in some witticisms at the expense of the prefect one evening; the good things were repeated to the subject of them next morning; and it being a clear day, the telegraph brought the dismissal of her husband in the course of two hours. Women of talent are sometimes dear of purchase; the bon mots of Mme. Sophie Gay cost her family five thousand pounds yearly income.

The family all came to Paris, and their house was the centre of a galaxy of wits, actors, poets, and painters.

"They chatted, they laughed, they danced, they played; for the mother of our *tenth muse* was a *Cordon Bleu* in the science of colored pasteboard.

"Now and then when the cards were unpropitious, she dealt them in such haste to her friends, that they occasionally got a slap on the face from the Queen of Spades, or the King of Diamonds.

"The game being over they recited verses; and here our heroine obtained her first triumphs. She was applauded by all the celebrities of the day. Her early developed talents and unaffected grace rendered her the idol of her mother's circle. At fourteen years of age she was of the most radiant beauty. Her large mild eyes full of charm, her fair hair magnificent in its profusion, her large alabaster forehead, her little mouth, precious casket with its rows of pearls, her skin of milky whiteness, all combined to render her a prodigy of fascination."

In 1822 she sent her first essays in verse to the academy; and a pension of five hundred crowns was settled on her by Charles X. She went under her mother's guardianship into Italy, was conducted in triumph to the capitol like another

Corinne, and recited verses to an admiring and enthusiastic crowd. She refused a very advantageous match in order to be at liberty to return to Paris ; and was rewarded in part, by the applause and greeting of all that the city could muster of talent and high birth on the occasion of her recitation of some verses in the Panthéon, then just after being enriched by the frescoes of Baron Gros. "She might fancy herself for the moment queen of France."

"This epoch of her life was one long scene of delight, a poetic feast for each day and every hour of the day.

"At the commencement of 1830, the conquering charms of Delphine had harnessed to her chariot, more suitors than had beset poor Penelope in the days of old. This flight of turtle doves afflicted with its presence every saloon where the tenth muse made her appearance ; and when Summer came, the more adventurous took flight to the leafy shades of Villiers-sur-Orge, where Mme. Gay possessed a little country house. Almost all the poetical pieces of Delphine before her marriage, are dated from this retreat. She always loved the solitude and quiet of the country."

She became the wife of M. de Girardin in 1831 ; and according to this gentleman's implacable foe, Eugène de Mirecourt, her talent, which erewhile was signed with a stamp of naïve sensibility and seraphic candor, seemed at once to lose its distinctive characteristic, as if the dark influence of the journalist had fallen like a mantle over the muse, and the spotless dove had contracted some of the qualities of the vulture. About 1834 or 1835 she wrote *Le Lorgnon* and *La Canne de M. Balzac*. Her husband found fault with this mode of employing her time ; but the praise and the Louis-d'ors won by her labors, overpowered her conjugal fears ; and in a spirit of contradiction she published *Le Marquis de Pontanges* and *Marguerite*. Her present biographer insinuates that Emile, by virtue of his privileges as head of the family, insisted on the honest publisher paying into his (Emile's) own hand the price of these works, wishing thus to disgust her with her occupation, for she had not the pleasure of purchasing even a pincushion with the produce of her labours. The moral he draws from this circumstance is, that a man may be a successful speculator, cover the dead walls of Paris with advertisements in letters a yard long, turn every thing to profit, and still have a very middling knowledge of human nature.

"If it sometimes happens to Mde. de Girardin to shew herself slightly paradoxical, she makes up for the defect by a profound and

intuitive study of the character of her sex. How admirably she traces the likenesses of those coquettish, elegant, delicate, ethereal creatures, full of heart, of devotedness, of caresses, of affection! It would seem as if she looked into the depths of her own nature, to find woman in her most adorable expression, in her most perfect image.

"On the day when her husband was brought home wounded from Vincennes,* Mme. de Girardin, who had no previous suspicion of the rencontre, showed herself a brave woman. She forgot to faint, gave the necessary orders, had a surgeon at once on the spot, got straw laid down in the street, and never quitted the bed-side of her husband till the wound showed favourable symptoms."

Mons. de Girardin looked with a very unfriendly eye on the feuilleton commenced by his lady in his own paper *Le Presse* in 1836. Mirecourt attributes this to the over-weening value which he set on his own political lucubrations and his dislike of rivalry. He spoke out to her on the subject pretty plainly. She flung away her pen in consequence, but it was picked up by Dujarrier, his colleague, as often as it was thrown down, and put back between the fingers of the charming writer; and the *Lettres Parisiennes* of *Vicomte Launay*, continued to interest and delight the public from 1836 to 1848.

Mme. de Girardin began to write for the theatre in 1839. Her first piece *L'Ecole des Journalistes* was not allowed to be represented under the liberal rule of Louis Philippe. *Judith*, a tragedy in verse from the old Testament, was performed April 24, 1843; *Cléopâtre* in 1847. Her other pieces are *c'est la faute du Mari*, *Lady Tartuffe*, *La Joie fait Peur*, *Le chapeau de l'Horloger* and *Une Femme qui deteste son Mari*.

"At the *Gymnase*, *le Chapeau de l'Horloger*, a delicious burst of merriment in one act, proves that she possesses the gift of exciting laughter, as well as of drawing tears. Exquisite sensibility, comic power, wonderful delicacy of touch, perfect taste, these are the qualities sure to succeed at the theatre, and these Mme. Girardin possesses in perfection.

"One day her husband entered the room where she was sitting, holding by the hand a little boy just learning to walk. She looked at the infant, looked at Girardin, and comprehended the whole thing in a moment. 'I thank you for this mark of confidence,' said she; 'I will be a second mother to your son.'

"This promise she has religiously kept. Delphine herself directs the studies of this child of her adoption. He has never been from under her guardianship. She provides for him at home the neces-

* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. XXIX.

sary tutors. He is now fourteen years old, and as he has a taste for the riding school, she has purchased a horse for him from the proceeds of the '*Clockmaker's Hat*.'

"Their country house is at Chaillot, It is open every evening to her friends, and every evening it is filled with Parisian celebrities.

"She writes to a protracted hour in the night, and rises late. She is not fond of excursions. She keeps possession of her salon during the cold season, and in summer takes refuge in an Algerion tent, set up in the middle of the garden. There she composes her beautiful verses, there she receives her court, like an Eastern Queen, whose voice is listened to with religious respect, whose every desire is an order, and before whom the incense of loving homage is continually burning. * * She never appears sensible of her superiority to those around her ; and it would seem as if she had never made greater efforts to acquire her poetical or inventive powers, her wit, or her style, than she had to acquire her beauty.

"Like her mother, she occasionally gives way to some sharp jest ; but when she perceives the chagrin she has caused, there is in her excuses such an affectionate charm, and she is so anxious to pour balm into the wounds, that the victims are even grateful for the attack. * * * She neglects no one, she takes pains to be agreeable to all ; to children, to old men, even to women.

"She is determined that she shall be loved. She desires to be considered charming, and nothing is more easy than to obey her on this point, for she is certainly one of the most *spirituelle* and loveable women of her time.

"In fact we can discover in her only one small fault, and that is—her husband."

Théophile Gautier, in his biographical preface to the work under review, gives the dates of the birth, marriage, and death of Mme. de Girardin, thus achieving the adventure which so dismayed Mirecourt, according to his own confession.

Delphine Gay was born 6th *Pluviose*, An. xii (26th January 1804), was married 1st June, 1801, and died 29th June, 1855.

Gautier is still more enthusiastic in his praises of Mme. Girardin than Mirecourt. He was one of her circle of literary intimates, and his sketches a series of efforts, each to surpass the one before it in finding out stronger terms of praise and reverence for the memory of his lost patroness. According to him, she was seldom severe in language or roused to resentment, except when obliged to defend one of the literary pillars of her little court. We subjoin a characteristic trait.

"Despite her manly spirit, Mme. de Girardin was woman all over. She would have mounted the scaffold without paleness on her cheek, but she was afraid of the motion of a coach, and had not courage enough to cross the Boulevard on foot. We have seen her harangue with perfect coolness, and admirable eloquence, the rioters who came

to shout under her windows in 1849; yet she had like to swoon at the sight of a bat, which had entered by the open window, and was shuffling along the ceiling."

It may well be supposed that the newspaper quarrels of her husband, into which she was unwillingly drawn, had an evil influence on her health and spirits. They could not have been otherwise than irksome and injurious to one who seemed only adapted to live in the regions of poetry and the imagination. So the beautiful and gifted poetess quitted this too prosaic world, and Mons. Girardin seems to us to have made haste enough in filling her place with a rich Englishwoman.

The *Chevalier de Launay* saw his first feuilleton in print, 28th September, 1836: it begins characteristically:

"There has been nothing very extraordinary this week; merely a revolution in Portugal, the apparition of a republic in Spain, a nomination of ministers in Paris, a fall in the funds, a new ballet at the opera, and two capotes in white satin at the Tuilleries.

"The Portuguese affair had been foreseen, the spectral republic had been long settled, the ministry had been selected, the fall in the funds was a job, the new ballet had been announced any time for three weeks. So after all, the only novelty was the capotes in white satin; and even they would be no novelty only for being premature. And really the weather did not deserve the affront. Make a fire in a cold September if you please, that is but reasonable; but to wear satin before winter sets in is a crime against nature.

"They pretend that Paris is tiresome; we consider it most agreeable at this moment. You see no one of your acquaintance; the city is occupied by strangers. You feel at your ease, as on a journey. You see so many people admiring everything that you begin to admire them yourself. You have a population of gaping loungers whom it is a pleasure to behold; loungers from beyond the sea, from beyond the mountains, from beyond the Rhine: very probably there are in the crowd some even of Chateaubriand's loungers from *beyond the tomb*.

"Paris is renewed for a time; the worn-out are gone; the *ennuyés* have deserted; the air seems fresher, space freer. An *ennuyé* takes up so much room; his presence renders the atmosphere so heavy; he absorbs so much vital air when he sighs and when he yawns. Now the *ennuyé* is absent; he goes to the chace with the *ennuyeur*, who bores him with the recital of his hunting exploits; and both console themselves with abuse of Paris, which their absence has rendered endurable; and both remain in the country, thank goodness! the *ennuyé* and the *ennuyeur*."

* We have no nearer equivalents for these class names than the *tired* and the *tiresome*, the *bore* and the *bored*; but the reader will see the living objects themselves, the next dinner or evening party he attends.

“ The theatres have grown young, the public have grown young. It is not the hostile public, the tyrannous public to those he pays to amuse him, the public so easily vexed and so difficult to rouse ; it is not the old bellwether of the pit, who dares not smile for fear of having his absent teeth remarked, nor the aged coquette of the upper boxes, who dares not weep for fear of furrowing her rouge. It is a public, frank, joyous, and ready to be amused, critic and companion at once, who frankly helps you in your efforts to make it laugh, or cry ; a good sort of public, which is little fastidious provided it be amused ; in fact a public which believes in the existence of enjoyment. ”

“ Among our visitors are many Englishwomen, with their bonnets garnished with three rows of tulle, tulle faded and limp, tulle that has travelled and remembered its mischances, that still retains some of the Thames fog, that has been begrimed by the coal fires of London ; ungraceful ornament that forms a grizzled and dismal border to the face. These are Englishwomen of the third order, whom a cheap steamboat has flung on the continent in shoals. It is not yet the season for the Englishwomen with rosy cheeks and flowing ringlets, who come to teach our elegant women to be fresh looking and handsome ; and to change the Rue de la Paix into an avenue of Hyde Park. O beautiful daughters of the north ! in one small month you will be here, will you not ? to replace your unworthy forerunners and efface their images from our memories.

“ The English admire the statues in the Tuilleries ; but like ourselves they wonder at the little care taken of them. They say that the king who lays out so much on mutilating the orangery, might spare half of it to clean up his heathen gods. Phæusa (*sister of Phaeton*) is already so black that you cannot tell whether she has been changed into a negress or a poplar tree. Venus may have washed her feet within these thirty or forty years, but we have no certainty of the fact. As to Themistocles the Conqueror at Salamis, and Scipio Africanus, we will report them to the colonel of the National Guard ; their buff coats and belts are in the worst possible state. As to other matters, there are always white swans and gold fish in the basins ; children and childrens' hoops in the walks, the clock of the chateau is always up to time, and the flag is still the tri-color. All this is mere detail, but we wish to be truthful in matters of moment.

(19 Oct., 1836).—* * * A Parisian audience is the most despotic of tyrants in exacting flattery ; and the most favored painter will always be the man that draws the worst likeness of it. A French audience detests the true. What gives it delight are monstrosities of every description, monstrosities of virtue, monstrosities of crime. It will not do to depict human beings as they are, versatile and inconsequent. No, no : we must have beings perfect in goodness, or diabolically bad ; a notary who holds out as an angel during five acts, a duke who is the devil himself during the same space. And when, in the fifth act, the notary resumes the good work he has been doing during the four previous ones, the whole pit is agog with admiration. ‘ That’s he all over,’ it exclaims—‘ he is the same man still—he has

done that just now—he said so a little while since—his goodness is all of a piece. Virtuous notary! I recognise you there: perfect notary! you are the man for my money: bravo!” With the pit, dramatic truth is a false assumption enunciated in the first act, and supported to the end of the fifth.

“So it is with the *Marie* of *Mme. Ancelot*. Not that her character is a falsehood. We have known more than one woman whose life has been a long and pure sacrifice; but then this is still not an absolute verity. It is an exceptional verity, an immoral verity, seeing that it is deceptive; a fatal verity, as it disgusts you with the commonplace one; a sterile verity, as it delivers the soul to powerless reveries, to useless researches; a culpable verity, as it renders us unjust to the *quasi* virtuous people, among whom we live, and whom we despise when put in comparison with the perfect beings whom it paints; a verity servile, and flattering, and therefore the only verity admissible at the theatre, and the sole verity which the public will acknowledge.

“Oh how the virtuous journals cry out, ‘this is the edifying, the true comedy! here is no chartered criminal, no culpable or miserable wife of the modern school.’ And the good husbands contemplating *Mme. Forestier* sacrificing the love of *D’Arbeille* to the happiness of her spouse, exclaim, ‘how edifying!’ never suspecting the *D’Arbeilles* who are in their own box at the moment. These very *D’Arbeilles* themselves, at the sight of the constancy of their *type* to the same woman for seventeen years, add their quota of admiration: ‘How touching! Oh the true, the good comedy!’ How well *Mme. Ancelot* knows the foibles of the public! She looks on them as her personal friends, and administers the sweet draught of flattery in properly proportioned doses.

“Oh, poor old public! you must either have your *Neros* or your *Agrippinas*, not fearing comparison with these monsters; or your heroic notaries and magnanimous spouses, as you can appropriate their virtues to your own proper account.

“We have attacked the convenient TRUTH of the theatres; a word or two now on the truthfulness of the journals. Some days since, one of the most outspoken of our journalists, as witty as unsparing, met M. Vatout at the house of a young deputy, a friend of his. He did not know him personally though he had made him for a long time the butt of his sarcasms. The conversation was interesting, the questions important; and owing to a community of ideas, each felt impelled to give a frank utterance to his sentiments, so frank as to surprise himself. It was an interchange of thoughts and feelings in which men judge each other, not only by what they say, but even by what they do not care to speak on. After some time M. Vatout quitted the party. The door had hardly closed, when our editor exclaimed; ‘there is a man after my own heart; our very thoughts are identical; he is really a man of sound understanding, what’s his name?’ ‘That is Mons. Vatout.’ ‘M. Vatout on whom I have cracked so many

* The drama of *La Duchesse de la Vaubalière* furnishes matter for the above observations.

jests !' And then bursting out a-laughing, he naively remarked, 'well, well ; I could not have thought of it : he is not a bit like the portrait I have been so long making of him.' "

From the extract which follows Jules Janin was evidently good for something more than criticizing plays, he had not seen performed, and selling bushels of chaff with only a few grains of sense in each. Our authoress quotes him thus in her *Feuilleton* of Nov. 30th, 1836.

"M. Janin reproaches M. de Balzac for originating, 1st, the Comedy of Madame Ancelot, 2nd, the Drama of M. Ancelot, 3rd, the loves of all women of a certain age. This is hard enough. According to him, we owe to M. de Balzac the discovery of *la femme de quarante ans*. He calls him the Christopher Columbus of that too sensitive lady. 'The woman from thirty to forty years,' he says, 'was formerly an undiscovered land with regard to passion, that is, as far as the romance and the drama were concerned. But in our days, thanks to these fortunate discoveries, the woman of forty reigns supreme queen in romance and drama. This time the New World has suppressed the Ancient ; two score has triumphed over sixteen. 'Who knocks ?' growls out the Drama in his rough tones : 'Who is there ?' asks the Romance with squeaking voice. 'It is I,' answers trembling 'sixteen' with pearly teeth, snowy bosom, graceful form, innocent smile, and sweet countenance. 'It is I. I am of the same age with the *Junia* of Racine, the *Desdemona* of Shakespeare, the *Agnes* of Molière, the *Zara* of Voltaire, the *Virginia* of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. I enjoy the enchanted and fleeting age of all the young virgins of Ariosto, of Lesage, of Lord Byron, and of Walter Scott. I am hopeful and innocent youth ; I cast into the future a glance as pure and beautiful as the heaven itself. I possess the age of *Cymodoce* and of *Atala*, the age of *Eucharis* and *Climena*, the age of chaste attachments, of noble instincts, the age of modesty and of innocence : let me in Monsieur.' Thus speaks sweet sixteen to the romance writers and dramaturgists ; And those romancers and dramaturgists answer : 'We are now occupied with your mamma, my child : look in on us in about twenty years, and we'll see what we can do for you.'

"But what can M. Balzac do ? Is it his fault, if thirty happens to be the age of love in the present day ? M. Balzac is obliged to paint the passion where he finds it, and for a certainty you will discover no girl of sixteen a victim to her sensibility in these latter times. Formerly a young girl eloped with a *mousquetaire*, or she escaped over the walls of a convent with the aid of a rope ladder ; and so the romances of the day were filled with *mousquetaires*, convents, rope ladders, and elopements. *Julia* loved *Saint-Preux* at eighteen ; at twenty-two she espoused *M. Volmar* in obedience to orders. It was the spirit of the age. At sixteen the heart began to speak ; but now it takes a much longer time to soften. If *Julia* were now alive, she would espouse *M. Volmar* at eighteen through ambition, and at twenty-five, awaking from her illusion, she would elope with *Saint-*

Preux. Talk of the old writers! they painted their epoch; let M. Balzac paint ours. ‘Racine’s *Junia*’ you say! In 1835 she would marry *Nero* without scruple to become empress; *Virginia* would desert *Paul* to wed *M. Lasourdonnaie*; *Atala* herself would prefer the *Pere Aubry* to the handsome *Chactas*, only the good old father had made a vow of poverty. The women who now-a-days set the world talking of them, commence by an advantageous match; they must be countesses, marchionesses, and duchesses. It is only after finding out the vanities of vanity that they decide on love. Even some return to the past, and at twenty-eight or thirty, devote themselves to the youth whom they had rejected at seventeen. M. Balzac is then quite right in painting the passion where he finds it, though it be born out of time: M. Janin is equally right in saying that all this is very tiresome. But if it is wearying to romance readers, how dismal is it for young men who dream of love, and find themselves reduced to exclaim, ‘oh how I love her! how beautiful she must have been!’

The following may seem too highly charged; but as we paint the French character in tints where the frivolous is too prevalent, they on the other side may give us a more earnest and decided character than we strictly deserve.

(Dec. 15, 1836)—“In general the most trifling actions of an English woman are the result of a fixed determination. They know nothing of the impulses, the nonchalance, or the vivacity of a French woman. They never do one thing rather than another through indifference; everything is the result of a decision, even their manner of walking, conversing, loving, or praying. They do not desire a thing, they will it. They don’t walk; they march, because they have fixed on marching; they go straight—to nothing; they set out to proceed, no where in particular. No matter: they have decided; they will arrive at some place or other, and their very mode of walking seems to say, I will certainly go no place else. They possess interior laws which rule their conduct; they have an interior judge which promptly decides everything without appeal. With them everything is pre-determined; everything is the natural consequence of a previous arrangement, an effort, a preparation as it were for a journey; they *embark* for every object. This is perhaps the consequence of their occupying an isle out of which they cannot stray by chance or inattention; which they cannot quit without a certain degree of resolution. This resolute spirit, which is so devoid of grace when applied to the light and indifferent concerns of life, is of great efficacy when directed to matters of importance.

These observations are made apropos to a certain managing *Mme. de Flahault*, with whom we were made acquainted for the first time.

(Jan. 6, 1838)—“Among the number of fetes, we must not forget a very fine and original one given some days since to all the female models of Paris in the atelier of one of our most celebrated painters. The women invited were all beautiful, but their general style of dress

was not such as might naturally be looked for. All (with very few exceptions) wore gowns fitting close to the neck, and very long in the sleeve. Did this arise from calculation or modesty? or were they unwilling to give a gratuitous sitting, and fare off like the benevolent giant who amused us so much a few years ago? We went one day to visit a cabinet of curiosities. The Savant who owned it, lived on the first floor, right hand, but we mistook and rang the bell on the left. A man of formidable size opened the door. 'Are these, Mr. So-and-so's rooms?' we enquired. 'He lives opposite,' said he; 'this is the exhibition room of the 'Giant of the North.' 'Beg your pardon, sir,' said a wag of our party; 'are you not the Giant of the North yourself?' 'Yes, Monsieur, I am the person; and if you please to enter, you may see for two francs'—'I will see the giant, whom I have the pleasure of seeing here for nothing. I am much obliged, sir; but listen to the counsel of a friend. If you wish that curious people should pay two francs for a sight, it is scarcely prudent on your part to open the door in person.' 'You are quite right, sir, I am sure,' said the giant: 'it certainly might do me an injury. I never thought of it before.'"

After a paper in which praise was unsparingly administered to several individuals, Delphine utters her peculiar theory on the subject of praise and blame: it may be easily seen that the paradox had great attraction for her.

"Here is a feuilleton which will make many enemies for us; much more than the last, which was somewhat satirical. An epigram annoys no one but the person at whom it is launched. It diverts his friends who know better than any one, his defects and whims, and it gives joy to all his enemies. An eulogium on the contrary, has fewer chances; it sometimes offends the eulogised party, it displeases his envious friends, and irritates his enemies. Praise well merited and administered is never forgiven. We have never forgotten the saying of an old courtier—'I am now seventy-eight; and have arrived at that advanced age without ever having made a single enemy.' 'You have never been successful then.' 'On the contrary I have been very successful.' 'Probably no one has loved you?' 'I have been sincerely loved.' 'Well then what is your receipt?' 'I have never pronounced an eulogium on any one.'"

Mme. de Girardin has forgotten to take into account the active measures occasionally taken by the subject of the epigram for the injury of his assailant, and what small benefit he receives from the enjoyers of the ill-natured joke.

In sparing some space for the following passage on Wilhem's mode of teaching music, we beg to confess that we would rather listen to the cawing of rooks, the rumbling of carts along the streets, or the voluntaries performed by cats on the roofs of back houses on summer nights, than be obliged to lend ear to

the established pieces which used before now to be ground out by the orchestra, T. R. D., when there happened to be a "delay of the House," and when, instead of killing time as directed, the wearied performers mistook the victim, and flayed the ears of the audience instead.

March 3, 1839,)—"Strange country! this of ours, where the evil principle is all-powerful, and the good languishes unvalued; where venomous plants come to perfection in a day, and where salutary ones take years before they flower; where the lie is provided with wings, and the truth crawls on in silence; where calumny blows its breath through twenty trumpets, and deserved praise finds no echo. * * Strange country! where if an absurd melo-drama is represented at the *Gaité*, the *Ambigu-Comique*, or the *Porte Saint Martin*, twenty feuilletons vie in giving a critical account of its performance; but let an instructive work, the fruit of long studies, be issued by a publisher, who is not at the same time a charlatan, and not a journal will speak of it. Let a too confiding Englishman have his pocket picked of his handkerchief or his watch, coming out of the theatre; all the journals in Paris will resound with the signal event next day, and the remarkable fact will be repeated in all the provincial gazettes. But let a useful institution be founded, and a really interesting meeting be held, all will preserve the most perfect silence. Ourselves, ever on the look out for the developement of noble designs, have had little idea of one of the most admirable institutions of our epoch. * * We speak of the popular concerts given by Wilhem at the Sorbonne. We wonder much that our great composers have not availed themselves of these new treasures of harmony—A chorus of four hundred artificers and labourers of all ages from six to fifty. Endeavour to comprehend the effect of these combined voices, infantine, adolescent, brilliant, and young, of voices strong and grave, rival voices, which, by a miracle of combination, form one only voice. Four hundred persons in fine who sung in unison, and with a precision, an intelligence, and a musical taste which you will not find in the chorus of any theatre. We have heard more than once the beautiful prayer in the *Muette de Portici* at the opera, where no doubt it is very well executed; but it is nothing in comparison with a similar prayer, chaunted by our four hundred working people. We have heard in Germany the much be-praised choruses, and at Rome, the *Miserere* of the Sistine Chapel; and we declare that the vivid and profound impression made on us by these solemnities has been surpassed by the powerful emotion excited at the last concert of the Sorbonne by the chaunt of these poor working people. These new accords, these harmonious prayers, wafted us far away from this prosaic world; we seemed to hear celestial symphonies, the fraternal choirs of angels and cherubim. But the angels after all were only cabinet makers, journeymen printers, and working jewellers; and among the cherubim we discovered an odd Negro with puffed-out cheeks, beating the measure with his ebony fingers. The seraphic vision vanished, but admiration of real philanthropy remained with us entire; and frivolous observer though we be, we made the following reflections. While the 'Vir-

tuous friends of the people preach revolt, sloth, and pride, in the name of liberty, the '*infamous oppressors of the people*' render it a moral people by religion and the arts, and confer on it the only real independence of the honest man, that which he acquires by labor. While the '*friends of the people*' summon it to the public assemblies, or seduce it into taverns to entertain it about its sovereignty, its '*infamous oppressors*' open for it, churches, hospitals, workshops, and schools, to teach it the greatness and goodness of God, and the wonders of civilization. Its friends teach it to vote and to govern, its oppressors first of all, teach it to read and write. Ah, may this double system of instruction soon teach it to hold at their real value the ambitious tenderness of its pretended friends, the paternal authority of its pretended oppressors."^{*}

The following simple account of a robbery may not seem worth relating; but as it is rather out of the regular line of the doings of housebreakers, it may present something novel to the admirers of *Oliver Twist*, *Jack Sheppard*, and *Robert Macaire in England*.†

(Dec. 29. 1836) * * * "This young gentleman left home at half-past four to pay a visit or two. Simple was his dress; it was Sunday, and your man of fashion dreads above all, to appear on that day as if he had got on his Sunday clothes. Besides, our young fashionable was to dine with a relative, and no one beautifies himself when he expects to meet only his cousins. Before presenting himself at his aunt's, Rue-du-Fauborg St. Honoré, he looked in on the Duchess* and there learned to his great dismay, that the dinner was to be superb, nearly diplomatic, followed by a grand concert. The aunt had neglected to apprise her nephew. 'Oh my hard fortune!' cried the Elegant, looking at his boots. He shortened his visit, and betook himself back in all haste. But he is on foot; his horses have been in the morning in the Bois de Boulogne, and his coachman and valet have got leave to spend the evening abroad. Oh horror! the valet has the key, and every thing is locked up. He hurries, he arrives at home, he breathes again. All the doors are open, but the presses are open also: they are as empty as they can be. He looks round, he rushes into the salon, he sees on the table a parcel badly tied, and recognises his favorite waistcoat, the very one he was going to put on. He hastily enters his bed chamber. Oh, death and fury! a robber is forcing his desk. 'Infamous thief,' cries he, and flings himself on the villain, seizes him by the throat, and is on the point of strangling him. But the thief immediately—guess—'seizes a poignard, and plunges it into the heart of his adversary!' 'No.' 'He

* Those extracts dated Jan. 6. 1838, and March 2, 1839, are inadvertently misplaced.

† The adaptor of *Robert Macaire* is not much accustomed to such society as those to whom he is here introduced. The similar spirit of parts of the three works quoted is the cause of the anomaly.

flings him on the floor and takes to flight!" "No." "Well what does he at all?" He faints away in the arms of his victim, who finds himself obliged to bestow the most tender cares on him. The same victim carries the malefactor to a sofa, and searches for his smelling bottle to bring him to himself again. But the victim cannot find his smelling bottle, beautiful little utensil, as beautiful as crystal and refined gold can render it. Happily it came into his head to look for it in the pocket of his despoiler, and there indeed it was. The victim aids the malefactor to recover his senses; but scarcely has the ruffian opened his eyes than he beholds his crime in all its horror. He falls into the most frightful despair. His victim comforts and consoles him. "Ah Monsieur," says he, sobbing, "it is the first thing of the kind I have attempted. What a frightful thing is theft! Catch me at it again." He was a young locksmith whom vicious company had nearly corrupted. So our gentleman could not think of giving him up to justice. But the swoon had held an hour, and it was too late to dress for dinner. So he came and joined us at the Café de Paris, and related this adventure, in which, as in most romances of the day, the chief interest is centered in the rascal."

Our fair writer had a sneaking kindness for *les Anglais et les Anglaises*, but that never prevented her from *Joe-Millering* them at times. In the feuilleton of 5th January, 1837, which she devoted to new year's gifts and anecdotes, she tells a sad story of a brave young Scotch girl, *Suzanna* by name, who was insensible to frights or terrors. So on the eve of her intended marriage, her foolish bridesmaids determined they would try her nerves. They borrowed a skeleton from a medical student, and laid it, carefully enveloped in a night-shirt, in poor *Suzanna's* bed, wishing her, "*Good night, Suzanna: good night, my dear; good night.*" It is not to the taste of our nerves to tell a horrible story in detail, but they find the poor bride a maniac next morning. May the mere mention of this, which is probably a real fact, extinguish a taste for practical jokes in some stray reader or another.

"The English excel in the art of simplifying things. While we lose our time and words saying to every one '*Bonjour: Je vous Souhaite une bonne année*, an English friend of ours made a wonder of brevity and neatness out of the formula. He went about saying to every one he met, '*Bon jour de l'an*,' an abbreviation as happy as *Dick* and *Bill* for *Richard* and *William*.

This Englishman recalls to our minds another of his countrymen not less ingenious. He attended a representation of *le Comte Ory*, and by a happy chance previously unknown in the *fasti* of his country, he succeeded in retaining the supper air, '*C'est Charmant, C'est divin.*' Yes: he caught it in his Britannic ears, and retained it, and, into the bargain, hummed it very agreeably between his Britannic teeth. Delighted with his musical acquisition, he was a little mis-

trustful of his memory, and prudently made a knot on his handkerchief. 'Why this knot?' enquired a friend. 'Tis for fear I should forget this charming little air, which I have acquired with so much trouble' We are thoroughly confident of this man's being a good husband and a good father."

Mme. de Girardin, as may be supposed, did not dance, *galop*, we should have said, at Musard's wild assemblies; so she invested her *double-ganger* in male attire, bade him answer to the name of *De Launy*, and sent him to inspect the doings of that hall of frenzy.

(Jan. 11, 1857,.)—"As to the quarter of central Paris, it neither vales nor dances, it neither leaps nor falls: it turns, it rolls, it tumbles, it rushes, it throws itself forward, it plunges headlong, it twirls round, it charges like a serried file of soldiers, it envelopes you as a whirlwind, it drags you down with it like an avalanche, it sweeps you away like the simoon. Hell is unchained, the devils are out on leave, it is Charenton (*the French bedlam*) enjoying a holiday, it is the *Wandering Jew* driven on his everlasting tour, it is *Mazeppa* launched on his wild horse, it is *Leonora* carried off by her church-yard lover through forests, rocks, and deserts, and not stopping till she comes to the door of death. It is a phantasm, it is a fever-fit, it is the nightmare, it is the *sabat*; finally it is the terrible pleasure which is called the *galop* of Musard. The masked balls of the Rue Saint Honoré are conducted as on last year. Our mourning has prevented us from seeing them, but we may repeat what is told us. The quadrille of the *Huguenots* has a wonderful effect; nothing can be more fantastic. The lights of the hall become dim, and a ruddy glow succeeds, to give the idea of a conflagration: and then what a strange spectacle is presented by these joyous faces, these disguises of all colors and every degree of gaiety, seen by the baleful death-fires! All these uproarious phantoms, demons of joy and folly, separate in columns, rush forward in torrents; and the masses turn, roll, advance, press and push each other, knock against each other, recoil, return, pass, repass, still, still, still, and never cease; and the tocsin sounds, the drum beats, and the orchestra is relentless. It quickens the measure, gives no time for breathing, and the firing and slaying in the streets is perfectly imitated. They hear the cries, the laments, the laughter; it is civil war without mistake; it is an undoubted massacre; the illusion is complete. You see that we always strain after amusement in Paris. Some amuse themselves sadly, others pompously, others without affectation, every one after a fashion; but everyone is amused, except those who are tired of striving to amuse themselves."

Looking back on our youth we strive to recal once more the

* It is probable that this anecdote as applied to a *Paddy*, first saw the light in that most melancholy collection, *Joe Miller's jest book*. Not having read a page in it for a score of years, we will not be positive.

impulses, and taste for amusement peculiar to that period of life, and to fancy what would be our sensations looking on such a spectacle. But we cannot imagine any other effect it could have, than giving a lively idea of Hell. The performers listening to cries of agony, and pursuing the mad measure at the same time, remind us of one of the quaint apologues in *The Difference between Temporal and Eternal*. A man pursued by a fiery dragon through an Arabian desert, takes refuge in a tree; but as he is beginning to rejoice in his escape, he looks down, and beholds a black and white rat* gnawing at the roots, which are already half out away. He next beholds the pursuer taking his seat in the shadow of the tree, and practising the muscles of his jaws to open freely, when the victim is about to tumble. He is very much dismayed as may be supposed, and is calculating the length of time the rats will require to finish their awful task, when he chances to espy some drops of honey glistening on the leaves within his reach. He forgets rats, time, dragon, and all, and begins to taste and enjoy his short-lived pleasure with the greatest relish.

(Jan. 26, 1837,)—"Except the cholic recently imported from London there is no news worth relating: but as the absence of news is no excuse for a failure in conversation, when none come to hand, we invent. A false report in Paris can count on eight days of existence; not indeed a satisfactory or general one, for it is already dead in the quarter where it first saw life, while it is flourishing in the one appointed for its death. But it is never thoroughly extinguished till the eighth day, and there is no manner of risk in giving birth to a report that is sure of eight days of life. This year we are able to invent nothing but deaths, even the death of poor Musard whom they have killed, as a last resource to keep conversation at par. A proof of the immensity of our city is, the tremendous exertions you must make to persuade your acquaintance that you did not die at all. Some are so obstinate that they prefer your having come to life again after a fair and regular departure into the land of shadows.

"Oh! Paris is a great city for fertile imaginations. They are very badly off in the provinces in this respect; they are obliged to order their news from the city, along with their caps, ribbons, and fowling pieces. You may say Mr. 'Such a One' is dead; in five minutes he will be seen promenading in the market place, and all the salt is taken out of the joke. * * * You do not sing when you have no voice; why then need you talk when you have got nothing to say? Ah! it is because in France we must keep up conversation

* The rats represent day and night, the regular lapse of which exhaust our being; the dragon is of course the devil.

at any price. A causerie that languishes is a punishment, a disgrace to the lady of the house ; she must rouse it at any hazard ; in such a crisis everything is lawful. She will even betray her own secrets ; and if she has none, she will closely question you as to yours. She will invent falsehoods about the lady who was leaving the salon when you entered ; but then, only think of the imminent danger of the talk coming to an end ! I knew a lady who not content with her domestic success, felt it her duty to keep up at scandal heat, the conversation through the city. Her daughter, lately a bride, gave her but little assistance, for she was both truthful and modest. One day after a visit in which she had not opened her mouth, she was scolded by her mamma for her silence. ‘But mamma, I have nothing to say.’ ‘No matter ; invent something. Say that your voiture was locked by an omnibus ; or that you saw some one arrested in the street ; that two men were fighting, that a superb funeral had just passed, that your shawl was stolen, in fact anything you please ; but talk at all events, or I will not bring you out with me again.’ A bride of sixteen who is not in love with her husband, and is scolded by her mother, is easily made cry ; so she cried plentifully. The next visit they paid, the young lady was in trouble, for no one had passed out as they entered, and it was a fine sunshiny day. ‘How pale you are ! my dear Valentine,’ said the Baroness. ‘Are you ill ?’ Mamma cast a furious look on the unhappy young lady, as much as to say, ‘why don’t you speak, you helpless creature ?’ The poor child began to recall the late lesson, and stammered out, ‘no, madam ; but I was very much frightened just now : we were jammed in by an omnibus.’ The mother triumphed ; her daughter would do after a few lessons. ‘It fastened on us, just as we were crossing the *Pont des Artes*.’ ‘The *Pont des Artes* ?’ said the Baroness. ‘She means the *Pont Louis XIV.*,’ cried mamma ; and she detailed with supreme presence of mind all the circumstances of the incident.

“The Baroness was appeased, and the conversation continued. ‘You have a very fine shawl, my dear Valentine.’ She was silent, but at a terrible side glance of her teacher, she received inspiration. ‘Oh ! I lately had a much finer one, but they stole it from me.’ ‘Stole it !’ cried the Baroness : ‘that can’t be allowed ; we must recover it. The Prefect of police is my friend ; I will write to him on the instant.’ ‘Oh ! pray madam, do not take the trouble : it is of no consequence.’ ‘No consequence, a shawl of that value !’ ‘Oh, she means that her husband has already taken all the steps necessary ;’ the conversation took another turn, and Valentine fell into one of her reveries. ‘Truly,’ said the mother, ‘these clubs have unsettled society altogether : no witty or pleasant conversation now at all. The gentlemen spend their mornings, playing and smoking, and their evenings, drinking : I pity the young wives of the present day, their lives must be very unhappy.’ ‘Ah !’ said the Baroness, ‘I do not think Valentine is of your opinion : she, at all events has no complaints to make against the clubs.’ Valentine made no answer ; she had not heard a word. ‘Why do you not speak ?’ said her mother. ‘Perhaps she does not know what a club is.’ Feeling herself obliged to speak, she answered, ‘oh, yes, madam ; I have often heard of the *jockey’s club*.’

There is a report of a quarrel that took place there yesterday, that will probably have a disagreeable termination.' 'A quarrel arising from play?' asked the Baroness in great anxiety. 'Yes Madam.' 'Have they mentioned the names of the players?' 'M. de H—— I believe.' A furious look from the mamma, but misinterpreted by the poor novice. 'Oh! yes indeed, Madam; M. de H—— was one of the gentlemen.' 'Oh heavens!' cried the Baroness, 'is it so?' and rushing towards the fire-place to seize the bell cord, she fainted outright.

"Valentine understood nothing of this. She had named M. de H—— knowing him to be the hero of the club, not suspecting him to be the Baroness's hero also. She had not heard from him for two days, but attributed his absence to a lover's quarrel that had taken place. She was now in a pitiable state, and the visitors soon withdrew.

"'Truly,' said the mother to the culprit, 'you are a downright fool, to go name M. de H—— to the Baroness.' 'But, mamma, how could I have guessed?' 'Don't speak; people in the world should know everything, and to say that you did not care about the loss of the shawl.' 'She said she was going to write to the prefect.' 'You little stupid, it was only a piece of politeness. And then the *Pont des Artes* where voitures never pass; it is absurd.' 'You see, mamma,' said the poor child, 'that it is better for me not to say anything.' 'That's the very thing I wish you to do.'

"And that's the very advice we wish to give to all spreaders of false reports, and to those who kill their friends, calumniate their enemies, and disturb their loves, to keep conversation alive. To these we say, 'better hold your tongues.' The English, the genuine English, at all events, visit each other for the pleasure of being together. They do not consider themselves under the necessity of blabbing for an hour to convince you of their presence. The Spaniards smoke, and are silent. The Germans meet in order to indulge in reverie. The Orientals find their chief happiness in uninterrupted silence. They do not open their mouths even to give an order. However, we find we are talking of nothings, because we have nothing else very particular to talk about. So let our ideas benefit our readers even though it be at our own expense."

Theodore Hook, tells in one of his 'Sayings and Doings,' of English ladies who scarcely ate anything in company, but indemnified themselves in the privacy of their own apartments; N. P. Willis tells tales on a sentimental young German lady, of most refined and ethereal (literary) taste, how when safe from observation she fell on chops, beer, saurcraut, and other rough comestibles like any bricklayer; Mme. de Girardin gives us to understand that fine Parisian belles are either too hungry or too sincere to practise such deception. Her paper on the subject appeared 8th March, 1837, and we learn from it that Parisian fashionables were not much devoted even at that

Lenten time to excessive mortification of the flesh. We are not much surprised, for even in this city of ours, a *few* philosophical Catholics (for health's sake of course) are obliged to eat meat on Fridays; and if the full truth was known, envy their Protestant fellow citizens their peculiar privileges in the matters of fast and abstinence.

"The lent is particularly brilliant; it rivals the carnival, frightful to say. They dance with the ardor they should devote to their prayers, and they certainly do not fast. If you were to behold our elegant young nymphs at ball suppers, you would have little faith in their pious privations. Neither could you comprehend how meagre our young ladies contrive to be. Really when you have assisted at one of these suppers, and seen these sylph-like beauties at work, when your eye has weighed and measured all they have swallowed in ham, pies, fowl, wild and tame, and cakes of all denominations, you have full right to insist on their arms being plumper, and their scapulæ less developed. Poor sylphs! they must have much bitter grief to devour at home, to counteract the good results of these rich repasts. A man of wit has said, 'that women are not aware of the injury they do themselves by eating;' and he was right. Nothing can be more disenchanting, than to see a beautiful and richly dressed woman seriously employed at table. Appetite is not allowable to a lady, except on a journey. At entertainments they may take an ice, a fruit, or a bit of tempting confectionary; but feminine beauty should have association with nothing more earthly than perfumes, fruits, and flowers.

"April 12, 1837. The ball given for the relief of the indigent English has been thoroughly successful. Oh! how we love a costume ball! Beautiful women are there still more beautiful under a new aspect, and the ugly, whom a brilliant imagination has enticed thither, have their value as foils. The English ladies are wonderfully original in their style of dress. If we admire the British beauties with bitterness and envy, we hail with delight the fantastically attired beauties of another sort, which it pleases *Perfidæ Albion* to send us; and we say to her double glory, that if the modern Venus, that is, Beauty herself, has arisen from the clear British Channel, the other goddess, whom it is not ours to name, has scrambled up from a muddy pool of the Thames. In fact, we recognise in our neighbours beyond sea, the double supremacy of furnishing us, women the most beautiful, and women the most remarkable for the opposite quality. The English never do things by halves; they are handsome to perfection, or they push ugliness to deformity, and then they cease to be women. They are fossil beings unknown at the creation, whose species infinitely varied, admit of no classification. One resembles an aged fowl, another a superannuated steed, this a young donkey, many resemble dromedaries, and some the hirsute bison. Quietly seated in a salon, and appropriately dressed, they are honestly ill-favored, and no one thinks more about it; but in a

costume ball when these strange figures are dressed, and bedizened, in brisk spirits, highly rouged, with shapes and motions in high relief, and their peculiar graces striking so strongly on the senses, they produce a tremendous effect. If you had seen the other evening, these fantastic personages wandering about in the *Salle Ventadour* with seven or eight feathers on each head, blue, red, and black, peacocks' feathers, cocks' feathers, feathers of every kind—if you had witnessed the pride and self-confidence of those phantoms, and the self-satisfied looks thrown on the mirrors as they passed, and the hand adjusting some enchanting neglect in the dress, and the ringlet carefully drawn over the nose, which it obstinately refused to protect, and the yellow or copper-colored slipper bordered with red or blue, advanced or retired with so much grace, and the thousand little ornaments, all surprised at their unexpected meeting, you would say 'a *bal costumé* is very amusing indeed.' Ah! if ever any one asks you to visit such an assemblage for a louis, hand it out at once; you could not turn your money to better account."

The Princess Helena (*Duchess of Orleans*) arrived in Paris early in June, 1837. Contrast the animation and excitement of her reception with after events—the violent death of her husband, the reverses of 1848, and the subsequent exile of herself and her adopted family. Ponder the subject well, and it will be equivalent to the careful reading of a chapter in "*Think well on't.*"

June 7, 1837. "The garden of the Tuilleries was splendidly beautiful last Sunday: it was beautified by the sky, the king, by the people, and by the season. What a spectacle at once smiling and majestic! O people of the province, who have not seen the picture, go hang yourselves at once, you will not see it again, the canvas is destroyed. Figure to yourselves what no Parisian ever saw before on the same day—the sky, blue—the trees, verdant—the people, clean, a crowd joyous and well dressed, enjoying the perfume of the lilacs in flower. Have you ever seen all these together? In Paris when the sky is blue, the trees are ash-colored—devoured by the dust. The trees are never green but after rain, and then the people are wet and splashed with mud.

"See how beautiful the prospect is from this spot!—The great avenue of the garden, on the right three ranks of the National Guards, on the left the same number of the troops of the line, behind them the crowd, a crowd elegant and resplendent in all the hues of the rainbow, and before us a pond with its jet d'eau glittering in the sun. Behind this you see the obelisk, and beyond that again, the triumphal arch: then for a frame to the picture, the two terraces covered with people, and the large trees meeting the eye in every direction. Look down and admire these parterres, these countless tufts of lilac all in flower the same day. What perfume! what a lovely day! But hist! here's a courier—the cortege is coming. A postillion gallops on, covered with dust; shortly after, a

poodle at full gallop—laughter and lengthened hilarity. At a short interval hies on a pug dog in extreme trouble : he has strayed, or is perhaps for ever lost ;—prolonged amusement. These avant-couriers infused patience into the crowd. A needle-woman in mob cap gave a push to an elegantly dressed old lady. ‘Let me see the princess ; you will have opportunity enough to see her at court, you ladies.’ The lady looked down distainfully on the woman, and said to her daughter, ‘little the good woman knows that she is more likely to go to court than we.’ ‘Without doubt,’ said the young heiress, ‘let her marry a grocer and she is certain of becoming a great lady.’ We guessed by this dialogue that some legitimists had come to see the procession.

“At length this princess, about whom we have talked so much for two months, is with us. * * Her arrival in France has been the very reverse of an illusion. At a distance an error looks well, but as we approach the charm vanishes ; here it was different. While the princess was at home, every one said, ‘she is frightful, she is thin, she is without grace, she has nasty red hair, a big German foot, a bony hand ; her eyes are small, her mouth large, she is as ugly as Mme This or Mlle. That ; and they mentioned two of the most disagreeable women in Paris. The princess set out, and after a day or two, they commenced to speak more favorably, ‘Her hair was not exactly red, it was fair with a tinge of that color through it. She was ugly, but it was ugliness not destitute of distinction.’ She arrived at the frontier ; ‘there was not the slightest approach to foxiness in her hair now, it was a clear chestnut hue ; her foot was small, for a German foot to wit,—‘she was *not* ugly.’ She got as far as Metz : ‘her physiognomy is more gracious ; her appearance is really noble.’ At Melun, ‘she would make a delightful picture ; she has a charming foot, a lovely hand.’ At Fontainebleau, ‘on my word she is a most agreeable looking lady.’ Finally at Paris ‘she is a beautiful woman ;’ and if the journey held for two leagues more, she would be the most beautiful woman in the world. See how we have been deceived. The princess is not a decidedly beautiful woman, but she is a pretty *Parisienne* in all the rigor of the expression, a woman such as we readily love, we who look for beauty in a gracious expression of the face, and in a shape defined by graceful lines.

“Welcome, Madam, to our country, to our hospitable land ! For two months our knights have proclaimed with loud voice, that you were a prodigy of ugliness : pardon them we pray ; it was a lie. Our deputies have chattered about your income as if they were hiring a cook :—this is the result of liberal ideas. Our journals have abused you in epigrams without salt or point :—it is party spirit, it is French spirit ; pardon them also.

“You saw that evening, your new family filled with joy ; and indeed not without reason. Your father-in-law, the king, passed through a crowd that day, the first time for two years, without hearing a shot. It was wonderful, himself was astonished. Not a cloud in the sky, not an assassin on the earth ! All this was owing to your fair presence ; but how sad the life of which such as these are the happy days ! You are a courageous woman, for you come to find in

France the disenchantment of all your ideas. A daughter of Germany, you believe in royalty; and with us, royalty is no more. Romantic girl, you trust in the respect inspired by woman's dignity; woman here has lost her prestige, her weakness is no longer a thing to be respected; she is insulted as if she could avenge herself. You, the pupil of the Teutonic Homer, nourished by him on the ambrosia of poetic fiction, you believe in poetry, and we have none. Ask the echos of the palace, they will tell you that French words do not rhyme. Ask your august parents what has become of our great poets: speak of Chateaubriand, they will tell you he is a legitimist, their most redoubtable enemy. Mention Lamartine, they will tell you he is a deputy who sometimes votes for them; introduce Victor Hugo, they don't know him at all. To do justice to our modern royalty, it is worthy of the poesy of the land; it is prose with a crown. The reign of the 'three colors' admits none of the arts except painting; and Racine, if now living, would be obliged to daub some emblem, and smuggle in his verses in the disguise of a motto, in order to get them laid at the foot of the throne of July. Poor young bride! bid adieu to your dreams of grandeur and poetry. There are no poets here: you will neither be flattered nor sung. You will be in our court no more a great lady, than the most humble woman of the land. Like her, however, you will enjoy a happiness unknown to princesses sacrificed to ambition; you will love and be loved. Be consoled; with love you will recover poesie and royalty."

When we hear splenetic grumblers exclaim against the climate in London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, and make odious comparisons with reference to Paris, or when the want of gallantry and chivalric spirit among our young gentry is bewailed, we will refer them to the foregoing extract.

Franklin speaks feelingly of the miseries of a washing day: the day on which they take up the carpets, and wax the floors is an equal horror to those Parisians not actively employed in the operation.

(June 29, 1857.)—"Happy the man who on this day can go to the country, or at least, dine and pass the evening with a friend; but miserable the wretch whom imperious necessity keeps at home, while they are upsetting and removing. Not a room is habitable: one is without a single article of furniture; in another all the moveables are piled one on another: the chairs are on the tables; the sofa cushions are on the chairs; the presses are *condemned* by all the things piled up against them. The poor victim asks for his breakfast. 'Ah, sir! the glasses and knives are in the press;' and the victim breakfasts without a knife. A shop keeper presents his little bill for sixty francs. It is nothing: he will not give the man the trouble of calling again. He steps into his bed chamber; finds not his secretaire; walks into the drawing room; no furniture but plenty of *frottoyers** at work; finds

* Provided with a kind of sweeping brush charged with bees' wax, your frottoyer applies his foot thereto as a digger to his spade, and

his way through many impediments to the dining room ; and descries the article required at the lower end of the apartment behind the piano. He displaces a mountain of chairs, he removes a heavy sofa, he manœuvres with much address, and at last attains his object. He applies the key, the bolt shoots back, but the piano prevents the lid from opening beyond an inch or so. There is a sofa before the piano, and a huge divan before the sofa, and the bill-bearer goes without settlement : no one breakfasts, nor pays his bills the day the carpets are taken up.

“Just at this moment our unfortunate receives a note from the charming widow to whom he is paying his addresses, containing an invitation to dinner. Quick, quick ! a loving, grateful reply must be dispatched forthwith. He rushes to a table : alas ! it is only a card table. ‘François, where is my writing desk ?’ ‘There, sir, behind the *armoire*.’ But the press is of Buhl, and heavy into the bargain, and it would not be wise to risk injuring it : besides it is masked by a commode. ‘Give me my writing case at least.’ ‘Sir, I am just after cleaning out the ink-stand, it was so clogged.’ ‘Oh, patience ! what shall I do ? I must return a verbal answer. Say that I shall have the honor—that I ask a thousand pardons of Mme. R. for not returning a written answer ; but they are lifting the carpets, and I have not even a table to write at.’ François, not comprehending the beginning of the message, gives a free translation to Mme. R.’s servant, ‘Monsieur asks a thousand pardons from Madame ; if he has not sent a note, it is because we are taking up our carpets ;’ adding from himself, ‘I have not seen such dust for three years that I’ve been with Monsieur.’ ‘Well !’ said Mme. R. to her servant eagerly. ‘M.* * * presents his excuses to Madame : he can’t have the honor, for he is taking up his carpets.’ ‘Did you receive this message from himself ?’ ‘No, Madame, it was from François ; he said he was very sorry that he could not write as they were taking up the carpets.’ Mme. R., in high resentment, pays an unexpected visit to her sister in the country. At 6 o’clock everything is got into its place at our young friend’s, and he dresses himself with the greatest care, all the while anticipating the happy evening he is to spend in the society of the lady of his choice. He dismisses his tilbury at the *porte-cochère* of Mme. R.’s hotel, traverses the court, and without listening to the porter, he runs up the stairs. He meets the *Maitre d’Hotel* on the landing place, his hat on his head—very odd. ‘Mme. R. ?’ asks the unfortunate wooer with troubled voice. ‘Madame has just gone to the country to visit her sister.’ The hapless youth rushes down stairs, and across the court to catch his tilbury, but it has had a five minutes start of him ; and he is obliged to content himself with an indifferent dinner at an ordinary eating-house. He feels that the two ingenious servants had skilfully caused the mistake, though ignorant of the exact process of the mismanagement. So he laid up these maxims in his mind : no chance of a good breakfast, of settling an account, or accepting a welcome invitation the day you lift your carpets.”

with a jerking motion he pushes on, and soon has his floor as shining and slippery as a mahogany table.

Mme. de Girardin looked with little complacency on competition in literature or commerce. Apropos to seeing the excellent actors and actresses dispersed among the various theatres great and small, she would prefer to see a galaxy of them at one or two theatres, a state of things which our literary and dramatic solons here, have upset with a world of trouble, and which we would not wish to see restored at any price. Our fair authoress looked only to the disagreeable features of the new order of things. She thus vents her displeasure.

"Is it not a pity to see all the good actors scattered among the little theatres, while the large ones are absolutely in want of subjects! What a miserable thing is competition! Instead of bringing any branch of business to perfection, its struggles only lead to a deterioration. The eloquent apostle of communism, the excellent Fourier, was unhappily too much in the right, when he thus depicted the organization of existing societies.

"'Everywhere,' said he, 'you see every class interested in wishing the evil of others; and private advantage in direct opposition to the advantage of the masses. The man of law is anxious that discord should prevail among the rich, and induce *good* law-suits; the physician limits his aspirations for the common weal to their enjoyment of *good* fevers and *good* catarrhs; the soldier desires a *good* war to kill off half of his comrades, in order to secure his own promotion. The purveyor longs for a *good* famine which will double or treble the price of food; the wine merchant has no objection to a *good* hail storm on the vine-yards, or a *good* frost on the buds. So on in all the social conditions; every one feels a rivalry or jealousy with others, and cannot thrive except at the expense of his fellows.'

"For two days of this week we have been zealous Fourierists, but for two days only. We were reading the work of Mme. Gatti de Gamond, which explains the system of Fourier; and we were thrown into a transport of admiration. The frightful history of social selfishness so eloquently written, filled us with indignation. The Unitary Government of the Phalanges appeared as a great problem resolved. To give to the poor without taking from the rich, that was a superb idea; to establish equality by education was wonderful; the invention of attractive or *passionnelle* industry* was truly sublime. A note carelessly introduced towards the end of the book promising 144 years as the average term of man's life infused some suspicion, and when we came to the chapters on the *cosmogony* and the *immortality of the soul* we became schismatics and deserted the Phalange.

"Fourrier was undoubtedly a man of genius; and he has experienced the fate of every one who, after long meditations has discovered a sublime idea. He became the victim of this idea, and a martyr in many forms. There is not on earth a punishment greater than that

* In Fourier's, Phalansteries, no one was to be employed except in work to which he was strongly attracted.

inflicted on the inspired, convinced, and enthusiastic possessor of a discovery capable of changing the whole face of things, but who is not able to convince the world of the importance of his discovery. His enthusiasm restrained becomes folly; his unemployed energy turns to monomania. No one entertains a great idea with impunity. Fourrier was many years the victim of the great idea he had stumbled on. He had long hoped to see it realized; but there came obstacles, nay impossibilities. * * Occupied with elaborating his idea, he changed its nature and destroyed it, by striving to reduce it to a system. For, after all, what is a system but a little circle into which you wish to compress the world! it is a little spot from which you wish to inspect the whole universe. System is the malady of great minds, preyed on by the fever of inaction; what can you do with a great idea, misunderstood and unvalued, but convert it into a system? his vast projects were absorbed in impossible reveries; his scientific combinations, lost in extravagant conjectures. Discouraged and fatigued in such a terrible strife, in his despair he found faults with the most innocent creatures. He accused the stars with injustice; he found faults with the earth in a moral sense: he treated her as a young ill-reared planet who is too eager to be married; he attacked the moon without any just cause; and as he wished to remodel the world, he was not satisfied with its Creator. This is easily explained. His system was to produce universal happiness; it felt no need of a religion such as ours, which preaches resignation and glorifies suffering. Poor fool! he suppressed consolation and patience, and reserved for his universe nothing but genius, love and death.

"All this is to say, that if they had aided Fourrier in working out his first idea, he would have employed in realizing it, all the zeal and understanding which has been thrown away on developing and explaining it. Face to face with the difficulties of execution, he would not have had time to write pamphlets, to disparage the moon, and reform Christianity. He would not have turned an admirable discovery to a burlesque system. Instead of composing incomprehensible books, he would have founded useful establishments; and we who now laugh at the exaggeration of his principles would know nothing of his ideas but what they possessed of ingenious, wise, profound, and generous.

"Oh, how culpable are the ignorant powers of our days, who can neither appreciate the real worth of men, nor the value of their discoveries! who can neither foresee nor examine; who possess no more of experience than of instinct, and who pine in misery surrounded by priceless treasures; who are feeble, and permit those who compose their strength to expend their energies for behoof of others; who let their writers labour for mere support, their artists die of chagrin, and allow their geniuses, who might perhaps save them, to become fools."

In noticing Edmond Texier's* *Critiques*, Fourrier and his

* *Irish Quarterly*, No. XII.

forerunners were slightly handled, along with the wonderful perfection to which men, beasts, and planets would arrive in time. Whales would be drilled to draw whole fleets through the sea, and sharks to catch fish for man's use. As the planets are sentient, and capable of conveying their ideas to each other, we might turn the knowledge thus to account. Our correspondent in Calcutta would make a telegram to Mercury when passing his meridian, and the *mercurial* officer, who by the bye is provided with a tail six feet long, and a serviceable eye at the end of it, coming to the meridian of London in six hours, would telegraph to Greenwich hospital, where they are keeping a sharp look out for him through a telescope forty times the power of Lord Rosse's.

The wild speculations of one age are exceeded by the realities of another. It might be said of Fourier, what some fop of Queen Anne's day said of Achilles, that 'he was a pretty fellow for his time:' but beside the convenience of the electric wire, how clumsy was our prophet's mode of conveying the price current. Still some of his dreams are not likely to be equalled nor surpassed. The planets, according to him, will be able to communicate their peculiar virtues to each other, thus improving the flavor of meats, and the culinary and medicinal qualities of herbs. And after some long lapse of ages, when the last day of a planet has come, it unites itself to the next convenient wandering body it meets, incorporates itself therewith, just as the *Beer-jug Gazette* is bleuded with the *Coal-Hole Herald*, communicates to its new partner an additional vigour and fertility, and a new cycle commences.

But the name and influence of our brave communist has not affected French heads only. Looking at Mrs. Trollope's frontispiece, as adorning the volume of *Jessie Phillips*, you would say that she might be safely permitted to read Fourier's mad visions, without finding her nice sense of morality tainted in the slightest degree, nor her sound Church-of-England principles weakened; yet see the unhappy result. Once like a good old Christian and Tory, she poised her orthodox lance, and prostrated the hypocrite of Wrexhill; and in foreign lands she mixed with old fashioned Christians, and "very much applauded" what she saw and heard. But see the dire effects of bad reading, producing an unhealthy state of the interior, and breaking out on the surface of her later novels,

which the indulgent reader may please to consider as the envelope (vulgo the skin) of her internal life. A young lady disturbed by the prevalency of existing evils, and perplexed as to the best means of comforting and doing good to her poor brothers and sisters, ill-favored by fortune, invites her sage friends to a conference, and they take refuge in an out-of-the-way grotto; and there uninfluenced by the brawling of the outer world, she gravely proposes the study of Fourier's system of amelioration; for they must acknowledge that "it's a very bad world they live in;" that it can't be much worse; that Fourier's system promises well at all events, that it deserves a trial, and that, even if it fail, they will not find themselves below their point of departure.* She introduces at a later period of her experience, a very respectable Catholic priest, respectable that is, in the eyes of *Mrs. Matthews* and the other estimable folk of the novel, and of course in those of the authoress herself; and this conscientious clerk commends himself to our respect by revealing secrets heard in the confessional from a quasi penitent, who confessed them with the assured hope that he (the confessor) would blab them in a certain quarter. And a woman of information and undoubted talent bids us believe such absurdity, and respect that man who would in real life be considered a sacrilegious hypocrite; for he acknowledges elsewhere that his faith in the doctrines of his church is of a very slender, nice, and eclectic character. We are afterwards introduced to a high-born, well-bred rector, as selfish, self-indulgent, and worthless as he can well be, who is made to appear almost conscientious and estimable, by contrast with a high-church clergyman, an inveterate self-worshipper, and unamiable character.† The young heroine cannot be expected to be firm in the religious dogmas recom-

* For particulars the inquisitive reader is referred to the *Lottery of Marriage*, *Mrs. Matthews*, and *Uncle Walter*.

† Some years since, a very low-church publisher in our city, in order to disparage the practice of auricular confession, published a little scrubby pamphlet appropriately *illustrated*, and thoroughly inadmissible into any Christian family blessed with young people. It is probable that there is no more than *one* bookseller in Dublin, who would exhibit this precious pamphlet in his window at the present day. We consider that the odious sketches in *Uncle Walter* are about as praiseworthy in design (not so bad in effect however) as the attempts of the Dublin worthy, who wrote, illustrated, and issued the brochure, so valued by our *unique* Holywell-street dealer.

mended by either of these gentlemen. So being confined to her own apartments for the interests of the story, she lays her mind down earnestly to the study of the *Nemesis of Faith*.

Now as our younger readers see the bad effects of studying these visionary Utopian schemes of Bona, Campanilla, Nicholas, Fourier, Proudhon and others on the judgment of a staid old lady, who ought to have known better, we request them not to take such lucubrations for hand-books of morality or religion in their studious moments; but having a wholesome dread of the waywardness of youth, we would scarcely give the advice only for knowing that the works in question are scarcely attainable.

We proceed to quote from an amusing medley dated 12 July, 1837. She takes notice of the unamusable condition of those who have yearly tickets for the opera; and her remarks strongly remind us of nearly forgotten nights some twenty years since, when we did see an occasional play. It enhanced our enjoyment during an interesting or comic scene, to cast an eye towards a stage box, and let it rest a moment on a most melancholy duo or trio of young ladies who occupied it. There was neither muscle of face nor of body moved at the most harrowing or the most laughable incidents; but when the interest became rather too intense, they languidly looked towards the stage. There was not even the variety described in the acting of poor old Williams:—

“ When joy the liveliest is exprest,
He points his toe and slaps his breast;
But when a prey to deepest woe,
He slaps his breast and points his toe.”*

Only for the locality we would have said that they were *dreeing* some dismal weird, or performing penance, as we can recollect no visit of ours in which they were not present.

Mme. de Girardin takes notice that the occasional visitors finding a stupid opera on the boards simply lament the loss of the tickets' price and that of the evening, and all is over; but the yearly occupants find themselves,

—“incapable of such a pitch of philosophy: for them a bad opera is a winter lost. An absurd ballet is a year's failure; for them one stupid evening is multiplied by twenty stupid evenings. Hence we hear in our days actors, and airs, and steps hissed, a thing unknown in the Paris of former days.

* *Familiar epistles to Frederic Jones*, quoted from memory.

“ There has been a great outcry against the ministry for giving the cross to Simon the dancer ; yet the ministry is in the right. If a dancer under peculiar circumstances, merits the cross, he should get it. To give the Cross to a dancer is no crime, but to remain a dancer when one is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, rather shocks our notions of the fitness of things. The grimaces and gambols of the savage, much less the bounds and pirouettes of the civilized man, take very much from the dignity of the man decorated with the Cross. The weight of a dancer's honors will impede the airiness of his *entrechats*. Glory lives by privations ; it requires heavy sacrifices. There are honors incompatible with certain conditions, and ruinous triumphs ; but we must take things with their accompaniments. A case in point is presented by the bell-hanger of Chateauroux, who was ruined by taking dinner with the King of the French. This honest tradesman used to go from chateau to chateau, adjusting damaged locks, and putting bell wires in order. He was kept at each chateau for two or three days, in fact till all his little jobs were completed, taking his meals in the kitchen, and then he departed, content with his treatment and pay. But when his patrons understood that his rank in the National Guard had brought him to Paris to compliment Louis Philippe, and that he had dined with the Queen and the Princesses, the Ministers and the Ambassadors, they could not think of entertaining him at the same table with chamber maids and footmen. A locksmith not so highly honored was employed in his place, and he lost all his customers. He was a proud man, so he submitted to his fate ; solicited the office of *Garde Champêtre* ;* and now with sword on side, he consoles himself for loss of place and profit, by saying with becoming spirit that he had had the honor of dining one evening at the king's table. Glory has its rigors which must be endured. * . . .

The *Vicomte* proceeds to relate the difficulty of finding entertainment or enjoyment in Paris at this season. At *Tortoni's* you get ices without sugar, and breathe an atmosphere infested with tobacco. If you return home you feel lonely, and think of your friends gone to the country, who if they feel ennui, feel it at least in good health and surrounded by good air. That is something : and then they walk about, while that exercise is out of the question in the city. In the gardens of the Tuilleries, the children and their hoops beset you ; and on the Boulevard, mock Turks poison you with their perfumes, under pretext of burning the pure pastilles of the Serail under your nose.

“ What has become of that being, beloved of the gods, cherished by poets, that great unknown whom every one wishes to entice ; that

* An office combining the duties of game keeper, with those of a rural policeman.

being indifferent to your interests but still carrying hope along with him ; that undefined personage whom we call the visitor, amiable individual, who without compromising his dignity, furnishes entertainment to every one. People sitting before their doors, keep their looks on him as he listlessly walks on, and he furnishes a piquant expression or two to their lazy discourse. The smiling young girl in the balcony follows him with her eyes ; the gouty old gentleman beholds him with envy from his window, enjoying his walk ; the crying child dries his eyes to get a better view of him. He furnishes a new idea to his beholders ; he imparts, unknown to himself, a sentiment to every looker-on : he is distraction personified ; and a distraction is always a benefit both to the sad and the joyous. The visitor, hope of the shopkeeper, future of the poor, exists no more for Paris. Perhaps he still perambulates some distant quiet streets ; but in our fashionable ones he dares not venture. In these, a walk becomes a strife, the flags the field of battle ; to walk is to wage war. A thousand obstacles oppose you, a thousand snares are laid for you, those you meet are your foes, every step you advance is an enemy overcome. The streets are no longer free passages,—public ways ; they are bazaars where every one displays his wares, ateliers where each exercises his craft in the open air. The sideways, narrow enough as they are, are converted into a permanent exhibition. You leave home in a reverie : an important business, an affair of the heart, or perhaps a literary project, occupies you ; and trusting to the prefect of the police, you push on, fearing nothing but horses, vehicles, or ill-reared donkeys. These are quite enough, but for their avoidance you trust to instinct. At the corner of your own street a dozen casks are arranged before a wine shop in symmetrical order ; but preoccupied as you are, you knock up against the one next you, and get a disagreeable bump. You express your feelings in language more or less energetic according to temperament and birthplace, and continue your route. Your ruling idea besets you again, and a bucket full of water is flung between your legs. Never mind ! a porter is solicitous for freshness before his post. It will be nice and dry in half-an-hour, but for the moment you must quit the flags. You next experience a great heat, and looking up in a fright you are almost stifled with smoke. An *emballeur** is merely closing his boxes surrounding them with canvas, and exercising all the disagreeables of his profession on the pavement which is completely impeded by those big chests. Irritated by these delays, you hurry on, and knock yourself against a straw chair at the corner of the street, still on the flags. Why is that chair in that inconvenient place, and why has that lady established her domicile on a straw chair at the corner of a street ? She is a tooth-pick seller and in deep mourning. She is so for five years, and the entire quarter is weary of her griefs. We advise her to remove her chair to some street where her woes will possess some novelty. Still you respect affliction, and quit the *pavé*. After a while you resume it again, and behold a

* One who makes up large packages.

working glazier approaching with wings of light, to wit, the sun beams playing in the large squares of glass he carries in his frame. As these wings are frightfully broad, you get close to the wall to avoid them, but you feel yourself repulsed by two cold feet of a slaughtered ox just hung up in front of a stall. You push on disgusted. You get forward some perches without molestation, but the wind rises, and the street disappears before your eyes. The soft-goods' shop has unfurled its sails; muslins at twenty sous the yard swell out on all sides like balloons; handkerchiefs at twenty sous, stream like conquering banners; calicoes float upwards; pocket-handkerchiefs flutter; transparent gauzes caress you; azure scarfs enwrap you; you are enveloped in a dance of sylphs, a ballet of bayaderes. A pitying shopman unrols you, and you proceed on your way laughing. Well, you think you have seen the last of your annoyances, and you begin to dream: but you knock your head against some immoveable object that seems withal to have life, for it snorts and coughs; it is partly before and partly behind the wall. It is the beginning of a horse, the rest of him being with a cabriolet under a penthouse. He is there a living advertisement requesting you to employ his unseen portion! You take the hint, and are conveyed home out of danger. And these are the obstacles that have driven afar the *visitors*, the birds of passage, the beings beloved of poets, for otherwise why would they so often say, 'the *passers-by* will see engraven on my tomb,' &c., &c., &c. No body is now a loungee, a passer-by, a visitor: he takes an omnibus and calls himself a traveller.

"The fact is, that the *trottoir* now-a-days belongs to every one except the lawful owner, whom I take to be the foot passenger. The fruit sellers encumber it with their baskets; china dealers use it adroitly for the disposal of their wares. You cannot pass without breaking a flask, a cup, or a glass; and you pay for the article smashed: the buyer in spite of himself, is the discovery of our age. *The commissionnaire* uses an ingenious device to get employment. He stretches himself out on the pavement to sleep (?), and if you wish to avoid demolishing his nose or breaking his arm you are splashed in the kennel. Of course the sleeping fox runs for a cabriolet as you are not fit to be seen, and his readiness cannot be left unrequited. But these are not the only dangers. From nine till twelve o'clock falls the carpet showers, and you enjoy the dust of the houses from every window. A friend of ours lately received on a bonnet of the finest Leghorn, a pair of beautiful scissors of English make, shaken from the fringes of a carpet; its mistress is probably looking for it at this very hour in every corner of the house.

"And why do you persecute our foot passengers? why sow his rout with the relics of your feast? why cover his inoffensive head with your crumbs? why will you oblige him to walk on your melon peels, your oyster shells, or your rejected salad? Give him room; it is all he demands. The street is his kingdom; let him reign at liberty. The street is a thoroughfare, not an asylum: it belongs to the passers through, not to the inhabitants."

Under the date, July 19, 1837, we find a paper, parts of which

we cannot help extracting though the subject is touched on in our introductory matter : the reader will scarcely regret the picture of which the outline only has been presented.

“ Who is that keen flatterer, that first dared to say that the French are a light people ? We, light indeed ! There exists not on the earth a more grave, more routinish, more manical people than ourselves, and nothing is more enduring than a mania. A passion may be overcome, a mania never. And why do they call us light ? Is it because we occupy ourselves about frivolous things ? But if we are occupied about them seriously, it is not lightness nor frivolity any longer. A frivolous character attaches importance to nothing, we on the contrary attach great importance to a——NOTHING. In order to express French unsteadiness, we would not say a butterfly on a flower, a fly on a feather, a child in a swing, a swallow on a weathercock, a slight weight on a slender twig. No : we would say a heavy fat man in a tilbury, a heavy weight in a slight machine, an exorbitant price set on a valueless object, a serious application to a piece of foolery, gravity in nonsense, a great zeal for matters of no worth. * * * Our understanding, our spirit may be light and airy ; our character is the reverse, and has been so from earliest times. Love of change constitutes a mutable character, but with us nothing changes, we are always the same.

“ We vary our kings a little, that is all ; we never vary our pleasures ; our tastes are everlasting, our fashions of a frightful solidity. You might, in order to express the stability of a thing, say that it will last as long as a fashion. For thirty years, our men believe themselves delighted with their ugly dress ; for fifteen years, our women are encumbered with their leg o’ mutton sleeves ; and for forty years, thick muslin cravats imprison the necks of our fashionables. We will be happy under a reign that endures the length of a fashion ; to attain the period of a fashion is to live to a good old age.

“ We, light indeed ! look at us on holidays, for it is in their hours of pleasure, that a people’s character can be known. Look for truth not in a well, but in a hearty laugh. The dances of a country are the stamp of their originality. Look at a Spanish dance ! what pride—what grandeur ! how well it exhibits the fine shape ! it is an extra ornament on beauty. Behold the dance of Italy, joyous and passionate ! it is the delirium of an imagination always active, which expresses itself in movements so quick, so lively, that it would appear impossible for the performer to stop.* It is an amusement resembling the exercises of a madman. Think of the German valse ! what abandon ! what langor ! what enjoyment ! Even the English dances, so active so restless, so quarrelsome in appearance.

“ And now consider the Gallic performance. What pedantry ! what pretension ! a dance of actors who wish to be admired, a piece

* We were about being displeased with the chevalier for omitting our Irish jigs, but with a slight variety he describes their character in these allusions to the Italian steps.

of vanity in performers who are only anxious to know what is thought of them. And it is not only at fashionable balls that the *contre-danse* is so serious; the same things are not a whit more animated in the villages. The balls of Musard are simply grosser in their character, but have no more genuine hilarity than the others. Then look to our theatre. For sixty years there is no change in our pirouettes: the sky-blue shepherds are replaced by white and red peasants; but their steps are the same, and their admiration for their shepherdesses has not changed. For sixty years they have admired with the same postures; they have joined their hands the same way in their enthusiasm, and they caress their chins with the same naïveté, merely to express their sense of her beauty. The shepherd springs forward, he assumes a pose, he is satisfied with himself but he dissembles; he bends his body backwards, he stretches his arms, he takes a spring and then he whirls. He whirls for a time, then stands firm on both soles with much pride, and seems to say, 'here I am.' This time he is thoroughly satisfied with himself, and makes no secret of it.

"He now slowly raises one leg in the air, keeps it suspended for some time, and then he turns on the other, the original limb still pointing to the horizon like the pasteboard appendage of *Mr. Punch* kept suspended by a wire. When he considers that he has whirled enough, he restores liberty to the stiffened limb, and it rejoins its comrade of its own accord. He then strikes the boards with both, in the style of a conqueror, and gives himself up to all sorts of contortions, but with the gravest air, till in order to give himself rest, he sets himself to admire his partner. And these proceedings are re-commenced with the next *pas*; and every evening your dancer will conduct himself in the same manner, and all for your amusement." Ah, you may say that we are giddy, but look at our fashions, our entertainments, and our arts, and you will acknowledge that we are the most constant people on the face of the earth. The Turks have quitted the turban, but we will never lay aside the round hat. In Spain, the bull-fights have ceased for some time, but in France, pirouettes will never cease. Call not a people changeable, whose dances are lugubrious, whose fantasies are invincible, whose fashions are eternal."

Forgetting her testimony to the endurance of usages, our fair authoress mentions a change in the fashion of names, in a paper alluding to the custom of sending bouquets on the day of the ASSUMPTION of the BLESSED VIRGIN, to all that are called Mary.

August 19, 1837. "The week has passed in the celebration of family festivals. We do not exaggerate in saying that more than twenty thousand bouquets were distributed in Paris the day of the ASSUMPTION. All the myrtle flowers we have seen! and so carefully enveloped in their white paper envelopes! Where were they going? to a mother, to an aunt, to a sister, to a cousin. Who has not a Mary to offer homage to, among his cousins or his friends? You

must be an orphan, a widow abandoned by earth and heaven, if you have not a bouquet to send on the Assumption to some woman. In Paris, all women young and old are called *Mary*; all the little girls are *Marys*. This charming name, which perhaps no one ought to presume to bear, is not only a religious observance; it is a pretension. Formerly they gave children the most extraordinary names taken from the now extinct folio romances. They called them Coralie, Pamela, Palmyra, Clarissa, Zenobia, Clara, Clorinda, Aglaure, Aglaë, Amanda, Malvina. They looked out for a name not borne by every one: they would not have a young lady of birth having the same appellation as her waiting maid. This fashion has passed away: indeed we do not regret it; but we attack the opposite exaggeration; the great pretension to simplicity, which induces every mother to give the same name to her daughter has its ridiculous side. This last winter at a children's ball, we counted twenty-two *Marys*, you could hear nothing but Marie, 'Marie, come here, Marie, Marie;' and every time, twenty-two little ladies all ran where they heard the call. The abuse of the best things is so unpleasant, that we have begun to dislike this name so sweet in itself. Yes, at this moment we would welcome *Calphurnia*, *Fatima*, *Ismenia*, or *Fredegonde*. It would be at least less pretentious than the dear name *Mary* which perforce of becoming fashionable, has lost its distinctive charm.

"To the family festivals have succeeded those of the colleges. The distribution of prizes has been one of the most interesting solemnities of the year. It is a joyful day for the parents, even though they be kings and queens. A mother has said, on learning that her son had obtained the prize for history, 'In his position it is the prize I would particularly wish for him.' This mother is the Queen of the French. M. the Duke D'Aumale has reason to be proud of his success, for according to general opinion, he deserved it. They say that M. the Duke de Montpensier was fly-fishing at Neuilly, when the news came of his acquiring the prize of Natural History. His joy was so great, that he dropped his rod; and the fish on the point of being pulled up, made his escape. This event proves that the glory of the great is occasionally favorable to the little—fishes in this instance.

"It was a good idea, that of the king's to give to his children an opportunity of sharing one of the most delightful enjoyments of boyhood, and himself to come down from the anxieties of his royal seat, to see his children crowned just as an honest citizen would do. The only distinction the young dukes enjoyed was that of being able to bring more than one of their family to witness their triumph, each private pupil having the enjoyment of one ticket only.

"Mothers commonly shed tears in abundance on these occasions. It is a physical effect useless to resist; the better scholar the child is, the more abundant the tears. If you see a woman bathed in tears and in a state bordering on despair, you may be certain that she is the mother of the youth who has been crowned three times. The emotions are respectively in proportion to the importance of the prizes. The prize for French declamation being given, she

wipes her eyes. At the prize for Latin translation, she covers her face with her handkerchief; Greek translation, she bursts into tears;—Cosmography, she sobs. Happily they pass to another class; she comes to herself, and the tears resume their empire with another woman. Tears like these are sweet. Such is woman's life: the tears which they are not ashamed to shed before the eyes of others are the recompense of those they must shed in secret."

Among the successful students are named O'Donnells and MacDonnells (A sister of Delphine's was married to an O'Donnell). In the evening the pupils were treated to the entertainments of the Tournament and the Indian races at Tivoli. What amused our fair looker-on better than these, was the address handed to the spectators by one whose position should have weaned him from such worldly speculations.

TOPPIN,

THE TIVOLI HERMIT.

N.B.—*His spouse** washes and mangles, *Rue de Bussy, No. 6, opposite the Rue des Mauvais Garçons.*

"It is pretty evident that it is a badly conducted household. How can a hermit and a washerwoman live together in comfort? If the wife has plenty of customers, adieu to solitude, our hermit will not have a moment to himself. On the other hand, if the hermit lives in absolute retirement, his wife will see no customers, and then adieu to business. The idea of this household has caused us considerable anxiety; but why should a mangle woman think of marrying a hermit at all!

"This hermit recalls to our minds a practical piece of pleasantry of which he was the accomplice. Some years since, a humorous and clever person being at Tivoli in grand company, borrowed the hermit's gown, wig, and long beard; and being thoroughly concealed by his disguise, he waited patiently to be consulted. A confederate seduced all the handsome women of their acquaintance who were at Tivoli, to come and visit him; and the false hermit amused himself by roguishly prophesying for every fair visitor, whatever he knew she was most anxious to obtain."

In the *Feuilleton* of 21st October, 1837, Mme. de Girardin examines the different systems of those who divide their fellow

* Your porters, and small shopkeepers in Paris would not say, '*my wife*' for any '*earthly crowns*' (see *Miss Miggs* passim). It is only Dukes, peers, and ordinary gentlemen who can afford to use the expression. Ourselves have seen undoubted gentry cordially salute their dependants and humble acquaintance in public, but never beheld a green grocer, second hand bookseller, or working carpenter, hailed by a grand shopkeeper of the streets called Grafton, Sackville, or Westmoreland.

creatures into classes. The article is longer than our lessening space can accommodate, but we give some extracts, though at the risk of spoiling the general effect.

• • • “Some philosophers have made a division of the human race according to nations, calling them Egyptian, Greek, Slavonic, &c. According to the characters they recognise in these people, they class every one of their acquaintance. A savant of this persuasion would never marry a wife having the visible marks of such and such a race ;—would not on any consideration take a servant of the Greek *species*. All the Greeks according to him are intelligent, but they are gluttons and thieves. By *Greeks* he did not absolutely mean natives of the Peloponnesus, but persons having a certain shape of head, foot, jaw, &c. ‘Thief and glutton,’ said he, ‘the Greek would eat up all my sugar.’ He selected an attendant of a race less intelligent, but honest and devoted ; and the chosen one being an oaf, let all the plate be stolen. See the ends to which we are conducted by science.

“The physicians have another system of classification, viz.—physical constitution ; and they arrange your place at first view. ‘You are not Mons. So and So, you are not man or woman, you are a *Bilious*, a *Sanguine*, a *Nervous*, or a *Lymphatic*.’ We have heard a friend of ours thus express himself—‘Ah ! that person has wit and understanding—that *Bilious* who was here yesterday.’ ‘That is M. —.’ ‘Ah ! I was formerly acquainted with his mother, a very amiable *Sanguine*.’ If you scold the chamber-maid for her laziness or neglect before him, he mutters, ‘*Lymphatic*.’ If a fine child comes in his way he will embrace it with much tenderness, exclaiming, ‘beautiful organization,—Nervo-Sanguine.’ However, this does not prevent him from treating all his patients, bilious, nervous, and lymphatic in the same manner, and killing all with the most conscientious impartiality.

“The philosophers have invented moral classifications : their system having more particular reference to the state of society. Their two great divisions are the *Meneurs* and the *Menées*, (leaders and led), these, the masters everywhere, those, waiting for the direction of the others before they move ;—objects and their reflections, shepherds and sheep, Orestes and Pylades. The art of good government, they say, entirely consists in the proper application of this discovery, the *Meneurs* acting the governors to the great advantage of the state, the *Menées* filling subordinate offices, and carrying out the others’ instructions. Let the *Meneurs* create, organise, put the great engines in movement ; then the *Menées* come in to keep the machine going, and the wheels in the appointed grooves. The first have genius, courage, and energy, the others, patience, and order, qualities as serviceable as any. The grand secret is to select the right man for the right place. The cause of all the disorders in France, is the selection of the *Menées* for the proper office of the *Meneurs* ; for working under the influence of these latter without being aware of it, they act for the private advantage of the *Meneurs*,

not for the general weal. Probably the number of the *Menees* is rather small with us ; and it may be well supposed that it is a difficult task to conduct a whole population of *Meneurs*.

“A woman of understanding thus accounts in her peculiar sense for all the revolutions that have taken place amongst us ;—‘ There are in the world two classes that wage incessant war on each other, who hate and despise, and will hate and despise each other for ever ; and these are the people who wash, and the people who do not wash their hands. You will never succeed in reconciling these parties : they will never live together in peace, for there is one thing that cannot be overcome—disgust ; another thing that can’t be endured—humiliation ; and in this quarrel, disgust clings to one side, humiliation falls to the other. You can never induce a dandy to lodge with a rag-picker, no more than you can induce an ugly woman to surround herself with beautiful ones. Neither will you ever persuade people who wash their hands to live on good terms with those who do not wash their hands.’

“Now for the latest classification. ‘ We resemble the irrational animals, or they resemble us, more or less. You sir, perhaps resemble the eagle—Monsieur, the jackall—Madame, the marten—Mademoiselle, the squirrel.’ A friend of ours has laid down the law in this matter, thus :—‘ Human kind consists of two great races, namely, *dogs* and *cats*.’ He does not mean to say that we lead a cat and dog life ; on the contrary we agree well enough together ; we are different but we are not unfriendly. The individual of the *canine* race has all the good qualities of that animal, good-nature, courage, fidelity, and frankness, but he is also encumbered with his defects, credulity, improvidence, and *bonhomie**—woe the day ! for though it be a virtue of the heart, it is a defect in the character. The *canine* man (properly so called) is full of good, solid qualities, but he wants address. He is very rarely a seducer : he is destined to serious employments where courage, probity, and frankness are required. He makes a good soldier, a good husband, a sincere friend, the best of servants :—he is a good comrade, a sublime dupe. The *dog*—men furnish heroes, poets, philanthropists, faithful notaries, model grocers, commissionnaires, water-carriers, cashiers, bank-clerks, and letter-carriers : in fine, they always select such offices as leave them free to remain honest men.

“But the brave *Dog*, though adapted to feel love, seldom has his affection returned. He married some one who has seduced him :—He lends money to young play-wrights, who notwithstanding will not send him a pit ticket :—His wife whom he adores, is a coquet, and he is ruined by his children. Socrates, Regulus, Epaminondas, and Washington belong to this devoted class.

The *Cat* man on the contrary has none of the good qualities of the *Dog* man, but he reaps all their attendant advantages. He is egotistical, avaricious, ambitious and envious, jealous and perfidious ; but

* This quality including good-nature united to weakness of character, not having an exact equivalent in English, we retain the original.

he is prudent, adroit, agreeable, gracious, persuasive, gifted with intelligence, management, and seduction. He possesses an infused experience; he makes a shrewd guess when knowledge fails; he finds out what they wish to conceal from him; he absorbs with impunity everything calculated to injure him. The *Cat* man never cultivates useless virtues, but he easily acquires all profitable ones. This race furnishes great diplomatists, prime ministers, K——s but we will not give offence. It supplies seducers, and generally all those whom women call *perfidious*. Ulysses and Hannibal, Pericles and the Maréchal de Richelieu, belong to the *Feline* race. We are indebted to it for most of our fashionable beaux and many statesmen, for instance M. de—— but we will not be guilty of flattery.

“ This ingenious system admits all the nice shades which education can produce. Thus a *Dog* man brought up among the *Cats*, often acquires some of their profitable defects, and gets rid of his own pernicious good qualities. He becomes mistrustful; he preserves his natural goodness, but he repulses all those who desire to abuse it. He acquires many bad gifts which perfect his character. A *Canine* man, brought up in Normandy, becomes a finished prefect, a ditto banker a ditto manufacturer, or a ditto speculator. He is a man of honor who knows the world, no more a dupe than a cheat.

“ But the finest specimen of all is the *Cat* reared up among the noble race of *Dogs*,—for instance in Brittany. He becomes the irresistible being, the superior man. He preserves his address and profound intelligence, his infallible instinct, his finesse, his grace; and he acquires all the good properties of his patrons. He even exhibits among his *Dog* friends an extra amount of goodness, for it is difficult to preserve a just medium in circumstances not of habit, nor natural. A converted *Cat* is much more generous than a *Dog*. He is determined to surpass every one. * * Buonaparte was a *Cat* brought up among the *Dogs*. He was a Corsican whose dreams were of glory not of revenge.

27th October, 1837. “ The other day we were guilty of a great imprudence, though the *dog* and *cat* division was well enough received. It was a pleasure to see the *Cats* coming forward and humbly avow themselves to belong to the *canine* division, while a great *Newfoundland* cunningly confessed in a low voice, ‘ I was frightened by the article, for I had some doubts about being considered a *cat*.’ The *Meneurs* and *Menées* came off very fairly too: it was a serious idea (not one of ours), and offended no one, as who may not reckon himself among the *Meneurs*! Weakness of character is full of self-deceit, and uses all sorts of misnomers to disguise itself. Obstinacy, which is a weakness of the first order, gives its name to those with whom it abides as ‘ strength of opinion;’ indecision calls itself ‘ prudence;’ stupidity is ‘ constancy of opinion;’ and laziness, ‘ force of inertia.’ Thus the feeble-minded not recognising themselves among the *Menées*, have made no complaint; but how could the *unwashed* be deceived or propitiated! People may believe themselves good when they are evil, intelligent when they are silly, or charming when they are ugly; but no one can suppose that his hands are clean unless they have been washed. The water is there to give the lie.

Error is impossible ; a flatterer could not persuade the greatest fool in this matter. A crowd of courtiers would lose their labour flattering a prince on the grace with which he had just washed his hands, if the ablution had not taken place. Behold the imprudence we have been guilty of in launching a shaft which had sped so unerringly to the centre of the butt, and the number of enemies we have made among the dirty-fingered : it is really frightful."

However often M. de Girardin thought it expedient to change his political creed, we have not been able to discover through the four volumes of his lady's passing observations, any views not consistent with rational liberty and good government, as we understand them on this side of the "sea sleeve." Her equanimity was frequently disturbed by the little street insurrections so pleasantly described by De Bernard in *L'Homme Sérieux*.* In the paper of March 6th, 1839, she thus speaks :—

"The *Émeute* has not come to the gathering point ; it has not proceeded yet to blows, it scolds. It abuses the people who pass in voitures. If it perceive a lady inside a coach, it cries, 'oh ! you are at your ease ; you will take no trouble you can avoid : can't you go on foot as we do ?' And not a harness or coach maker has protested against this outcry. It is evident that the boot and shoe makers are in the majority. 'No more hackney coaches !' you say. Be it so. Let us go on foot for the benefit of the commonweal ; but let the reform be adopted in its full rigor. Go on then, coachmen, grooms, footmen, hostlers, huntsmen, and prickers. We are the friends of the people—we will not indulge in a luxury which offends its delicate nostrils. Go on good people : make out your living some other way : we don't want you : quit the stables, and become good citizens.

"And now that we must go on foot, what shall we do with these useless ornaments ? What good, for instance, in a gown of white satin or sky-blue velvet to walk the streets ? a woollen stuff will do quite well. Go to then, brave weavers of our old city of Lyons, quit your looms, you are free : we have no further need of your services. No more drudgery—be happy, and turn out good citizens.

"But if our ladies are no more to don these proud dresses, why should they use expensive lace ? Down with all laces then, black and white, laces in relief, blonde laces, *point de Paris*, *point de Alençon*. Down we say with these humiliating ornaments ! the women of the people will not have them. As a friend of the people we will not have the woman more bedizened than the man. No more the floating veil ! ridiculous net, so often torn, so often replaced. Lace merchants, close your shops ; give a holiday to your poor women : their eyes are injured by the delicate nature of their work. We are more generous than you, and will give them rest.

* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No.

"We have suppressed horses, coaches, satin, silk, lace: why should we spare jewels, the insulting jewels worn for no purpose by the rich, but to excite the envy of those who cannot afford them? What is the use of diamonds for instance, but to tempt the thieves? How can a lady crown her head with diamonds, and so many poor without bread! it is unjust. Jewellers, please to close your shops: we have no need of you, my friends: your art only serves to irritate the poor: you encourage vice in exhibiting all these treasures: go, do penance, and become good citizens.

"But the ribbons! Ah! they are so light, so graceful, so pretty! spare them. And why should we spare them? They fasten nothing, neither the hair, nor the dress: they are only ornaments, and ornaments must not be retained. The useful, and nothing but the useful! the useful is now the ornamental: we need to be dressed, not ornamented. What need have you of ribbons, Madam? To keep you warm! eh! No. Then renounce ribbons, and give rest to the thousands of arms that are now fatiguing themselves at St. Etienne to indulge your caprices. Leave these brave men time to occupy themselves with politics. Why should they spend the long day at labor? To support their wives and children—nonsense. It is only to indulge your whims in the fabrication of *cabbage heads*, *true love knots*, and *perfect contentments*, charming fantasies to which your inconstancy adds a new name every year. No more ribbons, dear weavers! you are all good citizens: cross your arms, and amuse yourselves with an excursion on your railroad.

"But as we have extinguished silks, velvets, manufactures of Lyons and manufactures of St. Etienne, why should we not render their liberty to the silk worms? The poor creatures! they are literally stifled. They are kept in an intolerable atmosphere; their fate is frightful. Poor insect! our luxury has kept you in durance vile, till now: bless this era of equality which restores you to liberty. The first century of our era saw the emancipation of the woman, the twelfth that of the slave, the eighteenth took the chains off the serf, the nineteenth will see the freedom of the silk worm. But here a disagreeable idea intrudes. What will the interesting *reptile* do with his independence? To pass from the dense air of servitude to which he has been accustomed for ages, into the inebriating atmosphere of liberty, will be too abrupt a transition to a being so delicate. And then you cannot emancipate an entire nation of caterpillars without some anxiety for their future well being. What employment can we procure for the insect? Shall we make him a citizen, or allow him political rights? he would not thank us for these privileges. Perhaps the place of *butterfly* in the royal gardens, or *cockchafer* in the crown forests might be secured for him.

"The more we think, the wider spreads the economical field before us. Suppress rich dress and ornament: then will the women, particularly the ugly ones, give no encouragement to mirrors, toilet-tables, or psyches. The manufacture of glass ceases, and the contented workmen will turn out the best of citizens. No longer caring to be seen by others, of course we go to no expense for crystal lustres or candelabras of gilt bronze. Ladies at a party in woollen

dressess, would not relish to be set in high relief by these artificial suns. Smash the chandeliers! the lights of the understanding will suffice for us: behold thousands of workmen now metamorphosed into joyous citizens!

"And now figure to yourself, saddlers, lace makers, ribbon weavers, and workers in bronze, giving their arms to their wives, and followed by their children, hungry and on foot, but on foot like the rest of the world; without money but equally without envy, without bread but without humiliation, without salary but without a tyrant master, naked but free, wretched but proud, and enjoying that greatest of luxuries, idleness.

"There will be no longer a barrier between poor and rich; the strictest equality will unite the great and little, for all will be little. The dreams of our modern economists will be fulfilled, and themselves will be content. They will rub their hands,—perhaps they would wash them, but for a long time, Windsor soap (made at Marseilles), will have been suppressed as a most unnecessary fantasy; the reign of the people will be established, and the enemies of opulence triumphant."

"After all, these very means will be the surest to establish aristocracy in time. Why were sumptuary laws enacted in former ages? Why in Rome and Venice, did they forbid expensive displays? Merely to prevent the nobility from impoverishing themselves by their follies, and enriching the inferior classes by their spoils. You say that the great are enriched by the sweat of the poor; on the contrary the people are fattened on the prodigal follies of the rich nobles. It is because the Duke of——is ruined by his waistcoats, that his tailor has made a fortune; the Marquis of——and the count of—— have lost their estates on the race-course, and *Crémieux* and *Hobbs* are thereby enriched. And you desire that our young *elegants* should go on foot! they ought to be thankful to you, for you save them from that misery which would make them your equals; and you deprive the people who labor, of all the money they would gain by these young fools. Bravo gentlemen! you establish sumptuary laws which your opponents would not venture to tamper with, and which in the end will crush yourselves; you protect accumulated fortunes in forbidding their owners to spend them, you stifle growing ones which might tend by rivalling them in time to preserve equality; in fine you work for the revival of the aristocracy, but the masses will pardon you as being ultra-democrats."

* Notwithstanding all our Lady's keenness of penetration, moderate fortunes and little luxurious expenditure would make a happier state of things than our present boundless luxury and miserable destitution. It is a hard thing for a delicately nurtured lady, one gifted with a fine taste for literary and other luxuries, to see these things from the point of view of the struggling tradesman or labourer.

It would not be doing justice to our fair writer, if we omitted to give some specimen of her devotional thoughts and feelings. The reader will be struck with the religious element as seen through her poetic coloring.

“Every one of us has some favorite festival. Some prefer the **FÊTE DIEU**, and regret the beautiful processions, which formerly traversed the city in every direction, with waving banners, young girls with downcast eyes, and adorned with white crowns and veils, and battalions of choir children exhibiting their scarlet robes in the sun. And then the rich tapestries hung out from balconies, the magnificent tabernacles, with their rich accompaniments of superb candelabras, and precious vases—fairest mansions that could be devised by the rich of the earth to receive the Lord of Heaven. It is the most poetic of ceremonies, the vapour of perfumes uniting itself to the scent of roses, so as to intoxicate the senses of the devout worshippers.

“Other spirits, we should say other hearts affect the day of the **ASSUMPTION**. For them the **BLESSED MARY** is the heavenly load-star: from her radiates the effulgence of beauty, purity, and love. She rules by every claim and right; she unites the chastity of the young Virgin to the august dignity of the Mother; she is powerful by her grace, absolute by her sweetness, awful in her innocence; and yet it is to her intercession we sue, to obtain pardon of offences against this spotless virtue.

“To young wives, the festival of **CHRISTMAS** is a welcome solemnity. The lovely new-born **INFANT** captivates their eyes: they feel for him devotion blended with maternal love. To the hearts of women, the Saviour of the world scarcely speaks as powerfully as the **INFANT JESUS**. This festival is of so affecting a character, that it once made a poet of a friend of ours, who was very ignorant of verse, till one morning, when on returning from early mass she improvised the following stanzas.”

Then follow some beautiful lines, which we would most gladly translate, had the poetic gift been among our birth-day presents. They are the aspirations of a childless mother for that very doubtful blessing, a child. We pray some lady on whom the divine afflatus has breathed, to open the fourth volume at page 10, and send us, either prepaid or unpaid, a worthy transfusion of the sweet poesy they will there find. Delphine was then a young childless wife, and there is an indescribable melancholy charm about the lines, that may be well attributed to this circumstance.

“**TWELFTH DAY** is also an imposing festival from the prevailing sentiment which it brings with it. These proud kings prostrate before the lowly crib, human power humbling itself before the divine, the crown lost in the encircling glory,—all these images, grand and

gracious at the same time, strike the soul by their deep meaning, and charm the eyes by their vastness. Along with this the EPIPHANY is a household festival. It brings together a joyful group animated with sportive contests, and childish merriment. It is celebrated with joy while the family reunion is complete; but alas, where a seat is vacant, the festival is only a day of mourning.

"But our own favorite solemnity is PALM SUNDAY. The very sight of a bit of blessed palm (box wood) still affects us as when a child. At Rome they have the genuine palm brought from the environs of Genoa. God knows how we love the palms! and with what profound respect we are inspired by this tree of the Scriptures! these waving branches embracing in themselves all the poetry of the EAST; and yet the memories of our childhood are so strong, that the sacred palm blessed by the Pope himself, had a weaker effect on us than a little branch of Parisian box wood.

"Last Sunday the inhabitants of this great city seemed to sympathise strongly with us. The drivers of the public vehicles had the collars of their horses ornamented with branches of palm, and the women returning from church had their hands filled with a provision of the blessed shrub. Every one attached an idea, a belief, a souvenir to this sacred ornament, which he or she was going to fasten over some revered object—one over the portrait of his mother, another (it must be confessed) above the bust of Napoleon, a third over the holy-water vessel, a fourth over the image of her patroness. 'What folly,' cry the philosophers, 'to pay such reverence to a dwarfish little shrub, which scarcely requires an inch of soil, and is only fit for making combs and snuff boxes!' Ah, what fine people the philosophers are! they never have the slightest distrust of themselves: their proud revelations, their lofty thoughts are ever at command; and they have no need of exterior objects to recal them from a distance. What use can the image be to him who is never without the idea, or the guardian recollection to him, whom a defect of memory has never led into a fault? We acknowledge that we have not this strength of soul. We have need in our hours of prostration of a holy image, of a sacred souvenir, to come to our assistance. when our souls are in trouble, consolation and counsel enter again through our eyes; and we make this acknowledgment the more readily, as we have seen minds of a very superior order subject to the same weakness."

The longest article must have an end, but in this instance it is not for lack of material, as our selections have scarcely extended beyond the first volume. For an exact picture of the period over which the papers extended, as to fashions, public feeling, state of the fine arts, groupings in private and public life, they will be of the greatest value to the future historian of those things which are neglected by the setters up of the skeletons of past national events. We scarcely know a book better adapted to fill up hours spent in railroad carriages,

by the banks of country streams, or on the rocks of watering places. Accounts of spectacles, races at Chantilly, exhibitions, fireworks, and glances at the fashions, necessarily occupied some space as the feuilletons appeared. They will enter into the tableaux of some future Macaulay of the Champs Elysées; but to a large portion of ordinary readers they would be supremely uninteresting. However they do not take up disproportionate space. Some of the novels of this lady have not given us as much satisfaction as these journals of the *Chevalier de Launay*. From the healthy tone of his lucubrations we expected something more edifying than the plan and details of the *Marquis de Pontanges*. A model lady marries a violent idiot (we would be glad to know how the dispensation was procured), and bestows the most tender care on him. *Lovelace* becomes domesticated at the castle; and if she does not fall into his clutches, it is not her religious nor moral strength that saves her. We are made to see however that if she had gone astray, it would be a mere self-sacrifice to her lover's ease of mind, not a gratification to herself.* This fascinating youth at last runs off out of pique, and marries; but on returning from the church with his bride, he hears of the death of his true love's husband. Oh, woe and desolation! he runs off to her chateau, and she knowing nothing of his marriage, receives him with the sincerest joy, as her future husband.

However she is presently undeceived, and he is obliged to be off to console his deserted spouse. When she considers herself cured of her fantasy, they meet again in the gay world. He is more infatuated than ever, and she, finding her heart not entirely healed, makes a marriage of reason and esteem. This is done suddenly, and without the knowledge of *Lovelace*, whose wife dies most inconveniently the very same time. After some genuine, but not very enduring sorrow on his part, he flies like a steam coach to the castle of his long tried love, and is politely welcomed by her husband. We next hear of him in a mad house, and we are not informed that she enjoyed much happiness in her second espousals. She is however strongly commended for having retained her virtue and reason between two madmen. Now, however faulty the novel may be in outline and coloring, there was evidently no malice

* For a fine expose of this convenient help to morality see Miss Edgeworth's *Leonora*. *Le Marquis de Pontanges* was an early work.

preference in the authoress's mind. She wrote to excite sympathy for the sufferings which the weaker portion of humanity endure at the hands of their selfish and unprincipled tyrants.

It is probable that Gay had no design of encouraging informers' or turnkeys' daughters to loose conduct, or shop-boys to take to the road, when he wrote his dramatic sermon against hypocrisy and political knavery ; yet the *Beggar's Opera* is a decidedly unedifying spectacle for young people. Blame of the same quality but lighter in quantity, may be justly laid to the *Marquis of Portanges*.

The Lorgnon (Eye-glass) is a very pleasant novellette. She evidently sketches herself in the heroine of the story : for the hastiness of expression, occasional sharpness of repartee or sarcasm, speedy remorse, and satisfaction for pain given thereby, kindness of heart, and defence of absent friends, qualities ascribed to the lady of the story, are thoroughly appropriate to herself, as we find her painted by her sorrowing literary friends and admirers.

In *Balzac's Cane*, an article which, carried in its master's left hand renders him invisible, she humourously ascribes his wonderful insight into character, modes of life of all classes, intimate knowledge of puzzling business affairs, &c., to the wonderful virtue of his bamboo—we are sorry for not having room for the extract.

It is surprising, and pleasant at the same time, to find respectful and affectionate references to religious usages, and sincere tribute to the spirit of religious influence, thro various papers of the series, when we reflect on the continual attendance of such lax professors as Balzac, Théophile Gautier, Latouche, &c., at her select reunions. Though we hear of no domestic complaints nor *amicable arrangements* for living apart, but on the contrary, great and successful efforts made at times by the lady to extricate the gentleman out of the hands of powerful foes in high places, we can scarcely suppose that her married life was blessed with much domestic comfort ; she, living in the world of poetry and romance, he occupied day and night, struggling for a high political position, devising giant posters for the dead walls, and *canards* for the rise and fall of bubble and other shares in new companies. She is gone, and France will not see her peer for a century to come.

ART. III.—FAT AND LEAN.

1. *The Philosophy of Living.* By Herbert Mayo, M.D.
Third Edition. London: Parker, 1851.
2. *Physiologie Du Gout, ou Meditations de Gastronomie Transcendante, &c. &c.* Paris: Charpentier, 1842.

If we were a physician we should first write a good history of obesity; we should then establish one empire in that nook of science, and we should have the double advantage of having for our patients those who enjoy the best health, and of being daily besieged by the fairest portion of the human race; for to have a natural portion of plumpness—to be neither too much, nor too little in flesh—is the study of woman's entire life.

What we have not done, some doctor will yet do; and if he be skilful, discreet, and of an amiable disposition, we promise him miracles of success. “*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus hæres.*” We understand by obesity that state of oily congestion, in which, although the individual be not sick, his limbs increase by degrees in size, and lose their original form and symmetry.

There is a kind of obesity which is confined to the abdomen; it is rarely observed in woman; as their fibre is softer and much weaker, when they are attacked by obesity, it spares nothing. We call this variety *gastrophory*, and *gastrophories* those who are attacked by it. We are even one of this class ourselves; but although our corporation is rather prominent, the lower part of the leg is thin and wiry, and the nerve as free as in an Arab steed.

Nevertheless we have always looked upon this developement as our greatest enemy. We have however conquered it, and reduced it to a fixed and convenient size: but to overcome it, it was necessary to make war against it; and it is to a contest of thirty years that we owe whatever we have gained by the struggle. This was also Savarin's weakness. He writes:—

“I will begin by giving an extract from more than five hundred dialogues which I formerly had with my table companions, who were threatened with, and suffering from obesity.

Obese.—What delicious bread! Where do you get it?

Myself.—At Limet's, *rue de Richelieu*; he is baker to their R. H. the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé; I get it because he

is a neighbour of mine, and I continue it because I have said he makes the best bread in the world.

Obese.—I shall take a note of it, I eat a good deal of bread, and with such bread as this I should never wish for any other.

Another Obese.—But what are you doing there? You are collecting all the meat in your soup, without touching that fine Carolina rice.

Myself.—It is a particular *regime* that I have adopted.

Obese.—It's a bad regime! I am passionately fond of rice, as well as lees, paste, and such things; nothing is more nourishing, cheaper, or more easily procured.

A perfect Obese.—Be kind enough sir, to pass me up those potatoes that you have before you. At the rate things are going, I fear I shall be late.

Myself.—There they are at your hand.

Obese.—But serve yourself first; there is enough for us both, and after us the end of the world.

Myself.—As for me, I never use potatoes; I look upon them as only useful in time of famine; in any other case I think them abominably insipid.

Obese.—This is a gastronomical heresy! there is nothing better than potatoes; I eat them in every form; and should they be served up at the second course, either *à la lyonnaise*, or *au soufflé*, I here protest that I am resolved to have my rights.

A lady Obese.—I should feel much obliged for those Soissons beans which I perceive at the end of the table.

Myself.—After having complied with the request, and humming to myself a well known air—

Les Soissonnais sont heureux,
Les haricots sont chez eux.

Obese.—Don't joke; they are a source of great wealth for that country. Paris consumes an immense quantity. I must also claim your indulgence for those small beans that grow in marshy ground, and which are called *Windsor beans*; when they are young, they are a dish for the gods.

Myself.—My curse on all beans!

Obese, with a determined air.—I scorn your anathema; will it not be said that you are a council in yourself, that you wish to dictate to every body?

Myself to another lady.—I have to congratulate you, madam, on your improved health; it seems to me that you have got somewhat stouter since last I had the pleasure of seeing you.

Obese.—I am probably indebted for that to my new *regime*.

Myself.—How is that?

Obese. For some time I breakfast on good gravy soup, a bowl sufficient for two; and such soup! the spoon would stand in it.

Myself to another.—Madam, if I am not deceived by your eyes, you will accept a part of this charlotte I am about to cut for you.

Obese.—Then, Sir, my eyes do deceive you; I have before me two things which I prefer; and they are both of the masculine

gender ; the one is this cake of rice from the gold coasts ; the other is this enormous Savoy biscuit ; for you must know that I am passionately fond of sweet pastry.

To another lady.—Allow me, Madam, while they are discussing politics, the other side, to serve you to this Frangipane tart ?

Obese.—With the greatest pleasure, there is nothing agrees with me better than pastry. We have as tenant of ours a pastry cook ; and between my daughter and myself, I believe we expend the whole of the rent, and even more, on pastry.

Myself, *after looking at the young lady*.—It seems to agree with you wonderfully, your daughter is a very fine looking person, well fed.

Obese.—Well, sir, would you believe that her companions sometimes tell her she is too fat.

Myself.—It is perhaps from motives of envy.

Obese.—That is very possible. But I mean to get her married, and the first child will settle all that.

It is by such conversation that I have illustrated a theory, the elements of which I did not think existed in the human species : which is that corpulency is chiefly produced by a diet too much mixed with mealy substances ; and thus I learned that the same system of diet is always followed by the same effect.

And so we find that carnivorous animals never get fat (the wolf, the jackall, birds of pray, the raven, &c., for instance)

Herbivorous animals do not get very fat, at least so long as age has not reduced them to a state of repose ; and on the contrary they have been always known to fatten, and in a little time, when they are fed on potatoes, corn and meal of every description.

Obesity is unknown amongst savages, or amongst those who are obliged to work to support themselves, and who eat but what is necessary to support life."

According to the preceding observations, the truth of which any one can verify, it is easy to determine the chief causes of obesity.

The first is the natural disposition of the individual. Almost all men come into the world with certain predispositions of which they bear the mark on their countenance. Out of a hundred who die of consumption, ninety-nine have brown hair, the visage long and the nose pointed. Out of a hundred obeses ninety-nine have short faces, round eyes and flat noses.

It is then true that there are some persons predestined to a certain degree of obesity, and whose digestive faculties, supposing everything else equal, absorb a greater quantity of fat.

This physical fact, of which we are thoroughly convinced, has the effect of making us take rather pleasant views of things on certain occasions.

When we meet in society a young girl, very sprightly, rosy-cheeked, with a roguish nose, round figure, plump fat hands

and short round little-feet, every one is delighted with her, and consider her a charming creature ; whereas we, instructed by experience, look upon her when ten years older, and see the ravages which obesity shall have made on all that is now so fresh and so much admired, and we lament over afflictions that have not yet come. This premature compassion is a painful feeling, and furnishes a proof amongst a thousand others, that man would be more unhappy if he could see into futurity.

The second and principal cause of obesity lies in the meal or flour which is the principal element of our daily food.

We have already stated that all animals fed on farinuous substances are sure to fatten ; and man is subject to the same laws.

Mealy food produces more expeditiously, and with more certainty, its effects when it is mixed with sugar ; the sugar and fat contain hydrogen, a principle common to both ; and they are both inflammable substances. Being thus combined, it is the more active, inasmuch as it is agreeable to the taste, and thus sweet meats are seldom taken before the natural appetite is satisfied, when there remains but that other appetite for luxuries, which we are obliged to excite by all that the most refined art and the most enticing changes can produce.

This kind of food is not less incrustating when it is mixed with drink, as beer and other beverages of the same nature. Those who drink it habitually are known to have the largest bellies, and some families in Paris who, in 1817, drank beer for economy, because wine was too dear, were rewarded by an increase in their appearance which they found very inconvenient.

A double cause of obesity results from too much indulging in sleep, and want of exercise.

The human body gains much during sleep, while it loses but little, as the muscular action is suspended. It would be necessary then that the surplus acquired during sleep be spent by exercise ; but by the fact of sleeping too much we deprive ourselves of the opportunity of action.

Another consequence is that, as great sleepers avoid even the shadow of fatigue, the excess of assimilation is carried away by the force of circulation, and becomes charged, by a process, of which nature has reserved to herself the secret, with additional particles of hydrogen ; and fat is formed to be deposited by the same operation, in the capsules of the cellular tissue.

The final cause of obesity consists in excess in eating and drinking.

It has been well remarked that one of the privileges of the human species is to be able to eat without being hungry, and drink without being thirsty. This is a privilege that does not belong to the brute, for it has its origin in our indulging in the pleasures of the table, and our passion for prolonging them. This two-fold propensity has been found wherever man exists; we know that savages eat to excess, and get brutally intoxicated whenever the opportunity presents itself.

We take from Savarin the following curious passages:—

“We have before us an example which may be known to half Paris.

Mr. Lang had one of the most brilliant houses of the city; he was particularly noted for the splendour of his entertainments, but he was as remarkable for his bad stomach as he was for his love of the pleasures of the table, and he ate, what he knew would not agree with him, with a courage worthy of a better fate.

Everything went on well up to the coffee inclusively; but soon his stomach rebelled against the labour imposed upon it, pains set in, and the unfortunate man was obliged to throw himself on a sofa, where he remained till the next day, to expiate, by long sufferings, the pleasures of a moment.

What is most remarkable is that he never reformed; during his life he was known to submit to this strange alternative; and his sufferings of the day before had no effect on the repast of the next.

Those whose stomachs are in order are effected by excess in eating and drinking in the manner we have stated in the preceding instance. Everything is digested; and what is not necessary for the renovation of the body becomes settled and is converted into fat.

Others again suffer from constant indigestion; whatever they take does no good, and those who are ignorant of the cause are surprised that so many good things do not produce a better effect.

It may be easily seen that I am not exhausting, or entering too minutely into this subject: there are many other secondary causes which spring from our habits, the confused state of our passions and pleasures, which aid and stimulate those I have specified.

I leave all that to my successor whom I have introduced in the beginning of this chapter, and will confine myself to what is the right of the first come in all matters.

It is now many years since intemperance first attracted the attention of observers. Philosophers extolled temperance, princes made laws to promote it, religion censured all excesses in eating and drinking, but, alas! people ate as much as ever, and the pleasures of the table are indulged in more and more every day.

I should perhaps be more fortunate were I to take another course. I shall describe the *physical inconveniences of the stomach*, self preservation perhaps will be more persuasive than the voice of religion, more eloquent than sermons, more powerful than laws, and I am convinced that the fair sex will not be deaf to the voice of reason and common sense.

Inconveniences of Obesity.

Obesity has a very disagreeable effect on both sexes, inasmuch as it impairs both strength and beauty.

It impairs strength, because in increasing the weight of the body to be put in motion, it does not increase the motive power; it is still more injurious in obstructing respiration, which renders it impossible to continue, for any time, any occupation which requires muscular strength.

Obesity impairs beauty as it destroys that harmony of proportion primitively established; because all the parts do not increase to the same extent, or in the same manner.

It is injurious to it also by filling up those cavities which nature intended to be empty: hence, nothing is more common than to meet faces which were once interesting, and which obesity has rendered almost insignificant.

Napoleon was not an exception to this law. He became very stout during his last campaigns; from pale his complexion assumed a dull and heavy appearance, and his eyes lost a good deal of their usual expression.

Obesity produces a dislike for dancing, walking, riding, and an unfitness for all kinds of occupations and amusements which require activity and skill.

It predisposes us also to various diseases, such as apoplexy, dropsy, ulcers on the legs, and other affections difficult to be cured.

Examples of Obesity.

Amongst the heroes who were remarkable for their size, I only remember Marius, and John Sobieski.

Marius, who was originally of small stature, became as broad as he was long; and it was perhaps his huge size that frightened the Cimbri who were sent to murder him.

As to the King of Poland, his obesity was very near costing him his life. Having fallen into the midst of the main body of the Turkish cavalry, before which he was obliged to fly, he soon lost his breath, and he would have been certainly killed, if some of his aides-de-camps had not supported him, almost insensible, on his horse, while others generously sacrificed themselves to stop the enemy. If I am not mistaken the Duke de Vendôme, that worthy son of the great Henry, was also remarkable for his size. He died at an inn; abandoned by all; he had strength enough to see the last of his followers carry off the cushion on which he was lying, at the moment when he was about to breath his last.

History furnishes numerous examples of monstrous obesity; I shall omit them to speak only of those that have come under my own observation.

M. Rameau, my school-fellow, Mayor of Chaleur, in Burgundy, was only five feet two inches, and weighed twenty stone.

The Duke of Luynes, with whom I often sat on the bench, became an enormous size, his naturally fine figure was quite deformed by his huge shape, and he spent the last years of his life in a state of almost habitual somnolency.

But the most extraordinary of all that I have seen in this way is a native of New York, whom many Frenchmen, at present living in Paris, may remember to have seen in Broadway, seated in an immense arm chair, the legs of which were strong enough to support a church. Edwards was at least five feet ten, French measurement, and eight feet in circumference. His fingers were like those of the Roman emperor who wore his wife's necklaces as rings ; his arms and thighs were like tubes, of the size of an ordinary man's body, and he had feet like an elephant, which were concealed by the size of his legs ; his lower eye-lids were considerably drawn down by the weight of fat ; but what made him hideous to look at was his three chins, or spheroids which were hanging on his chest more than a foot long, so that his figure presented the appearance of the capital of a wreathed column. In this state Edwards passed his days, at the window, in a ground parlour which looked into the street, drinking, from time to time, his glass of ale, of which he had always a large tankard before him.

Such an extraordinary figure could not but attract the attention of the passers by, whom, if they imprudently delayed anytime, Edwards was sure to put to flight, roaring with a sepulchral voice : " what do you stare at, like wild cats ! Go your way, you lazy body. Begone, you good for nothing dogs," and such other gentle phrases. Having often saluted him by his name, I frequently conversed with him ; he assured me that he was not dissatisfied with his condition, that he was not unhappy, and that if death would not trouble him he would be satisfied to live so till the end of the world.

It follows from the preceding that, if obesity be not a disease, it is at least an indisposition, into which we fall, almost always, through our own fault.

It follows also that it is a state that all should endeavour to avoid who are not attacked by it, and that when they are, they should lose no time in curing themselves ; it is for their benefit that we are about to investigate those resources with which science, aided by experience has provided us.

Savarin thus continues :—

*Preservative against, or curative treatment of Obesity.**

I will begin this article by a fact which proves that it requires much resolution and strength of mind to preserve ourselves from, or to cure obesity.

* It is about twenty years since I undertook to write a treatise *ex officio*, on obesity. My readers have much reason to regret the preface ; it was somewhat of a dramatic form ; and in it I proved to a doctor that fever was much less fatal than a law-suit ; for by the latter the litigant is kept in constant anxiety and suspense, obliged to swear falsely, and to suffer all sorts of annoyance ; and after being deprived of his rest, his pleasures and his money, finishes by dying of a broken heart : a truth as useful to be known as any other.

M. Louis Greffulhe, whom his majesty subsequently honoured with the title of count, came to me one morning, and said he had been informed that I was about publishing a work on obesity; that he was in much danger of being attacked by it, and wished to have my advice.

"Sir," said I to him, "not being a physician I am at liberty to refuse you: however I am at your service, but on one condition, which is, that you will pledge your word of honor that you will rigorously observe for one month, the line of conduct which I shall propose to you."

M. Greffulhe made the required promise, shaking me by the hand, and the next day I delivered him my *fetva*, the first article of which was to weigh himself at the beginning and end of the treatment, in order to have a mathematical basis to verify the result.

A month afterwards M. Greffulhe came to me and spoke nearly as follows:—

"Sir, I have followed your directions with as much care as if my life depended upon it, and I have found that my weight diminished by something more than three pounds. But to arrive at this result I have been obliged to do such violence to my feelings and my habits; in a word I have suffered so much, that in thanking you for your valuable advice, I renounce whatever good I might derive from it, and I resign myself for the future, to whatever Providence has reserved for me."

After coming to this resolution, which I heard with much pain, the event proved what might be expected: M. Greffulhe got more and more into flesh, suffered all the inconveniences of extreme obesity, and, when scarcely forty years of age, he died of a fit of apoplexy to which he was subject.

Generalities.

Every remedy against obesity should begin with those three precepts of absolute theory; discretion in eating, moderation in sleep, and exercise by walking and riding; these are the principal resources afforded us by science; however I have not much confidence in them, because, from my experience of men and things, I know that no prescription which is not carried out to the letter can have any effect.

For 1st, It requires much self-control to stand up from table before our appetite is satisfied; as long as we feel this want, whatever we take irresistably leads us to take more; and in general we eat as long as we are hungry, in spite of doctors, but perhaps by the example of doctors.

2nd, You could not pain persons suffering from obesity more, than to propose to them to get up early: they will tell you their health would not permit it, that when they rise early they are good for nothing during that day; the women will complain of their eyes being dull and heavy; all are satisfied to stop up late at night, and reserve the entire morning for sleep; this is one resource lost.

3rd, Riding is a dear remedy, and is not adapted to people of all circumstances, and to every position.

If you propose to a handsome woman to take exercise on horseback, she will gladly consent, but on three conditions: first, that she shall have a fine horse, both fiery and gentle; the second is, that she have a new riding habit, cut after the last fashion; the third is, that she shall have a gentleman to accompany her, agreeable and well-looking. It is very difficult to procure all these, and therefore riding is out of the question.

Walking gives rise to many more objections. It tires one to death; it makes us perspire, and exposes us to cold; the dust ruins the stockings; the stones get through the thin shoes, and it is impossible to continue. In fine, if, during any of those various attempts, they suffer the slightest head-ache, or a pimple the size of the head of a pin should appear on the skin, they put it down to the system; it is abandoned at once, and the doctor gets furious.

Being thus convinced that to reduce our size we must eat with moderation, sleep little, and take as much exercise as possible, we must, however look for another way to arrive at this result. There is an infallible method for preventing our corpulency growing to excess, or diminishing it when it has come to that point. This method, which is based on well known principles of physics and chemistry, consists in a dietary system adapted to the end we wish to attain.

Of all medicinal remedies, system is the most effective, because it is always in operation, day and night, sleeping and waking; because the effect is reproduced every day, and it ends in subduing all parts of the body.

The *anti-obésique* regimen has been suggested as the principal and most general cause of obesity, since it has been proved that it is by mealy substances that fat is generated, in man, as well as in the brute; since with regard to the latter we see this effect produced every day under our eyes, in the trade of fat cattle to which it has given rise, we may conclude with certainty, that an abstinence, more or less rigid from all mealy food, will have the effect of reducing our size.

"Good Heaven!" exclaim my readers, of both sexes, "see what a savage this professor is: he condemns in one word everything we like, this fine bread from Linet's, those biscuits from Achard's, those cakes from——and all those good things which are made with flour and butter flour and sugar, and of flour, sugar and eggs. He does not except even potatoes, nor macarones. Who would ever expect this from an *amateur* who appeared in every other respect so amiable?"

"What is that," I ask, putting on a very wry face, which I assume once a year. "Well then, eat as long and as much as you like, get fat; become ugly, heavy, asthmatic, and die, if you choose of fat: depend upon it, you shall appear in my second edition. But, what now! This seems to terrify you, and you pray to avert the blow: take courage; I shall lay down a rule for you, and prove that there are yet enjoyments reserved for you on this earth where we live but to eat. You like bread: well then you shall eat rye bread; it has been long since extolled by the excellent Cadet de Vaux; it is less

strengthening, and certainly not so palatable, which makes it less difficult not to eat too much. For to be sure of ourselves, we must avoid temptation; bear this well in mind, it is worth remembering."

"Are you fond of soup: take it then, *a la gaulienne*, with green vegetables, such as cabbages, herbs &c. but I forbid bread, pies, or pea soup.

"You may partake of everything at the first course, with a few exceptions, such as rice and hot pastry. Eat, but eat with discretion, if you do not wish to satisfy a want hereafter, which will not exist unless you make it now.

"The second course is about to appear, and now all your good resolutions will be put to the test. Avoid all farinuous substances, under whatever form they may be presented. You have roast fowl, salad and vegetables of which you can partake; and since you will be served to sweetmeats, prefer chocolate cream, and orange jellies, &c. &c.

"Now comes the dessert. More danger: but, if up to this, you have acted prudently, you have nothing to fear.

"Have nothing to do with the ends of the table (they are always provided with cakes, more or less ornamented) take neither biscuits nor macarons; you have all kinds of fruit, jams, and many other things which you will know how to select, if you follow my directions.

"After dinner I would advise you to take coffee and liqueur; and I would also recommend occasionally both tea and punch.

"For breakfast, rye bread by all means, chocolate rather than coffee. However, I do not object to coffee on milk, reasonably strong; no eggs, but everything else as you please. But breakfast can never be too early. When breakfast is late, dinner comes on before it is properly digested, which does not however prevent us from dining; and this habit of eating without an appetite, produces marked obesity, in as much as it is of frequent occurrence.

Continuation of the regimen.

Up to this I have traced the outlines of a system which you should adopt when threatened by obesity; I will now add a few precepts as a remedy for it when you are attacked.

"Drink every summer, about thirty bottles of sedlitz-water, one large glass in the morning, two before dinner, and as many before going to bed. Use at dinner light white wine such as those of Anjou. Shun beer as you would the plague. Eat frequently raddishes, artichokes, pepper and salt, asparagus, celery, and cardoons; of meat you should prefer veal and fowl; never eat but the crust of bread; in cases of doubt be guided by some doctor who has adopted my system; and whatever time you begin to practice it, you shall before long feel fresh, lively, active and in good health, in a word fit for anything.

"Having thus placed you on your road, it is but right to point out the dangers to which you are exposed, lest that carried away by too great zeal in guarding against obesity, you might over-hit the mark by running into the opposite extreme.

"The danger to which I wish to draw your attention, is the constant use of acids, which are often recommended by ignorant people, and which experience has often proved to be most pernicious."

Dangers attending the use of acids.

There is a very dangerous doctrine prevalent amongst women, and which every year causes the death of many young persons, which is, that acids, especially vinegar, are a preservative against obesity.

No doubt, the frequent application of acids makes us thin, but it is injurious to our freshness, health and life itself; and although lemonade is the mildest of them all, there are few stomachs that can resist it a long time.

This is a fact which cannot be too well known; there are few of my readers who could not furnish me with examples in support of it; but I will select the following, as it somewhat relates to myself.

In 1776, I was residing at Dijon, studying a course of law in the faculty, a course of chemistry under M. Guyton de Morveau, then Attorney-general, and a course of domestic medicine under M. Maret, perpetual secretary of the Academy, and father of the Duke de Bassano.

I entertained a feeling of friendship for one of the handsomest persons I ever remember to have seen; I say a *feeling of friendship*, which is strictly true, and at the same time surprising, for I was then well disposed for stronger and more endearing ties.

This friendship, which we must take for what it was, and not for what it was likely to become, was characterised from the first moment of our acquaintance, by great familiarity, and we enjoyed that confidence in each other which seemed very natural to us both; our intercourse and whisperings without end, did not alarm mamma, for they had the appearance of innocence and simplicity, worthy of the primitive ages. Louise then, was very handsome, and she was particularly remarkable for that just proportion of classical fulness and roundness of figure, which the eye delights to dwell on, and artists glory in copying.

Although I was but her friend, I was by no means insensible to those charms which she unconsciously displayed; and perhaps they contributed, without my suspecting it, to that chaste sentiment which attached me to her. Let this be as it may, one evening, after looking at Louise with more attention than usual, "my dear friend," said I to her, "you are unwell; it seems to me that you have got thin."—"Oh! no," she replied with a melancholy smile, "I am very well, and if I am somewhat thinner than usual, I can, in that respect, afford to lose a little." "Lose!" replied I earnestly, "you don't want to lose or gain, remain as you are, charming creature," and other such phrases, as a friend of twenty has always at his command.

From this time, I looked upon the young girl with interest and uneasiness, and I soon observed her complexion become pale, her cheeks hollow, and her beauty gradually decaying. Oh! how fragile and passing is beauty! At last, I accompanied her to a ball, where she went as usual; I prevailed upon her to rest herself during two country-dances, and availing myself of this opportunity, I extorted from her the confession, that, annoyed by the pleasantries of

some of her friends, who assured her that before two years, she would be as large as St. Christopher, and aided by the advice of others, she contrived to become thin by taking, every morning, a large glass of vinegar; she added, that up to that moment, no person knew anything of what she had been doing but myself.

I shuddered on hearing this confession, I felt the extent of the danger, and I lost no time in acquainting her mother of it the next day, who was as much alarmed as myself, for she idolized her daughter. No time was let pass in assembling her friends, and holding consultations, and medical aid was immediately called in. But all to no purpose! her health was irremediably undermined, and at a moment when her friends were beginning to suspect the danger, all hopes of her recovery were gone.

Thus, for having followed imprudent advice, after been reduced to the frightful state that accompanies consumption, the amiable Louise fell asleep for ever, when scarcely eighteen years of age.

She died casting a painful look on that future, which was lost to her for ever; and the idea of having, though unconsciously, shortened her own life, hastened her dissolution, and added to the sufferings of her last moments.

She was the first person I ever saw dying, for she breathed her last in my arms, at the moment when, according to her desire, I raised her up to show her the light of day for the last time.

About eight hours after her death, her afflicted mother requested me to accompany her in a last visit which she wished to pay the remains of her daughter; and we observed with surprise, that her whole countenance had assumed a bright extatic expression which we never remarked before. I was somewhat astonished, and the mother drew from it a consoling omen. But it seems this is not a rare occurrence. Lavater alludes to it in his *Treatise on Physiognomy*.

Anti-Obesique Belt.

Every *Anti-Obesique* regimen ought to be accompanied by a precaution which I had forgotten, and with which I should have commenced: it consists in wearing, both night and day, a belt to support the abdomen, tightened moderately.

In order to comprehend the necessity of it we should bear in mind that the vertebral column which forms one of the coats of the intestinal thigh, is firm and inflexible; whence it results, that all excess of weight that the intestines acquire, when they are turned from the vertical line by the presence of too much flesh, rests upon the different coatings which compose the skin of the abdomen, and the latter, from their facility of distending themselves indefinitely,* might not have elasticity enough to fall back into their usual position, when the strain is removed, if they were not assisted by mechanical aid, which, resting on the dorsal column itself, opposes it and establishes

* Mirabeau said, when speaking of an excessively large man, "that God only created him to show to what an extent the human skin could be distended without breaking."

the equilibrium. Thus, the belt has the double effect of preventing the abdomen from yielding to the actual weight of the intestines, and giving it the strength necessary to contract itself when the pressure is diminished. The belt should never be discontinued; otherwise the good produced during the day will be counteracted by leaving it aside at night; it is not very inconvenient, and we soon become accustomed to it.

The belt, which is also useful, as it seems as a monitor to warn us when we have eaten sufficient, ought to be made with great care; its pressure should be moderate, and always the same: that is it should be so made as to contract in proportion as the pressure is removed.

We need not wear it all our lives; we may leave it aside without inconvenience when we have gained the object in view, and that we have remained stationary for some weeks, provided we observe a certain and proper system of diet. It is now six years since I wore one.

Cascarilla.

There is a substance which I believe useful as a remedy against obesity; many observations have strengthened me in this belief; however I am not opposed to any one doubting it, and I call the attention of doctors to it.

This substance is cascarilla.

Ten or twelve of my acquaintances suffered from long and unremitting fever; some of them were cured by old women's remedies, that is by powders, &c.; others by the continued use of cascarilla, which always produced its effect.

All those of the first class, who were victims to obesity, became as large as usual when recovered from the fever, while the others lost all their superfluous flesh; which justifies me in thinking, that the last effect was produced by the application of cascarilla, for there was no difference between them but the mode of treatment.

Rational theory is not opposed to this result; for, on the one hand, cascarilla may very probably so promote the circulation as to rouse and disperse those gaps destined for the generation of fat; and on the other hand, it is known that there is in cascarilla a portion of bark which may fill up those capsules, or cups, intended in ordinary cases, for the reception of the oily congestions. It is even probable that those two causes conspire and assist each other.

It follows from these *data*, which any one may verify, that I think myself safe in recommending the use of cascarilla to all those who wish to disencumber themselves of superfluous flesh. Thus, *dummodò annuerint in omni medicationis genere doctissimi facultatis professores*, I think that after the first month of a proper system, whoever wishes to become thin will do well to take, during one month, every second day, at seven o'clock in the morning, two hours before breakfast, a tumbler of white wine without water, into which is diluted a tablespoon full of good red cascarilla, and that good will result from it. Such are the remedies which I recommend for an inconvenience as disagreeable as it is general. I have adapted them to our human

weakness, modified by the state of society in which we live. And in this, I am supported by this experimental truth, which is, that the more rigorous a regimen be the less effect it will have, because it is badly carried out, or not carried out at all.

Great efforts are very uncommon, and if we wish to have our directions attended to, we must propose nothing to man which he will find it difficult to accomplish ; and when in our power the remedy should be an agreeable one.

Leanness is that state of the individual whose muscular flesh, not being swelled by fat, exposes the form and angles of the frame.

There are two kinds of leanness ; the first is that which, being caused by the natural disposition of the body, is accompanied by health, and the perfect action of the organic functions. The second is that which is caused by the weakness of certain organs, or the defective action of others, and gives us a miserable and wretched appearance. We have known a young woman of middle size who weighed only sixty-five pounds.

Man does not suffer much inconvenience from leanness ; it does not render him less vigorous ; on the contrary, it makes him much more active. The father of the young woman just mentioned, although as thin as herself, had sufficient strength to take a heavy chair with his teeth, and throw it behind his back, passing it over his head.

But it is a terrible affliction for woman, who values her beauty more than her life, and beauty consists principally in roundness of form and the graceful curve of the features. The most exquisite toilet, the most fashionable dressmaker, cannot hide certain defects, or dissemble certain angles ; and it is often said of a thin woman, however beautiful she may appear, that every pin she takes from her dress lessens her charms.

For excessively thin women there seems to be no remedy, or at least the cure should be taken in hands by the faculty ; otherwise the process may be so long that the recovery will be too late.

But we do not see why it should be more difficult to fatten those women who are born thin than it is to fatten chickens ; and if more time is necessary, it is because women have comparatively a much smaller stomach, and cannot be got to submit to a rigorous regimen, which must be punctually observed, as in the case of domestic animals.

Nature, so varied in her works, has her moulds for leanness as well as for obesity.

Those persons destined to be thin are shaped in a long mould. They have small, bony hands and feet, thin legs, the back and sides emaciated, the ribs protruding, an aquiline nose, almond shaped eyes, a large mouth, the chin pointed, and dark hair.

Such is the general appearance; some parts of the body may be an exception, but this is very rare.

Sometimes we see very thin persons with very good appetites. All those whom we have been able to question on the subject have admitted that they digest badly, and that this is why they always remain in the same state.

Very thin persons are of any colour or form; they are remarkable for having nothing striking either in their features or their manners; their eyes are dead, the lips pale, and their whole appearance indicates weakness and a want of energy, something even bordering on suffering. In fine, it might be said of them, that they seem to be but half finished, but half alive.

Savarin tells us that—

“Every thin woman wishes to get fatter: it is a wish I heard expressed a thousand times; it is therefore to pay a last tribute of respect to this all-powerful sex, that I shall endeavour to substitute real forms for those attractions of silk and calico, which we see displayed in such profusion in our fashionable shops, to the great scandal of austere critics, who pass them by with a surly countenance, and avoid those shadows of pride and ambition, with as much care as if the reality were before them.

The whole secret of acquiring a plumpness of figure, consists in a proper system of diet; we need only eat, and choose our food.

With this regimen doctors' prescriptions with regard to repose and sleep may be disregarded, and we are equally sure of gaining the object in view. For if you do not take exercise, you will be disposed to get fat; if you take exercise, it will equally dispose you to get fat, for then you will eat more, and when the appetite is judiciously satisfied, not only is our strength restored, but we acquire new strength when it is necessary to acquire it.

If you sleep much, sleep makes you fat; if you sleep but little, your digestion will be quicker, and you will therefore, eat more.

For those, then, who are anxious to acquire a plump, round figure, it is only necessary to point out the system of diet they ought to adopt; and this cannot be a difficult task, after the principles we have already laid down.

To solve this problem, then we should introduce nothing into the stomach, which it will not bear without fatigue, nor to the assimilating organs, any substance which cannot be converted into fat.

I shall then endeavour to trace what would be the daily food of a sylph, supposing that she fancied to become one of us mortals.

General Rule—To eat a good deal of very fresh bread, taking care to use the soft part.

To take before eight o'clock in the morning, in bed if necessary, a bowl of soup with bread, or *pâtes*, not too much, that it be soon digested, or if preferred, a cup of good chocolate.

To breakfast at eleven o'clock on eggs, *pâtes*, or chops, but eggs are indispensable ; a cup of coffee would be no harm.

The dinner-hour may be regulated, so that the breakfast may be digested before going to table ; for we often hear it said, that it is very injurious, or at least does no good, to take a meal before the preceding one is digested.

After breakfast, a little exercise should be taken by men, if the nature of their occupation permit it, for business above all ; the ladies should go to the Bois de Boulogne, the Tuileries, to their dress-makers', their milliners', to the fashionable shops, and to visit their friends, to talk about all they may have seen. I hold it as certain, that such conversation and meetings are highly calculated to produce a salutary effect from the pleasure they afford.

For dinner, soup, meat, and fish, at discretion, together with rice, macarones, sweet pastry, creams and charlottes, &c.

At dessert, Savoy biscuits, cakes, and other mixtures of mealy food, eggs, and sugar.

This regimen, though apparently limited, is susceptible of great variety ;—it admits of the entire animal kingdom, and care should be taken to vary the nature, preparation and seasoning of the dishes to be used, and to render them palatable by every means in our power, in order to prevent that dislike, which is always an irresistible barrier to our deriving any ultimate benefit from our food.

Beer should be preferred for drink ; if not, Bordeaux, or other wines from the South of France.

Acids should be avoided, except salad, which is always refreshing.

Fruit might be sweetened, when it is susceptible of it ; baths should not be taken too cold, and we should breathe from time to time the pure air of the country, we should also eat grapes when in season ; and care should be taken not to exhaust ourselves by dancing.

We should generally go to bed at eleven o'clock, and never later than one in the morning, on extraordinary occasions.

By adhering to this system with exactness and perseverance, we shall soon recover our natural strength ; health and beauty will be improved, luxury will be promoted by both, and the sounds of praise and gratitude shall resound in the ears of the professor.

Sheep, calves, oxen, fowl, carp, crabs and oysters, are fattened ; whence I draw the following maxim :—*Everything that eats can be fattened, provided its food be well and properly selected.*"

But perhaps the impatient reader will ask how should a repast be prepared so as to comprise, in a supreme degree, all that constitutes the pleasures of the table for Fat or Lean ?

"I shall answer this question—collect yourself, then, reader, and pay attention : it is *Gasterea* herself, the fairest of the Muses, that inspires me ; I shall be more intelligible than an oracle, and my maxims shall go down to future generations.

Let the number of guests not exceed twelve, so that the conversation be general and uninterrupted; let them be so selected, that they be of different professions, of the same taste, and on such terms of intimacy as will render it unnecessary to have recourse to that odious formality of introduction.

The dining room should be well lighted, and the table-cloth and napkins unexceptionable, and the temperature of the room should be between thirteen and sixteen degrees of Réaumur's thermometer.

Let the men be naturally witty, without affectation, and the women amiable without being coquettes.*

The dishes should be exquisite, but not too numerous, the wines of the best quality each in its own degree.

The order in which the former should be served is from the substantial to the light and delicate; and for the latter, to begin with the strong wines, and end with the sweetest and most perfumed.

The dinner being the last act of the day, should not be hurried, and the guests should consider themselves as travellers who are to arrive together at the same destination.

The room intended for the guests should be large enough to admit of a game of cards for those who cannot dispense with it, and leave room sufficient for such as wish to discuss the topics of the day.

The guests should be induced to remain by the pleasure of each other's society, and cheered by the hope that the evening will not pass without other enjoyments.

The tea should not be too strong, and the toast properly buttered, and the punch should be made with great care.

The guests should not retire before eleven o'clock, but all should be in bed before twelve.

If any one has partaken of a repast uniting all those conditions, he may boast of having assisted at his own deification; and the more of those conditions that have been omitted, or neglected, the less will be the pleasure.

I have said that the pleasure of the table might be considerably prolonged, and I am about to prove it by giving a true and circumstantial account of the longest repast I have ever assisted at; I intend it as a *bon bon* for the reader to recompense him for his kindness in reading this work. Here it is.

There resided in the Rue du Bac, a family of my relations, consisting of a doctor, aged seventy, a captain seventy six, and their sister Jeannette seventy-four. I frequently visited them, and was always received in the most friendly manner.

"By-the-by," said Doctor Dubois, to me one day, standing on his toes to tap me on the shoulder, "you are a long time talking about your famous *fondue* (eggs beaten up with cheese), "you are continually bringing water from our teeth with it, and it is high time to put an end to this. We shall go some day and breakfast with you, the captain and myself, and we shall see what it is made of." (It was I think in 1801, that he made this attack on me,) "With the greatest pleasure," re-

* I am writing in Paris in the neighbourhood of the Palais Royal and the Chaussée d'Antin.

plied I, "and you shall have it in its prime, for I shall prepare it myself. I am quite delighted at your proposal, so, to-morrow at ten o'clock, military hour.*"

At the hour appointed I saw my two guests arrive, well shaved, and their hair well powdered, combed and brushed; two little old men still fresh and healthy.

They smiled with pleasure when they saw the table laid, the white cloth, and the three covers, at each place two dozen of oysters with a bright and golden lemon.

At each end of the table was a bottle of wine carefully polished, which appeared from the cork to be very old.

Alas ! I have seen those oyster breakfasts disappear from amongst us, which were formerly so common and so gay, when they were eaten by the thousand ; the oysters disappeared with the abbés, who ate them by the gross, and the knights who were never done with them ; I regret them, but as a philosopher. If time brings such changes in governments, what influence has it not on our simple customs.

After the oysters, which were considered very good, skewered kidneys, a dish of rich liver with truffles, were served up, and then came the *fondue*.

The ingredients of this dish were collected in a saucepan, and placed on the table, with a contrivance for cooking, heated by spirits of wine ; I immediately set to work, and my two cousins never lost sight of my movements. They were delighted with this preparation, and begged of me to give them the receipt, which I did while relating two anecdotes which the reader will find elsewhere.

Then came the fruits in season, with sweetmeats, and a cup of real Moka—*à la dubelloy*—a method which was then beginning to be generally adopted, and then two sorts of liqueurs, one, spirituous, for deterging, the other, of an oily nature, for soothing.

Breakfast over, I proposed to my guests to take a little exercise, and for that purpose to take a turn round my apartment, which, though far from elegant, is large and comfortable, and which was the more pleasing to my friends, as the ceiling and gilding were of the middle of the reign of Louis XV.

I showed them the original cast of the bust of my handsome cousin, Madam Reclamier, by Olinard, and her portrait in miniature by Augustin, which so pleased them that the doctor, with his thick lips, kissed the portrait, and the Captain took a liberty with the bust for which I rebuked him ; for if all the admirers of the original did as much, this bosom so volutuously formed, would soon be in the same state as the toe of St. Peter in Rome, which has been considerably shortened by the pilgrims' embraces.

I afterwards showed them some casts in plaster of the best ancient sculptors, some paintings of merit, fossils, and musical instruments, and several beautiful editions of both French and foreign works.

* Whenever an appointment is thus made, the repast should be served up as the clock strikes, and those who are absent should be treated as deserters.

In this scientific journey they did not forget my kitchen. I showed them the economical pot for boiling meat, my roasting shell, the spit turned by clock-work, and my evaporating machine. They examined all with the greatest minuteness, and were the more surprised as they themselves had everything dressed after the manner of the regency.

It was just two o'clock as we entered the drawing room. "This is too bad," said the doctor, "there it is two o'clock, the hour sister Jeannette expects us to dinner! we must be off immediately. It is not because I am very anxious for my dinner, but I must have my bowl of soup; it is an old habit of mine, and when I pass the day without taking it, I exclaim with Titus, '*diem perdidit*.'" "My dear doctor," said I, "why go so far for what you have at your hand? I shall send word to my cousin that you will stop with me, and that you will do me the pleasure of taking your dinner with me, for which I must claim your indulgence, because it will not have all the merit of an *impromptu*, as it must be dressed in a hurry."

On this subject the two brothers deliberated with their eyes, and then formally consented. Then I sent word to the faubourg Saint Germain, and gave directions to the cook; who, in reasonable time, partly out of his own resources, and partly by the aid of the neighbouring restaurateurs, served us up a very comfortable and tempting little dinner.

I was highly amused and gratified at seeing the coolness and assurance with which my two friends sat down to table, unfolded their napkins and prepared for work.

They experienced two surprises which I myself did not think of at the moment; for I treated them to Parmesan, (cheese from Parnia), after which I made them take a glass of pure Madeira. These were two novelties then lately introduced by Prince Talleyrand, the first of our statesmen, to whom we are indebted for so many *bon mots*, delicate and profound, on whom the attention of the public has been always concentrated with marked interest, whether in power or obscurity.

The dinner passed off very well, both as regarded the substantial dishes and their necessities; and my friends were as amiable as they were gay.

After dinner I proposed a game of piquet which was objected to; they preferred the *far niente* of the Italians, said the captain; and we then formed a little circle round the fire.

Notwithstanding the pleasure the *far niente* afforded us, I considered that nothing adds more charms to conversation than some sort of occupation, when it does not absorb the attention too much, so I proposed tea.

Tea was then a novelty to the French of the old school; however it was accepted. I made it in their presence, of which they took a few cups with the more pleasure as they never looked upon it but as a physic.

Long experience has taught me that one act of civility begets another, and when once we have complied with a request, we lose the power of refusing. Thus it was almost with an air of authority, that I proposed to finish with a bowl of punch.

"But you will be the death of us," said the doctor; "you will make us tipsy," said the captain, to which I only replied by loudly calling for lemons, sugar and rum.

I made the punch then, and while I was so engaged, the toast was prepared, very thin, delicately buttered and salted to perfection.

Here they protested, saying they had eaten quite sufficient, and that they could not touch it; but as I well knew how tempting this simple preparation is, I replied, that I only wished there would be enough of it.

Shortly after as the captain had taken the last cut, I surprised him looking if there remained any more, or if more was being prepared, which I directed to be done immediately.

However the time passed quickly, and it was just eight o'clock by my time-piece. "Let us go," said my guests, "we must have a little salad with our good sister, whom we have not seen the entire day."

I made no objection to this proposition; faithful to the duties of hospitality towards the two amiable old men, I accompanied them to their carriage, and saw them depart.

It may be asked, perhaps, if we did not feel a few moments *ennui* during this long sitting.

I reply in the negative; the attention of my guests was constantly kept up by the perfection of the *fondue*, by the voyage round my apartment, by some novelties in the dinner, by the tea, and particularly by the punch, of which they had never taken before.

Besides, the doctor was familiar with the genealogy and anecdotes of all Paris; the captain had spent a portion of his life in Italy, either in the army, or as ambassador at the court of Parma; I myself had travelled much, we conversed without pretensions, and listened to each other with pleasure; it is not so difficult to make time pass agreeably and rapidly.

The next morning I received a note from the doctor, in which he stated that the little revelling of the night before did them no harm; on the contrary, after a most refreshing sleep, they got up, fresh, cheerful, and ready for another.

If we have interested the reader sufficiently to send him to the pages of the *Physiologie du Gout* to study for himself, he will there find ample repayment in wit, and learning; in sound sense and profound knowledge of men and things.

ART. IV.—THE GOOD PEOPLE.

Fairy Tales, Now First Collected: To which are prefixed Two Dissertations on Pigmies and Fairies. By Joseph Ritson.
London: Payne and Foss.

“THE GOOD PEOPLE:” so, reader, we call the Fairies in Ireland. Our country has been famous for them; we have had them of all kinds, from the Merrows and Fir-Darrigs and Cluricaunes, to the little rogues who, as Sam Lover sings, dwell in laughing eyes.*

The decline of the Good People may be said to have begun when the National schoolmasters came in. Now their gentle sway is past for ever, and we may say with Dryden—

“now the swain
Returning late, may pass the woods in vain,
And never hope to see the nightly train.
In vain the dairy now with mint is dress’d,
The dairy-maid expects no fairy guest
To skim the bowls, and after pay the feast.
She sighs, for ah! and shakes her shoes in vain,
No silver penny to reward her pain.”

But what a grand life they had; how poets sung of them, how children loved them, how painters idolized them, how learned men of undoubted genius have written their history, and last but not least, a Bishop of Oxford and Norwich, quaint old Richard Corbet, wrote *The Fairy's Farewell*.

We have, ourselves, always loved the fairies, and what we know of them we now propose to tell our readers.

* How well Lover sings this the reader shall judge:—

As Cupid one day
Hide and seek went to play,
He knew where to hide himself, sly and secure;
So, away the rogue dashes
To hide 'mid the lashes
That fringe the bright eyes of sweet Kitty Maclure.
She thought 'twas a fly
That got into her eye,
So she wink'd—for the tickling she could not endure;
But love would not fly
At her winking so sly,
And still lurks in the eye of sweet Kitty Maclure.

The term "*fairy* mythology" adopted by Mr Keightley we take to signify the popular mythology of the Teutonic nations ; and we in England give it this title, because in our language the name *fairies* has become the common appellation of the elves of the popular creed. We therefore think that Mr. Keightley has quite lost sight of the object of his book, or that its title is a misnomer, when he makes an exhibition of his learning in running wild among the Persians and Arabs, about whose superstitions we are, if necessary, prepared to shew that he knows nothing beyond the shreds and patches to be picked out of a grammar or a dictionary. We could also very well do without the *fairy* mythologies of Greece and Italy ; but we have an especial objection to either a *fairy* mythology of the Jews or a *fairy* mythology of the Hottentots. It may be granted that the Greeks and the Persians are both branches of the great Indo-Teutonic stock, and, therefore, that there is every reason to believe, if we could trace their popular superstitions far enough back, that we should find in them an agreement with those of the Teutons in the west. But as we are no believers in the transmission of these superstitions from one people to another, and as the particular causes which have so long been constantly producing changes in the mythology of the Greeks and the Latins, and again in that of the eastern nations, are so very different from those which have operated upon our own, we imagine that to attempt a comparison, without more knowledge of each than we at present have, would be but a vain and useless labour. We need rather such books as the Germans, and Danes, and Swedes have written for the popular mythology of their countries,—such books as Crofton Croker has written for Ireland—the only one that has yet rendered justice to the superstitions of the peasantry of any part of our islands. There is much yet to be gathered : not enough has been accomplished towards collecting the fairy legends of Scotland and Wales ; and as for England, where there is still room for a good harvest, there has been done—nothing ! But it is easier and more flattering to our vanity to invent schemes, than to gather together materials which may establish truth.

Mr. Keightley tells us at some length how, after a long consideration of the subject, he has come to the conclusion, that of the tales and stories which have during ages floated about in every country, some are, as it were, "geological formations ;"

having grown up with the people themselves, some have come in by transmission from other countries, and some by other means. All this is very true, and indeed only amounts to the same thing as saying, in familiar English, that they came one way or another. But, then, Mr. Keightley claims this as a discovery,* and makes a book on the subject, in which he certainly proves the proposition, but he makes no great progress towards giving *any* answer, much more a general answer, to those most important questions, — what? how? when? and why? However, the volume to which we allude hardly belongs to the subject of the present article, in which we intend to confine ourselves to popular mythology, and to the popular mythology of our own island; yet we hope to shew, that it is by investigating this mythology in one country, and by examining historically the changes, which it has there undergone, and the causes to which we may attribute those changes, that we are most likely to find satisfactory answers to those questions, and to place the subject in a clearer light. Perhaps we may at some future time be tempted to return to the volume which has occasioned these remarks. We will observe, however, in passing, that there are stronger grounds than its author seems to suspect for believing Wilhelm Tell to be a mythic personage, at least as far as he is concerned in shooting the apple off his son's head. Sprenger, an early writer on these matters, in his *Malleus Maleficarum*, has a chapter "de Sagittariis Maleficis," where he relates the same story of one Punkler, a magician of Rorbach, in the diocese of Worms; and, if our memory be not very treacherous, we have read in one of these older works on spirits and magic of a wood-spirit, concerning whom some such observation as the following was added—"this is the hobgoblin who shot the apple off the child's head." Mr. Keightley will find, too, from the excellent old ballad of those three worthies, *Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough,*

* We cannot forbear saying a word or two on Mr. Keightley's discoveries, because he makes so much parade of them. He asserts that he has proved, that the name Oberon, in French, is the German Elberich; yet he has but taken it on the authority of Grimm, who has shewn, not merely that the word Elberich did take that form in French, but that it could not have taken any other! He says, that *he alone* has discovered why Shakspeare gave the fairy queen the name Titania — we can assure him, that a tolerably advanced boy in one of our public schools would stand in peril of dire birch if he could not make the discovery at a very short notice. We will only add, that his account of the origin and meaning of the word *fairy* is, at best, but a lame and most unsatisfactory performance.

and *William of Cloudeslee*, that legend was also current at an early period in England.

The memorials of the days of Anglo-Saxon heathendom are unfortunately few. The only work which we can ascribe with any degree of certainty to so early a period of their history, or rather of the history of their forefathers before they came here, is the poem of *Beowulf*, of which an excellent edition was published by the late Mr. Kemble; and this poem has been much interpolated by Christian transcribers before it was reduced to the state in which it has come down to us. The chief exploit of the hero, Beowulf the Great, is the destruction of the two monsters Grendel and his mother; both, like most of the evil beings of old times, dwellers in the fens and the waters; and both, moreover, as some Christian bard has taken care to inform us, of "Cain's kin," as were also the eotens, and the elves, and the orcs (eòtenas, and ylfe, and orcneas). The haunt of the Grendels was a lake in the middle of a dark and dreary morass; it was overshadowed by the thick branches of an ancient wood, and by night the surface of its waters appeared covered with flame.

" They keep the secret land,
the refuges of the wolf,
the windy promontories,
the fearful path of the fen;
there where the mountain-stream
under the darkness of the promontories
rushes downwards—
the flood under the earth.
It is not hence [from Heorot]
a mile distant
where that lake standeth,
over which hang
the rinded thickets,
the wood fast with its roots
overhange the water:
There by night to any one
an evil wonder appears,
fire on the flood."

When, after the death of the son, Beowulf and his companions pursued the mother into her retreat, they found the water full of sea-drakes and serpents (wurm-cynnes fela), and nicers lying on the banks. To Beowulf these were no new antagonists; in one of his exploits by sea, the nicers—for there were nicers in the sea as well as in the lakes—had, during a

storm, dragged him out of his boat, and carried him to the bottom, where the desperate struggle between them ended with the death of nine of his opponents. We learn little from the poem of the form, or magnitude, or nature of these "heathen beasts," as they are called, except that against them weapons, the work of men, were useless; and Beowulf's sword, when it touched the Grendel's blood, melted like ice.

The last exploit of Beowulf was against another personage of the fairy mythology, a dragon, or fire-drake, that sat brooding over his heaps of treasures of the olden days. During the slumber of its guardian, the "heathen hoard" had been plundered; and when the fire-drake awoke, and discovered that the object of his cares had been visited, he paced furiously about the entrance of his den in search of the intruder. He then returned to ascertain the extent of his loss, and at night he issued forth, and in revenge spread devastation through the country. The house of the dragon was a tumulus under a mountain near the waves of the sea.

When the surviving conqueror, the companion of Beowulf, who was mortally wounded in the combat, entered it,—

" He, exulting in victory, saw there
a multitude of costly gems,
gold glittering
heavy upon the ground,
a wonder on the wall;
and in the den of the dragon —
the old flier in the twilight—
platters standing,
the vessels of men of old
no longer living,
fretted with ornaments:
there was many a helmet
old and rusty,
many an armlet
skilfully bound together.

So also he saw raised there
an ensign, all of gold,
high over the hoard,
the most wonderful of handy works,
locked together by magic arts;
from which the light shone forth,
so that he might scrutinise
the whole bottom of the cave. "

Popular superstitions are not easily removed ; and with the introduction of Christianity the Anglo-Saxons did not cease to believe in the existence and operations of the elves and the nicers, the orcs and the giants ; nor did they cease to trust in the effects of charms and incantations, or to revere wells and fountains. The preachers of the faith of their Redeemer saw nothing in that faith which was contrary to the belief which they had sucked in even with their mother's milk ; for though it asserted the unity of God, yet it did not deny the existence of spirits. It was impossible, however, that so great a change should be made as the total subversion of the previously established religion of a country, without affecting in some measure even the superstitions of the peasant ; and we find accordingly that the Christian Anglo-Saxons tried to account for the existence of these beings in a way very different from that of their Pagan forefathers. They attempted to rationalise the belief in the elves which they found already established ; and they defined their pedigrees and functions, and limited their powers, on principles which varied according to the proportion wherein Christianity or heathendom ruled in their minds. Hence we hear at one time of the Elfin descendants of the first murderer, Cain, who were fated to wander over the wastes and fens, the terror and scourge of mankind ; at another, of the spirits unworthy of heaven, yet too good for hell, who were allowed or compelled to inhabit the air, and the water, and the earth. Just the same influence did Mahomedanism exert on the popular creed of the easterns—the beings with which it had peopled water and earth and air became a race of Peris, beautiful, and to a certain degree happy, and permitted even to approach the gates of paradise and to behold the joys within, joys which they could only hope to partake of after ages of penitence.

The belief of the monks themselves in these spirits will account for the silence with which they are passed over in the homilies and religious discourses of the time. When they preached against heathendom, instead of attacking the superstitions of their countrymen, they broke out into declamations against the heathen practices of the Greeks and Romans. A manuscript homily, bearing the inviting title *De falsis diis*, told us much about Saturn, and Jupiter, and Venus, and their evil deeds, but of elves and nicers not a word. Another homily in the same collection is directed against witchcraft and magic,

a title more tempting even than the former. We learn from it much about the witch of Endor, but of native superstitions we find only the following short and scattered notices. "Every one," says the writer, "who uses witchcraft either by fowls, or by sneezings, or by horses, or by hounds, he is no Christian, but he is a notorious apostate." "I am ashamed, he says, "to mention all the scandalous witchcrafts that men practise through the devil's teaching, either at spousals, or at the solemnisation of marriage, or in brewing, &c." "Some men are so foolish, that they bring their offering to firm rocks, and also to trees, and to well-springs, as witches teach. And they will not understand how foolishly they do; or how the dead stone or the dumb tree can help or save them, which themselves never stir from the place where they stand." "Now a witless woman goes to the high way, and drags her child through the earth, and thus gives both herself and her offspring to the devil."

The monks, however, were not content with giving a different account of the origin and nature of the elves, but they at once transformed them into devils, whose business it was to plague and tempt frail mortality. They moreover adopted the popular stories, and turned them into saints' legends; and a more extensive knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon fairies may perhaps be gathered by a careful perusal of the legends of the Anglo-Saxon saints, than all the other books together can afford us. It only need be borne in mind, that in the transformation the elves, when mischievously inclined, became devils; when beneficent, angels. The fends and wilds are in *Beowulf* constantly peopled by troops of elves and nicers and worms (dragons and serpents). So in the saints' legends are they ever the haunts of hobgoblins (*dæmoues*); and many and fierce were the struggles between them and the hermits, before the latter succeeded in establishing themselves in their deserted abodes. St. Guthlac built him a mud-oot in the isle of Croyland, a wild spot, then covered with woods and pools and sedgy marshes. The isle had hitherto been uninhabited by men; but many a goblin played among its solitudes, and very unwilling were they to be driven out. They came upon him in a body, dragged him from his cell, sometimes tossed him in the air, at others dipped him over head in the bogs, and then tore him through the midst of the brambles; but their efforts were vain against one who was armed like Guthlac, for he carried

to the combat "*scutum fidei, lorica spei, galeam castitatus, arcum pœnetentiæ, sagittas psalmodiæ.*" St. Botulf chose for his residence Ykanho, a place not less wild and solitary than Croyland itself, which had hitherto, his historian tells us, been only the scene of the "fantastic illusion" (faery, we might say) of the goblins, now to be banished by the intrusion of the holy recluse.* At his first appearance they attempted to scare him with horrid noises; but finding him proof against their attacks (for he was not worse armed than Guthlac), they endeavoured to move him by persuasive expostulations. "A long time," they said, "we have possessed this spot, and we had hoped to dwell in it for ever. Why, cruel Botulf, dost thou forcibly drive us from our haunts? Thee or thine we have neither injured nor disturbed. What seekest thou by dislodging us? and what wilt thou gain by our expulsion? When we are already driven from every other corner of the world, thou wilt not let us stay quietly even in this solitude." Botulf made the sign of the cross, and the elves and nicers departed.

Sometimes these goblins were more obliging towards their new neighbours, and directed them where to dig for treasures; though it appears that they seldom gained much by seeking after "heathen gold." Godric, at a later period, occupied a cell in the wilds of Durham, and was often troubled by these spiritual enemies. On a time, however, one of them appeared by night, and told him where he would find a hidden hoard. Godric was not, it appears, an avaricious man; but he thought he might do some good with the money which was thus revealed to him, and to work he went with pickaxe and shovel. When, however, he had dug a considerable depth—though we are not told that he obtained a sight of the promised treasure—he was terror struck by seeing come out of the hole a troop of little black dwarfs, who, with a laugh of derision, cast at him little smoking balls. Godric dropped his shovel, and, it is almost needless to add, never sought treasures again.

* The place chosen by Botulf, and its inhabitants, are thus described in the legends of saints in English verse; of which there is a good old MS. in the library of Trin. Coll., Cant.

"A stede ther was in wyldernysse, that me clyped Thorze eyze,
That ful was of luther thynges, the men this by seye,
For deuelen and luther gostes here eyse hadde ther,
And her wouyge al at wylle, for non men ther nere."

Among others, the following anecdote is related of Godric's encounters with the spirits. It must be premised that Godric had a garden before his cell, which was on the banks of the Wear, and which it was his daily labour to tend. Once when weary with digging, he had stopped to rest himself, a strange man suddenly made his appearance, and looked earnestly at the saint for some time. Then he spoke, and accused the good saint of idleness, and told him that he did not work half so hard as the saints of former times used to work. The saint, who at first thought it had been a messenger from God sent to instruct him in his duty, answered, "Do you then first set me an example." And he gave him the spade, and left him, for it was then his customary hour of devotion, and he promised to return soon and see how much work he had done. The strange man took the spade, and worked, says the legend, most vigorously; and when Godric returned, he was astonished to find that in the space of an hour his new labourer had dug as much ground as he himself could dig in eight days. "There," said the stranger, "that is the way to work." But Godric was frightened, for he was now sure that it could not be a real man; and indeed appearances were much against him, for he was dark and hairy, and somewhat tall; and, which appeared oddest of all, though he had worked so hard, yet he shewed no signs of weariness, and did not even sweat. Then Godric went to his cell, and concealed a little book in his bosom, and returned and said, "Now tell me who thou art, and why thou hast come here?" "Do you not see that I am a man like yourself?" was the answer. "Then," said Godric, "if you are a man, tell me if you believe in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and join with me in adoring the Mother of our Lord." But the goblin said, for a goblin it was sure enough, "Be not solicitous about my belief, for it is no concern of yours." Godric now became more suspicious than before; he took the book out of his bosom—it contained pictures of our Lord and of the Virgin and of St. John—and he placed it suddenly against the other's mouth, telling him if he believed in God to kiss it devoutly; on which the goblin laughed at him and vanished. Godric, like a pious man, watered with holy water the ground which had thus been dug, and let it lie uncultivated for seven years.*

* Other authorities for the superstitions of the Anglo-Saxons are the various spells and counter-charms, which are still extant, and often found on the margins of other books; the civil laws; and, more particularly, the ecclesiastical laws and the penetentiali.

Some may think, perhaps, that we speak incautiously in talking of elves and nicers, when no such names occur in the writings from which we quote. But here, fortunately, there steps in to our aid an important passage of the poetic Layamon which assures us that in the twelfth century elves and *nicers** were as busily employed among the wilds, wherever they had not been driven out by the powerful weapons of the hermits, as they had been even in the time of the heroic Beowulf. In describing a lake in Scotland, he says (MS. Cott. Calig. A. ix. f. 125):

"That is a wonderful lake
Set in middle earth,
With fen and with reed,
With water very broad,
With fishes and with fowls,
With ugly things,
That water is immeasurably broad;
Nicers bathe therein;
There is play of *elves*
In the venomous pool."

It was an elf, too, which, in Robert of Gloucester, is said to have been the father of the far-famed Merlin; and when King Vortiger inquired of his sages what kind of being it might be, they said.

"That ther beth in the eir an hey, fer fro the gronde,
As a maner gostes, wygtes as it be,
And me may hem ofte on erthe in wylde studes yse,
And ofte in monnes fourme wymmen heo cometh to,
And ofte in wymmen forme thei cometh to men also,
That men clepute *eluene*."

For our extensive knowledge of the English fairies of the twelfth century we are indebted chiefly to two writers, Gervase of Tilbury, and the Cambrian Giraldus. The tales which are found in the writings of Giraldus are mostly Welsh; but on that account they are none the less valuable to us, for they enable us to compare the Welsh superstitions of that remote period with the English; and it appears from the comparison that they hardly differed from each other. We are told by Bale

* In the fifteenth century, in the *Promptuarium Parvulorum*, the word nicker still occurs, and is used to explain the classic sirens. It is a singular instance of the tendency of the monks to turn the elves into devils, that this word is now only preserved in the name "Old Nick," which is given to the arch-fiend himself.

and others, that Giraldus was author of a topography and itinerary of England, as well as of Wales and Ireland—a work which would be to us invaluable; but we have sought carefully for it in all the manuscript collections where it was supposed to be preserved, and we have been obliged, much against our inclinations, to conclude that—if such a work has been attributed to him on any better grounds than hearsay—now at least it is no longer in being. From Giraldus and Gervase we can form a very tolerable outline of the popular belief of their age. We have in them not only the spirits which dwelt in the wild woods and the waters, the dragons, too, and the mer-women, but we have also the elves which entered people's houses and carried off the new-born children from their cradles to be denizens of the land of faery; and, which is still more important, we have the domestic elves, the dwarfs which laboured zealously in the service of the family to which they had attached themselves, and those “mad-merry” sprites whose joy was in playing mirthful tricks on the deluded peasantry. The stories which lie scattered through the *Olai Imperialia* of Gervase have been told over and over; but Giraldus has not been so well used, and his account of the familiar spirits is exceedingly curious. They made their presence known by throwing dirt and other harmless things at every one they came near; and they continually plagued them by cutting holes in their coats, and playing other such mischevious pranks. Sometimes they would talk with the people of the house; and when displeased or mischeviously inclined, they scrupled not to tell in their presence all their secrets and private actions much to the shame and confusion of many who were so exposed. When any attempt was made to exorcise them, they threw dirt at the priests themselves; and Giraldus thinks, from the inefficiency of the exorcisms of the church in driving them away that the power of the priests was only efficient against spirits of a malignant nature. These hob-goblins sometimes appeared visably; and one in Pembrokeshire, where they were very common, took up his abode in the house of one Elidor Stakepole, in the form of a red boy, who called himself Simon. Master Simon began—“impudently,” says our author—by taking the keys from the butler, and usurping his office. However, he was himself so provident a butler, that, while he held the office, every thing seemed to prosper. He never waited to be told to do any thing; but whatever his master or

mistress were thinking of calling for, he brought it immediately saying "You want so and so; here it is." Moreover, he knew all about their money and their secret hoards; and often did he upbraid them on that account, for he hated nothing more than avarice, and he could not bear to see money laid up in holes which might be employed in good and charitable uses. There was nothing, on the contrary, he liked better than giving plenty to eat and drink to the rustics; and he used to tell his master that it was right he should be free in giving to them those things which by their labours he himself obtained. Indeed, Simon was an excellent servant: but he had one failing—he never went to Church, and he never uttered a single "Catholic word," (*nec verbum aliquid Catholicum unquam pronunciabat.*) One remarkable thing was, that he never slept in the house at night, though he was always at his post by daybreak. Once, however, he was watched, and found to take up his lodging about the mill and the mill-dam. The next morning Simon came to his master, delivered up his keys, and left the house, after having filled the post of butler for about forty days. (Girald. Cam. Itin. lib. i. pp. 824, 853.)

From the time of Giraldus, we have plenty of materials for a history of the fairy superstitions of our country. The author of the French poem on the deposition of Richard II., of which there is a copy in the Harleian manuscripts (No. 1316), in the prose part of it, accuses the English, among other things, of being given entirely to the belief in prophecies, phantoms, and sorcery ("car il sont de telle nature en leur pays, que en prophecies en fanthomes et sorceries croient tresparfaitement, et en usent très volontiers.") Accordingly, in the old chronicles, both those which have been published and those which still remain in MS., we find many fairy tales introduced among the severer records of actual life. We find there, for instance, a series of stories of those who have at different times had interviews with the illustrious Arthur where he abode under the influence of faery, exactly parallel to the Kyffhäuser legends which Mr. Thoms in his first number has given from Büsching; and we would willingly suggest to him that he will do a service by collecting them together in that part of his "Lays and Legends" which will be occupied on the superstitions of our own country. We will merely notice as we pass on, that in the year 1344, according to Thomas of Walsingham, a certain Saracen physician came to

Earl Warren (or Guarene) to ask of him permission to kill a serpent which was troublesome in his possessions on the Welsh marches, at the village of Bromfield, near the town of Ludlow. The serpent was overcome by the incantations of the Saracen ; but some words which were dropped by the latter, led to the suspicion that large treasures lay concealed in the serpent's den. The men of Herefordshire, taking the hint, went by night, at the instigation of a Lombard, called Peter Pikard, to dig for the gold ; and they had just reached it, when the retainers of the Earl Warren, having discovered what was going on, fell suddenly upon them and put them in prison. The Earl, says the historian, was no little gainer by the affair.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, two circumstances tended to encumber and confuse, in our literature at least, the fairy mythology of England—the introduction of French poetry, and of the mythic tales of Greece and Italy. Both these causes acted together in the metrical romances, which formed so large a portion of the poetry of that age. We think that Mr. Keightley has most unadvisedly made a separate chapter of his fairy mythology on the fairies of romance ; and instead of considering them as a mere modification of the popular creed of the country to which they belong, he seems to think that the fairies of the romances, whether of England, France, or Germany, all belong to one peculiar and individual system.

Much of the popular mythology of the French was probably, as we suspect also is the case with that of the Scotch, Welsh, and Irish, essentially Teutonic : and Grimm has long ago observed that the Oberon (Auberon) of French stories is in name and person the Elberich of German poetry. The French, with their poetry, brought into English literature their own popular fairies, as modified in character by the fertile imagination of their poets ; and the English imitators of those poets naturally adopted the forms which were thus presented to them. These forms, indeed, were not altogether abhorrent to their own notions ; and we cannot suppose they would find much difficulty in accepting, as a tale of their own elves, the lai of Sir Launfal, who were accustomed to listen to the adventures of True Thomas “be Huntley banks,” which was altogether an English popular legend. But, even in Sir Launfal itself, we have evidence that the English bards thought they were talking of their own elves, and actually altered and made additions in the cir-

cumstantial parts of the story they were translating, in accordance with that notion.

Many of the stories which were current at this period—more perhaps than has generally been supposed—were formed on Grecian and Roman models; and we may point out, as an instance, one of the tales in the *Seven Sages*, printed by Weber, “The Two Dreams,” the plot of which is substantially the same as that of the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus. Several of the persons of Grecian mythology at first sight bore a resemblance to the popular elves and fairies; and hence translators both into Anglo-Saxon and into the English of later times, have sometimes used these latter names as a sort of equivalent for them, just as Alfred translates the Roman *sacerdotes* by the Saxon *biscopeas*; but it follows no more that those translators considered, as Mr. Keightley thinks they did, that the nymphs of Grecian fable were elves and fairies, in the strict sense of the word, than that Alfred thought the heathen priests were actually Christian bishops. However, we find instances of Grecian stories adopted as legends of faery; and some poet, having heard the story of Orpheus, who by the power of his lyre rescued his wife from the regions below, took it for a legend of his own fairies, and invented the beautiful little romance of *Orfeo and Herodys*, a poem which in its English dress contains not one incident which is inconsistent with the native mythology; and indeed the writer—the translator we may say, for the form of the names shews that it came from the French—was so certain of this, that he looked over his histories, and discovered that Thrace, which had somehow been retained in the French story, was none other than an old name of the good and ancient city of Winchester, where Sir Orfeo was king.

The mention of Sir Launfal, Sir Orfeo, and Thomas of Ersildoun, naturally brings our mind to the fairy land itself, which has been quite as ill treated by Mr. Keightley, and in the same way, as the fairies of romance. The consideration of the underground residence of the fairies as a part of the English mythology, would lead us into long and curious investigations for which now we have not room. The elves have always had a country and dwellings under ground as well as above ground; and in several parts of England the belief that they descended to their subterraneous abodes through the barrows which cover the bones of our forefathers of ancient days is still preserved.

There were other ways, however, of approaching the elves' country, and one of the commonest was by openings in the rocks and caverns, as we find in the poem of Sir Orfeo and in the tale of Elidurus, told by Giraldus. The great cave of the peak of Derby was also a celebrated road thither, and Gervase of Tilbury has preserved a tale how William Peverell's swineherd ventured once to descend it in search of a brood-sow; and how he found beneath a rich and cultivated country, and reapers cutting the corn. The communication, however, has long been stopped up; and those who go now to explore the wonders of the cavern find their progress stayed by the firm, impenetrable rock. The stories of this subterranean land underwent the same changes as the other part of the system, and among the monks formed the groundwork of such legends as the visions of Fursus and Drihthelm, and the far-famed purgatory of St. Patrick. The mixture of the monkish with the true mythic stories is nowhere more conspicuous than in the ballad of "True Thomas," which Jamieson has printed from a MS. in the Public Library, Cambridge: we quote from the MS. itself because the printed copy is not very correct. The elf-queen says to Thomas, after they have passed a long dreary way under ground.*

"Sees thu yonder is fayr way,
That lyes ouer yonder mounteyne?
Yonder is the way to heven for ay,
When synful soulis have duryd ther payne.

Seest thu now, Thomas, yonder way,
That lyse low under yon rise?
Wide is the way, the sothe to say,
Into the joyes of paradyse.

Sees thu yonder thrid way,
That lies ouer yonder playne?
Yonder is the way, the sothe to say,
Ther [*where*] sinfull soules shall drye
ther [*suffer their*] payne.

Sees thu now yonder fourt way,
That lyes ouer yonder felle?
Yonder is the way, the sooth to say,
Vnto the brennard fyre of hell.

Sees thu now yonder fayre castell,
 That stondis vpon yonder fayre hill ?
 Off towne and toure it berith the bell ;
 In mydul erth is ther non like ther till.

In faith, Thomas, yonder is myne owne,
 And the kyngus of this countre."

We now approach a melancholy period in the history of our mythology—a period when the superstitions of the peasant governed the minds of judges and rulers, and at the same time the merciless arm of fanaticism too often wielded the sword of justice. Two superstitions—astrology and witchcraft—have always been found connected with popular mythology. The elves and other spiritual beings were believed to be variously affected by different things and different combinations of things, and certain noises, as the ringing of bells, were sufficient in many instances to drive them away ; while even the possession of particular herbs and stones was enough to defend the bodies and properties of men from their depredations. The agate, for instance, among the Anglo-Saxons had various virtues ; if a man had it about his person, or in his house, no fiend could remain there (*ne mæg pær inne feond wesan*), and the man who carried it constantly about with him was proof against all witchcraft and magic arts.

Again, by certain spells, the performance of certain ceremonies attended by particular combinations of words, the strongest charms which had been worked by means of these spirits might be dissolved. Other things and ceremonies were believed to be so potent as to bind down these spirits, and put them effectually under the disposal of those who possessed or performed them. To know these things, and how to perform these acts, was, as might be expected, the ambition of many ; and those who had arrived at that wisdom, became magicians and astrologers,—cunning, but sometimes weak and deluded men.

The astrologers made greater transformations in the popular creed than had been effected by any other cause—we of course mean, after astrology had in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries been reduced to an extensive system ; for they made new and artificial divisions of the spirits of earth, and air, and water, into tribes, and legions, which were placed under thrones and dominations, bearing names such as the ears of the peasant were never accustomed to. Thus we are told in

Reginald Scott—to take a few names from among a host—that “the spirit *Paymon* is of the power of the air, the sixteenth in the rank of thrones, subordinate to *Corban* and *Marbas*. *Bathin* is of a deeper reach in the source of the fire, the second after Lucifer’s familiar, and hath not his fellow for agility and affableness in the whole infernal hierarchy. *Barma* is a mighty potentate of the order of seraphims, whom twenty legions of infernal spirits do obey.” The incantation which must bind down these spirits is, as might naturally be expected, a very serious thing; and when, after various ceremonies performed, they first make their appearance, they address the magician, in their own language of course,—“*Gil pragma burthon machatan dermah* : to which the magician must boldly answer, *Beral Beroald, Corath, Kermiel*,” and so forth. Good Reginald Scott enlivens the recital of all these formidable proceedings by the following pleasant story of a worthy monk, Sir John, who was desired to utter some most efficient exorcism against the robbers of a miller’s weir.*

“So it was, that a certain Sir John, with some of his company, once went abroad a jetting, and in a moonlight evening robbed a miller’s weir, and stole all his eels. The poor miller made his moan to Sir John himself, who willed him to be quiet; for he would so curse the thief, and all his confederates, with bell, book, and candle, that they should have small joy of their fish. And therefore the next Sunday Sir John got him to the pulpit, with his surplice on his back, and his stole about his neck, and pronounced these words following in the audience of the people :

‘All you that have stol’n the miller’s eelis,
Laudate dominum de cælis ;
 And all they that have consented thereto,
Benedicamus domino.

‘Lo,’ saith he, ‘there is sauce for your eeles, my masters!’ ”

The following passage of an old writer, whose notions, like that of many of his contemporaries, were moulded in the astrological doctrines of the age, will shew sufficiently the connexion between that “science” and the fairy mythology. He is speaking of the different orders and classes of spirits.

“The spirits of the earth keepe for the most part in forrests and woods, and doe hunters much noyance; and sometime in the broad

* p. 150, fol. 20.

fields, where they leade trauellers out of the right way, or fright men with deformed apparitions, or make them run mad through excessive melancholy, like Aiax Telamonius, and so proue hurtful to themselues and dangerous to others. * * * The vnder-earth spirits are such as lurk in dens and little cauernes of the earth, and hollow crenices of mountaines, that they may diue into the bowels of the earth at their pleasure; these dig metals and watch treasures, which they continually transport from place to place, that none should haue vse of them: they raise windes that uomit flames, and shake the foundation of buildings: they daunce in rounds in pleasant launds and green meadowes, with noyses of musick and minstralsie, and uanish away when any comes neere them: they will take vpon them eny similitude but of a woman, and terrifie men in the likeness of dead men's ghosts in the night-time."*

Similar ideas are evidently the groundwork of the following spell, from the "History of Friar Bacon," which is printed in Mr. Thom's *Prose Romances*. The fairies, it must be observed, were always believed to be dwellers in dens, and lakes, and trees; and it was them whom the astrologer conjured into his glass, or crystal, to direct him to the hidden treasures which they only knew.

" Now the owle is flowne abroad,
For I hear the croaking toade;
And the bat that shuns the day
Through the darke doth make her way.
Now the ghostes of men doe rise,
And with fearful hideous cryes,
Seeke revengement (from the goode)
On their heads that spilt their blood.
Come some spirit, quicke! I say,
Night's the devil's holyday,
Where ere you be, in dennes, or lake,
In the ivy, ewe, or brake.
Quickly come, and me attend,
That am Bacon's man and friend."

The witch differed from the astrologer in this, that her power over the spirits was believed to be the result of a compact with the spirit of darkness, whereby he bound himself to serve her for a time, on condition that he should afterwards be her master for ever. The witches were among the peasantry what the astrologer was in rather more refined society, in their intercourse with the spirits. But they had no invention of their own; and there seems to be little room for doubting that the syste-

* Nashe's *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Deuell*. p. 34.

matic story of their dealings, which we find them made to confess to at their trials, was all put into their mouths by others; and when we do find an instance where, instead of being asked if they believed and had done and seen so and so, the question was, "What had they done or seen?" Whatever confession is made may be traced to the fairy superstitions which they had imbibed from their childhood. One new circumstance was brought in with the witchcraft of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—the power of fairies to enter into people, and "possess" them. It is not difficult to see whence and how this notion came, and we might point out a hundred instances of it; but we will only mention one, which seems to have some allusion to the merry and mischievous Puck. It is observed of the celebrated Surrey demoniac,—“He stands upon his head, dances upon his knees, and runs of all fours like a dog, and barks. He seems sometimes extremely heavy, and at other times light, and was thought to be possessed with a *merry ludicrous spirit*.”*

Our space forbids further quotation than one more, with which to conclude our short survey of the history of the fairy mythology in England; It is an extract from “A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcrafts,” written “by George Giffard, minister of God’s word in Maldon” (1598). The dialogue is spiritedly written, and gives a curious view of the popular belief at that time. The interlocutors are Samuel, Daniel, and the wife of Samuel. Samuel and Daniel have met in their walk in the fields.

“*Sam.* * * These witches, these evill-fauored old witches, doe trouble me!

“*Dan.* What! doe you take yourselfe to be bewitched?

“*Sam.* No, no; I truste no euill spirite can hurt me; but I heare of much harme done by them; they lame men, and kill their cattle yea, they destroy both men and children. They say there is scarce any towne or village in all this shire, but there is one or two witches at the least in it. In good sooth, I may tell it to you as to my friend, when I goe but into my closes I am afraide; for I see now and then a hare, which my conscience giueth me is a witch, or some witches spirite, shee stareth so vpon me. And sometimes I see an vgly weasell runne through my yard; and there is a foule great catte sometimes in my barne, which I haue no liking vnto.

“*Dan.* You neuer had no hurt done yet, had you, by any witch?

* Hutchinson's *Hist. Essay on Witchcraft*, p. 125.

“ Sam. Trust me, I cannot tell ; but I feare me I haue : for there be two or three in our towne which I like not, but especially an old woman. I haue been as careful to please her as euer I was to please mine own mother, and to giue her euer anon one thing or other ; and yet methinks shee frownes at me now and then. And I had a hogge, which eate his meate with his fellowes, and was very well to our thinking ouer night, and in the morning he was starke dead. My wife hath had fīue or sixe hennes euen of late dead. Some of my neighbours wishe me to burne some thing aliue, as a henne or a hogge ; others will me in time to seeke helpe at the handes of some cunning man, before I haue any further harme. I would be glad to do for the best.

“ Dan. Haue you any cunning man hereabout that doth helpe ?

*“ Sam. There is one, they say here, a twenty miles off, at T. B., which hath holpe many. And thus much I know, there was one of my acquaintance but two miles hence which had great losses ; he lost two or three kine, six hogs (he would not haue tooke fīteene shillings a hog for them), and a mare. He went to that same man, and told him hee suspected an old women in the parish. And I think he told me that he shewed him her in a glasse, and tolde him shee had three or foure imps—some call them puckrels ; one like a grey catte, an other like a weasell, an other like a mouse—a vengeance take them ! it is great pittie the countrey is not ridde of them—and told him also what he should doe. It is halfe a yeare agoe, and he neuer had any hurt since. There is also a women at R. H., fīue-and-twenty miles hence, that hath a greate name ; and great resort there is dayly unto her. A neighbour of mine had his childe taken lame, a girle of ten yeares olde, and such a paine in her backe, that shee could not sit vpright. He went to that woman ; she told him he had some bad neighbour—the childe was forespoken as he suspected. Marry, if he would goe home, and bring her some of the clothes which the child lay in all night, shee would tell him certainly. He went home, and put a table-napkin about her necke all night, and in the morning tooke it with him ; and she told him the girle was bewitched indeede, and so told him what hee should doe : and he had remedy. The girle is as wel at this day, and a pretty quicke girle. There was another of my neighbours had his wife much troubled, and he went to her, and shee told him his wife was haunted with a *fairy*. I cannot tell what shee bad him doe, but the woman is merry at this howre. I have heard—I dare not say it is so—that shee weareth about her Saint John’s Gospel, or some part of it. * * If I had heard but of one [cunning person], I should have gone ere this time ; and I glad that I met with you. * * We haue a schoolmaister that is a good prettie scholler, they say, in the Latine tongue, one M. B. ; he is gone to my house euen now ; I pray you let me entreat you to go thither, you two may reason the matter.*

“ Dan. Well, I will goe with you.

“ Sam, Wife, I have brought an olde friend of mine ; I pray thee, bid him welcome,

“ The Wife. He is verie welcome. But trulie, man, I am angrie with you, and halfe out of patience, that you go not to seek helpe

against yonder same olde beaste ; I haue anothar hen dead this night. Other men can seek remedy. Here is M. B. tells me, that the goode wife R. all the laste weeke could not make her butter come. She neuer rested until she had got her husbund out to the woman at R. H. ; and when he came home they did but heat a spit red hotte, and thrust into the creame, vsing certaine wordes that she willed him, and it came as kindly as anie butter that ever she made. I met the olde filth this morning, Lord how sowerlie she looked upon me ! and mumbled as she went : I heard part of her words. ‘ Ah ! ’ quod she, ‘ you haue an honest man to your husband ; I heare how he doth vse me. ’ In trueth, husband, my stomacke did so rise against her, that I could haue found in my heart to haue flowen upon her and scratched her, but that I feared she would be too strong for me. It is a lustie olde queane.”

We will only add that, in looking back to the fairy mythology of former days, it is the more necessary to take into consideration the causes that have produced changes in the form of those superstitions, because our only source of information is the literature of the times, which generally came from those who were most apt to garble the superstitions of their countrymen. In them, therefore, the changes are by far greater and more perceptible than they would be at the same time in their true depositories—the oral legends of the peasant. On the latter, the causes, which did effect them would act slowly and gradually ; and many of the tales of Gervase and Giraldus may very well be compared with those which we can still gather in the more retired parts of England, where perchance the schoolmaster, who is abroad, has not yet shewn his face, and where the baneful effects of political agitation on men’s minds have not been felt.

Ritson tells us :—

The fairy may be defined as a species of being partly material, partly spiritual ; with a power to change its appearance, and be, to mankind, visible or invisible, according to its pleasure. In the old song printed by Peck, Robin Good-fellow, a well-known fairy, professes that he had played his pranks from the time of Merlin, who was the contemporary of Arthur.

Chaucer uses the word *faërie* as well for the *individual*, as for the *country* or *system*, or what we should now call *fairy-land* or *fairyism*. He knew nothing, it would seem, of *Oberon*, *Titania*, or *Mab*, but speaks of

“PLUTO, that is THE KING OF FAERIE,
And many a ladie in his campaigne,
Folwing his WIF, THE QUEEN PROSERPINA, &c.”

(*The Marchante’s Tule*, l. 10101.) From this passage of Chaucer, Mr. Tyrwhit “cannot help thinking that his *Pluto* and *Proserpina* were the true progenitors of *Oberon* and *Titania*.”

In the progress of *The Wif of Bath's Tale*, it happed the knight

" — In his way to ride
In all his care, under a forest side,
Whereas he saw upon a dance go
Of ladies foure-and twenty, and yet mo.
Toward this ilke dance he drow ful yerne,
In hope that he som wisdom shulde lerne,
But, certainly, er he came fully there,
Yvanished was this dance, he wiste not wher."

These *ladies* appear to have been *fairies*, though nothing is insinuated of their size. Milton seems to have been upon the prowl here for his "Forest-side."

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, a fairy addresses Bottom the weaver,

" Hail, mortal, hail !"

which sufficiently shows she was not so herself.

Puck, or Robin Goodfellow, in the same play, calls Oberon,

" — king of shadows" —

and in the old song, just mentioned,

The king of *ghosts and shadows* :

and this mighty monarch asserts of himself and his subjects,

" But WE ARE SPIRITS of another sort."

The fairies, as we already see, were male and female ; but it is not equally clear that they pro-created children.

Their government was monarchical, and Oberon, the king of Fairy-land, must have been a sovereign of very extensive territory. The name of his queen was Titania, both are mentioned by Shakspeare, being personages of no little importance in the above play ; where they in an ill humour, thus encounter :

" Obe. Ill met by moonlight, proud TITANIA.
Tita. What, jealous OBERON ? Fairy skip hence ;
I have forsworn his bed and company."

That the name [OBERON] was not the invention of our great dramatist is sufficiently proved. The allegorical Spencer gives it to king Henry the eighth. Robert Greene was the author of a play entitled "*The Scotishe History of James the fourthe . . . intermixed with a pleasant comedie presented by Oberon, king of the fuiries.*" He is likewise a character in the old French romances of *Huon de Bourdeaux*, and *Ogier le Danois* ; and there even seems to be one upon his own exploits : "*Roman de Auberon.*" What authority, however, Shakspeare had for the name TITANIA, it does not appear, nor is she so called by any other writer. He himself, at the same time, as well as many others, gives to the queen of fairies the name of MAB, though no one, except Drayton, mentions her as the wife of OBERON :

" O then, I see, Queen MAB hath been with you,
She is the fairy's midwife, and she comes
In shape no bigger than an agate-stone
On the fore-finger of an alderman,
Drawn with a team of little atomies
Athwart men's noses as they lie asleep :

Her waggon spokes made of long spinners' legs;
 The cover, of the wings of grasshoppers;
 The traces, of the smallest spider's web;
 The collars, of the moonshine's wat'ry beams;
 Her whip of cricket's bone: the lash, of film;
 Her waggoner, a small grey-coated gnat,
 Not half so big as a round little worm
 Prick'd from the lazy finger of a maid;
 Her chariot is an empty hazel-nut,
 Made by the joiner squirrel, or old grub,
 Time out of mind the fairy's coach-makers,
 And in this state she gallops night by night,
 Through lovers' brains and then they dream of love.—
 ————This is that very MAN,
 That platts the manes of horses in the night;
 And bakes the elf-locks in foul sluttish hairs,
 Which, once untangled, much misfortune bodes."

Ben Jonson, in his "Entertainment of the queen and prince at Althrope," in 1603, describes to come "tripping up the lawn a bevy of fairies attending on MAN, their queen, who, falling into an artificial ring that was there cut in the path, began to dance around."

In the same masque the queen is thus characterized by a satyr :

"This is MAN, the mistress fairy,
 That doth nightly rob the dairy,
 And can hurt or help the churning,
 (As she please) without discerning.
 She that pinches country wences,
 If they rub not clean their benches,
 And with sharper nails remembers
 When they rake not up their embers;
 But, if so they chance to feast her,
 In a shoe she drops a tester.
 This is she that emptys cradles,
 Takes out children, puts in ladles;
 Trains forth midwives in their slumber,
 With a sieve the holes to number;
 And thus leads them from her boronghs,
 Home through ponds and water-furrows.
 She can start our franklin's daughters,
 In 'their' sleep, with shrieks and laughers,
 And on sweet St. 'Agnes' night,
 Feed them with a promis'd sight,
 Some of husbands, some of lovers,
 Which an empty dream discovers."

Fairies, they tell you, have frequently been heard and seen, nay, that there are some living who were stolen away by them, and confined seven years. According to the description they give, who pretend to have seen them, they are in the shape of men, exceeding little. They are always clad in green, and frequent the woods and fields; when they make cakes (which is a work they have been often heard at) they are very noisy; and when they have done they are full of mirth and pastime. But generally they dance in moonlight, when mortals are asleep, and not capable of seeing them, as may be observed on the following morn; their dancing places being very distinguishable. For as they dance hand in hand, and so make a circle in their dance, so next day there will be seen rings and circles on the grass.

These circles are thus described by Browne, the author of *Britannias pastorals* :

—“A pleasant meede,
Where fairies often did their measures treade,
Which in the meadow made such circles greene,
As if with garlands it had crowned beene.
Within one of these rounds was to be scene
A hillock rise, where oft the fairie queene
At twy-light sate, and did command her elves,
To pinch those maids that had not swept their shelves :
And further, if by maidens' over-sight,
Within doores water were not brought at night,
Or if they spred no table, set no bread,
They should have nips from toe unto the head :
And for the maid who had perform'd each thing,
She in the water-pail had leave a ring.”

The same poet, in his “Shepherd's Pipe,” having inserted Hoccleve's Tale of *Jonathas*, and conceiving a strange unnatural affection for that stupid fellow, describes him as a great favourite of the fairies, alleging that

“Many times he hath been scene
With the fairies on the greene,
And to them his pipe did sound,
While they danced in a round,
Mickle solace would they make him,
And at midnight often wake him
And convey him from his roome,
To a field of yellow broome ;
Or into the medowes, where
Mints perfume the gentle aire,
And where Flora shreds her treasure,
There they would begin their measure.
If it chanced night's sable shrowds
Muffled Cynthia up in clouds ;
Safely home they then would see him,
And from brakes and quagmires free him.”

The fairies were exceedingly diminutive, but it must be confessed, we shall not readily find their actual dimensions. They were small enough, however, if we may believe one of queen Titania's maids of honour, to conceal themselves in acorn shells ; speaking of a difference between the king and queen, she says :

“But they do square ; that all their elves for fear,
Creep into acorn cups and hide them there.”

They, uniformly, and constantly wore *green* vests, unless when they had some reason for changing their dress. Of this circumstance we meet with many proofs ; Thus in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* :

‘Like urchins, ouphes, and fairies green.’

In fact we meet with them of all colours : as in the same play :

“Fairies, black, grey, green, and white.”

That *white*, on some occasions, was the dress of a female, we learn from Reginald Scot. He gives a charm “to go invisible by [means of] these three sisters of fairies,” *Milia*, *Achilia*, *Sibylia* : “I charge you that you doo appeare before me visible, in forme and shape of faire women, in *white* vestures, and to bring with you to me the ring of invisibilitie, by the which I may go invisible, at mine owne will and pleasure, and that in all hours and minutes.”

It was fatal, if we may believe Shakspeare, to speak to a fairy : Falstaff, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, is made to say, “They are fairies ; he that speaks to them shall dye.”

They were accustomed to enrich their favourites ; as we learn from the clown in *A Winter's Tale* : " It was told me I should be rich by the fairies." They delighted in neatness, could not endure sluts, and even hated fibsters, tell-tales, and divulgers of secrets, whom they would sily and severely be-pinch, when they little expected it. They were as generous and benevolent on the contrary, to young women of a different description, procuring them the sweetest sleep, the pleasantest dreams, and on their departure, in the morning, always slipping a tester in their shoe.

They are supposed by some to have been malignant, but this, it may be, was mere calumny, as being utterly inconsistent with their general character, which was singularly innocent and amiable. Imogen, in Shakspeare's *Cymbeline*, prays, on going to sleep,

" From *fairies*, and the tempters of the night,
Guard me beseech you."

It must have been the *Incubus* she was so afraid of. Old Gervase of Tilbury, in the twelfth century, says, in a more modest language than English : "*Vidimus quosdam dæmones tanto zelo mulieres amare quod ad inaudita prorumpunt ludibria, et cum ad concubitum earum accedunt mirâ mole eas opprimunt, nec ab aliis videntur.*"

Hamlet, too, notices this imputed malignity of the fairies :

" ——— Then no planets strike,
No FAIRY takes, nor witch has power to charm."

Thus, also, in *The Comedy of Errors* :

" A fiend, a FAIRY, pitiless and rough."

They were amazingly expeditious in their journies : Puck, or Robin Good-fellow, answers Oberon, who was about to send him on a secret expedition :

" I'll put a girdle round about the earth
In forty minutes."

Again, the same goblin addresses him thus :

" Fairy king, attend and mark,
I do hear the morning lark.
Obe. Then my queen, in silence sad,
Trip we after the night's shade,
We the globe can compass soon,
Swifter than the wand'ring moon."

In another place Puck says :

" My fairy lord this must be done in haste;
For night's swift dragons cut the clouds full fast,
And yonder shines aurora's harbinger;
At whose approach, ghosts, wandering here and there,
Troop home to church-yards, &c."

To which Oberon replies :

" But we are spirits of another sort:
I with the morning's love have oft made sport;
And, like a forester, the groves may tread.
Even till the eastern gate, all fiery red,
Opening on Neptune, with fair blessed beams,
Turns into yellow gold his salt-green stream."

Compare, likewise, what Robin himself says on this subject, in the old song of his exploits.

They never ate :

" But that it eats our victuals, I should think,
Here were a fairy."

says Belarius at the first sight of Imogen, as Fidele.

They were humanely attentive to the youthful dead. Thus, Guiderius, at the funeral of the above lady :

" With FEMALE FAIRIES will his tomb be haunted."

Or, as in the pathetic dirge of Collins on the same occasion :

" No wither'd witch shall here be seen,
No goblins lead their nightly crew ;
The FEMALE FAIRS shall haunt the green,
And dress thy grave with pearly dew."

This amiable quality is, likewise, thus beautifully alluded to by the same poet :

" By FAIRY HANDS their knell is rung,
By FORMS UNSEEN their dirge is sung."

Their employment is thus charmingly represented by Shakspeare, in the address of Prospero :

" Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves,
And ye, that on the sands, with printless foot,
Do chase the ebbing Neptune, and do fly him
When he comes back ; you demy-puppets, that
By moon-shine do the green-sour ringlets make,
Whereof the ewe not bites ; and you whose pastime
Is to make midnight mushrooms ; that rejoice
To hear the solemn curfew" —

In *The Midsummer Night's Dream*, the queen, Titania, being desirous to take a nap, says to her female attendants :

" Come now a roundel, and a fairy song ;
Then, for the third part of a minute hence ;
Some, to kill cankers in the musk-rosebuds ;
Some war with rear-mice, for their leathern wings,
To make my small elves' coats ; and some keep back
The clamorous owl, that nightly hoots, and wonders,
At our quaint spirits : Sing me now asleep ;
Then to your offices, and let me rest."

Milton gives a most beautiful and accurate description of the little green-coats of his native soil, than which nothing can be more happily or justly expressed : he had certainly seen them, in this situation, with " the poet's eye :

" ——— fairy elves,
Whose midnight revels, by a forest side
Or fountain, some belated peasant sees,
Or dreams he sees, while overhead the moon
Sits arbitress, and nearer to the earth
Wheels her pale course, they, on their mirth and dance
Intent, with jocund music charm his ear ;
At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds."

The impression they had made upon his imagination in early life appears from his " Vacation Exercise," at the age of nineteen :

" Good luck befriend thee, son ; for, at thy birth,
The FAIRY LADIES daunc't upon the hearth ;
The drowie nurse hath sworn she did them spie,
Come tripping to the room where thou didst lie ;
And sweetly singing round about thy bed,
Strew all their blessings on thy sleeping head."

L'abbé Bourdelon, in his "Ridiculous Extravagances of M. Oufle," describes "The fairies, of which," he says, "grandmothers and nurses tell so many tales to children ; these fairies," adds he, "I mean, who are affirmed to be blind at home, and very clear-sighted abroad ; who dance in the moonshine when they have nothing else to do ; who steal shepherds and children, to carry them up to their caves, &c."

The fairies have already called themselves *spirits*, *ghosts*, or *shadows*, and consequently, THEY NEVER DIED ; a position, at the same time, of which there is every kind of proof that a fact can require. The revisor of Johnson and Steevens's edition of *Shakspeare*, in 1785, crows not a little, upon his dunghill, at having been able to turn the tables upon his adversary, by a ridiculous reference to the allegories of Spender, and a palpably false one to Tickell's Kensington-gardens," which he affirms, 'will show that the opinion of fairies dying prevailed in the present century,' whereas, in fact, 'it' is found, on the slightest glance into the poem, to maintain the direct reverse :

" Meanwhile sad Kenna, loath to quit the grove
Hung o'er the body of her breathless love,
Try'd every art (vain arts !) to change his doom,
And vow'd (vain vows !) to join him in the tomb.
What could she do ? THE FATES ALIKE DENY
THE DEAD TO LIVE, OF FAIRY FORMS TO DIE."

Ashamed, however, of the public detection of his falsehood, he meanly omitted it in the next edition, without having a single word to allege in his defence ; though he had still the confidence to represent it as "a misfortune to the commentators of *Shakspeare*, that so much of their [invaluable] time is obliged [for the sake of money] to be employed in explaining [by absurdity] and contradicting [by falsehood] unfounded conjectures and assertions ;" which, in fact, (unfounded if they were, as is by no means true), though he was hardy enough to contradict, he was unable to explain, and did not, in reality, understand, contenting himself with an extract altogether foreign to the purpose, at second hand.

The fact, after all, is so positively proved, that no editor or commentator of *Shakspeare*, present or future, will ever have the folly or impudence to assert "that in *Shakspeare*'s time the notion of fairies dying was generally known."

Ariosto informs us (in Harrington's translation, b. 10, s. 47) that

———" (either auncient folke believ'd a lie,
Or this is true) a FAIRIE CANNOT DIE."

and again, (b. 43, s. 92) :

" I AM a FAIRIE, and, to make you know,
To be a fayrie what it doth import,
WE CANNOT DYE, how old so ear we grow,
Of paines and harmes of ev'rie other sort
We tast, onellie NO DEATH WE NATURE OW."

Beaumont and Fletcher, in *The Faithful Shepherdess*, describe

"A virtuous well, about whose flow'ry banks
The nimble-footed fairies dance their rounds,
By the pale moonshine, dipping oftentimes
Their stolen children, SO TO MAKE 'EM FREE
FROM DYING FLESH, AND DULL MORTALITY."

Puck, *alias* Robin Good-fellow, is the most active and extraordinary fellow of a fairy that we anywhere meet with, and, it is believed, we find him nowhere but in our own country, and, peradventure also, only in the south. Spenser, it would seem, is the first that alludes to his name of Puck :

No let the Pouke, nor other evill spright,
No let Hob-goblins, names whose sense we see not.
Fray us with things that be not."

"In our childhoood," says Reginald Scott, "our mother's maids have so terrified us with an oughe divell, having hornes on his head, fier in his mouth, and a taile in his breech, eies like a bason, fanges like a dog, clawes like a beare, a skin like a niger, and a voice roaring like a lion, whereby we start and are afraid when we heare one crie Bough! and they have so fraied us with bull-beggars, spirits, witches, urchens, elves, hags, fairies, satyrs, pans, sylens, Kit with the cansticke, tritons, centaurs, dwarfes, giants, imps, calcars, conjurors, nymphes, changeling, *Incubus*, ROBIN GOOD-FELLOW, the spoorne, the mare, the man in the oke, the hell wain, the fier drake, the puckle, Tom Thombe, Hob goblin, Tom Tumbler, boneles, and such other bugs, that we are afraid of our owne shadowes." "And know this by the waie," he says, "that heretofore Robin Good-fellow, and Hob goblin, were as terrible, and also as credible to the people, as hags and witches be now . . . And in truth, they that mainteine walking spirits have no reason to denie Robin Good-fellow, upon whom there hath gone as manie, and as credible tales, as upon witches; saving that it hath not pleased the translators of the bible to call spirits by the name of Robin Good-fellow."

"Your grandam's maides," he says, "were woont to set a boll of milke before '*Incubus*,' and his cousine, Robin Good-fellow, for grinding of malt or mustard, and sweeping the house at midnight; and you have also heard that he would chafe exceedingly, if the maid or good-wife of the house, having compassion of his nakednes, laid anie clothes for him, beesides his messe of white bread and milke, which was his standing fee. For in that case he saith, What have we here?"

"Hemton hamten,
Here will I never more tread nor stampen."

Robin is thus characterised in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, by a female fairy :

"Either I mistake your shape and making quite,
Or else you are that shrewd and knavish sprite
Call'd Robin Good-fellow; are you not he
That fright the maidens of the villagery,
Skim milk; and sometimes labour in the quern,
And bootless make the breathles housewife churn;
And sometime make the drink to bear no barm,
Mislead night-wanderers, laughing at their harm?
Those that Hob-goblin call you, and sweet Puck,
You do their work, and they shall have good luck."

To these questions Robin thus replies :

—— “Thou speak'st aright.
I am that merry wanderer of the night.
I jest to Oberon, and make him smile,
When I a fat, and bean-fed horse beguile,
Neighing in likeness of a filly foal;
And sometimes lurk I in a gossip's bowl,
In very likeness of a roasted crab;
And when she drinks, against her lips I bob,
And on her wither'd dewlap pour the ale.
The wisest aunt, telling the saddest tale,
Sometime for three-foot stool mistaketh me,
Then slip I from her bum, down topples she,
And 'rails or cries,' and falls into a cough,
And then the whole quire hold their hips and lough.”
And 'yaxen' in their mirth, and neeze and swear
A merrier hour was never wasted there.”

His usual exclamation in this play, is *Ho, Ho, Ho!*

“*Ho, Ho, Ho!* Coward why comest thou not?”

So in *Grim, the Collier of Croydon* :

“*Ho, Ho, Ho,* my masters! No good fellowship!
Is Robin good-fellow a bug-bear grown,
That he is not worthy to be bid sit down?”

In the song, printed by Peck, he concludes every stanza with *Ho, Ho, Ho!*

“If that the bowle of curds and creame were not duly set out for Robin Good-fellow, the frier, and Sisse, the dairy-maid, why then either the pottage was burnt-to next day in the pot, or the cheeses would not curdle, or the butter would not come, or the ale in the fat never would have good head. But if a Peter-penny, or an housle-egge were behind, or a patch of tythe unpaid,—then 'ware of bull-beggars, spirits, &c.”

This frolicksome spirit thus describes himself in Jonson's masque of *Love Restored*: “Robin Good-fellow, he that sweeps the hearth and the house clean, riddles for the country-maids, and does all their other drudgery, while they are at hot-cockles; one that has conversed with your court-spirits ere now.” Having recounted several ineffectual attempts he had made to gain admittance, he adds: “In this despair, when all invention, and translation too, failed me, I e'en went back and stuck to this shape you see me in of mine own, with my *broom*, and my *canles*, and came on confidently.” The mention of his *broom* reminds us of a passage in another play, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, where he tells the audience,

“I am sent with *broom* before,
To sweep the dust behind the door.”

He is likewise one of the *dramatis personæ* in the old play of *Wily Beguiled*, in which he says “Tush! fear not the dodge: I'll rather put on my flashing red nose and my flaming face, and come wrapp'd in a calf-skin, and cry *bo, bo!* I'll pay the scholar I warrant thee.” His character, however, in this piece, is so diabolical, and so different from anything one could expect in Robin Good-fellow, that it is unworthy of further quotation.

He appears, likewise, in another, intitled *Grim, the Collier of Croydon*, in which he enters "in a suit of leather close to his body; his face and hands coloured russet colour, with a 'flail.'"

He is here, too, in most respects, the same strange and diabolical personage that he is represented in *Wily Beguiled*; only there is a single passage which reminds us of his old habits

"When as I list in this transform'd disguise,
I'll fright the country people as I pass;
And sometimes turn me to some other form,
And so delude them with fantastic shews.
But woe betide the silly dairy-maids,
For I shall fleet their cream-bowls night by night."

In another scene he enters, while some of the other characters are at a bowl of cream, upon which he says;

"I love a mess of cream as well as they,
I think it were best I stept in and made one;
Ho, ho, ho, my masters! No good fellowship?
Is Robin Good-fellow a hug-bear grown,
That he is not worthy to be bid sit down."

Here, reader, we part company; and as good old Drayton says in *The Nymphida*, of "Queen Mab and her light maids," we say of ourselves—

"And to the fairy-court they went,
With mickle joy and merriment,
Which thing was done with good intent."

We have brought the reader to the fairy court, and so we leave him, to whistle *The Wedding March* if he be good-humored; if not, "never look gash or grim at me, man—if ye're angry, ye ken how to turn the buckle o' your belt behind you"—and then, like that practical philosopher, *Uncle Toby*, whistle "Lillibulero" till next Number, when we shall perhaps tell you of Pygmies, Witches, and other "Night Fears."

ART. V.—FOUR AMERICAN AUTHORS.

Characteristics of Literature. By Henry T. Tuckerman.
New York : Putnam, and Co.

We have, from time to time, endeavoured to interest our readers by sketches of the authors of various countries, and have devoted two papers to the works of American Poets ;* and we now propose, in our present paper, to consider, in a variety of phases, four American Authors, Washington Irving, George Bancroft, William H. Prescott, and Henry W. Longfellow.

Washington Irving, although so obviously adapted by natural endowments for the career in which he has acquired such eminence, was educated, like many other men of letters, for the legal profession ; he, however, early abandoned the idea of practice at the bar for the more lucrative vocation of a merchant. His brothers were established in business in the city of New-York, and invited him to take an interest in their house, with the understanding that his literary tastes should be gratified by abundant leisure. The unfortunate crisis in mercantile affairs that followed the peace of 1815, involved his family, and threw him upon his own resources for subsistence. To this apparent disaster is owing his subsequent devotion to literature. The strong bias of his own nature, however, had already indicated this destiny ; his inaptitude for affairs, his sensibility to the beautiful, his native humor, and the love he early exhibited for wandering, observing, and indulging in day-dreams, would infallibly have led him to record his fancies and feelings. Indeed, he had already done so with effect in a series of letters which appeared in a newspaper of which his brother was editor. His tendency to a free, meditative, and adventurous life, was confirmed by a visit to Europe in his early youth. Born in the city of New-York on the 8rd of April, 1783,† he pursued his studies, his rambles, and his occasional pencraft there until 1804, when ill-health made it expedient for him to go abroad.

* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, vol. VI., No. 18, p. 193, No. 19, p. 561.

† The house in which Mr. Irving was born stood at No. 131 William-street. It was replaced in 1846 by one of the " Washington Stores."

He sailed for Bordeaux, and thence roamed over the most beautiful portions of Southern Europe, visited Switzerland, and Holland, sojourned in Paris, and returned home in 1806. During his absence he seriously entertained the idea of becoming a painter; but subsequently resumed his law studies, and was admitted to the bar. Soon after, however, the first number of *Salmagundi* appeared, an era in American literary annals; and in December, 1809, was published "*Knickerbocker's History of New-York*." He afterwards edited the *Analectic Magazine*. In the autumn of 1814 he joined the military staff of the Governor of New-York, as aid-de-camp and secretary, with the title of colonel. At the close of the war he embarked for Liverpool, with a view of making a second tour in Europe; but the financial troubles intervening, and the remarkable success which had attended his literary enterprises being an encouragement to pursue a vocation which necessity, not less than taste, now urged him to follow, he embarked in the career of authorship. The papers which were published under the title of "*The Sketch-Book*," at once gained him the sympathy and admiration of his contemporaries. They originally appeared in New-York, but attracted immediate attention in England, and were republished there in 1820. After residing there five years, Mr. Irving again visited Paris, and returned to bring out "*Bracebridge Hall*" in London, in May, 1822. The next winter he passed in Dresden, and in the following spring put "*Tales of a Traveller*" to press. He soon after went to Madrid and wrote the *Life of Columbus*, which appeared in 1828. In the spring of that year he visited the South of Spain, and the result was the *Chronicles of the Conquest of Granada*, which was published in 1829. The same year he revisited that region, and collected the materials for his "*Alhambra*." He was soon after appointed Secretary of Legation to the American Embassy in London, which office he held until the return of Mr. McLane in 1831. While in England he received one of the fifty-guinea gold medals provided by George IV. for eminence in historical composition, and the degree of LL.D. from the University of Oxford. His return to New-York in 1832 was greeted by a festival, at which were gathered his surviving friends, and all the illustrious men of his native metropolis. The following summer he accompanied one of the Commissioners for removing the Indian tribes west of the Mississippi. The fruit of this excursion was

his graphic "Tour on the Prairies." Soon after appeared "Abbotsford and Newstead Abbey," and "Legends of the Conquests of Spain." In 1836 he published "Astoria," and in 1837 "The Adventures of Capt. Bonneville." In 1839 he contributed several papers to the "Knickerbocker Magazine." Early in 1842 he was appointed Minister to Spain. On his return to his own country in 1846, he began the publication of a revised edition of his works, to the list of which he has since added a Life of Goldsmith, and "Mahomet and his Successors;" and he is now engaged upon a revised Life of Washington. This outline should be filled by the reader's imagination with the accessories, and the coloring incident to so varied, honorable, and congenial a life. In all his wanderings, his eye was busied with the scenes of nature, and cognizant of their every feature, his memory brooded over the traditions of the past, and his heart caught and reflected every phase of humanity. With the feelings of a poet and the habitudes of an artist, he thus wandered over the rural districts of merry England, the melancholy hills of romantic Spain, and the exuberant wilderness of his native land, gathering up their most picturesque aspects, and their most affecting legends, and transferring them, with the pure and vivid colors of his genial expression, into permanent memorials. Every quaint outline, every mellowed tint, the ærial perspective that leads the sight into the mazes of antiquity, the amusing still-life or characteristic human attributes,—all that excites wonder, sympathy, and merriment, he thus recognised and preserved, and shed over all, the sunny atmosphere of a kindly heart, and the freshness of a natural zest, and the attraction of a modest character,—a combination which has been happily charactersied by Lowell in the Fable for Critics:

"What! Irving? thrice welcome warm heart and fine brain,
 You bring back the happiest spirit from Spain,
 And the gravest sweet humor, that ever were there
 Since Cervantes met death in his gentle despair;
 Nay, don't be embarrassed, nor look so beseeching,
 I shan't run directly against my own preaching,
 And having just laughed at their Raphaels and Dantes,
 Go to setting you up beside matchless Cervantes;
 But allow me to speak what I honestly feel,
 To a true poet-heart add the fun of Dick Steele;
 Throw in all of Addison, minus the chill,
 With the whole of that partnership's stock and good-will;

Mix well, and while stirring, hum o'er, as a spell,
The 'fine old English Gentleman,' simmer it well;
Sweeten just to your own private liking, then strain,
That only the finest and clearest remain.
Let it stand out of doors till a soul it receives
From the warm lazy sun loitering down through green leaves,
And you'll find a choice nature not wholly deserving,
A name either English or Yankee—just Irving."

The eminent success which has attended the late republication of Irving's works, teaches a lesson that we hope will not be lost on the cultivators of literature. It proves a truth which all men of enlightened taste intuitively feel, but which is constantly forgotten by perverse aspirants for literary fame, and that is—the permanent value of a direct, simple and natural style. It is not only the genial philosophy, the humane spirit, the humor and pathos of Irving, which endear his writings, and secure for them an habitual interest, but it is the refreshment afforded by a recurrence to the unalloyed, unaffected, clear, and flowing style in which he invariably expresses himself.

The place which our author holds in national affection can never be superseded. His name is indissolubly associated with the dawn of American recognised literary culture. We have always regarded his popularity in England as one of the most charming traits of his reputation, and that, too, for the very reasons which narrow critics once assigned as derogatory to his national spirit. His treatment of English subjects; the felicitous manner in which he revealed the life of his ancestral land to her prosperous offspring, mingled as it was with vivid pictures of her own scenery, touched a chord in the heart of America which responds to all that is generous in sympathy, and noble in association. If they regard Irving with national pride and affection, it is partly on account of his cosmopolitan tone of mind—a quality, among others, in which he greatly resembles Goldsmith. It is, indeed, worthy of a true American writer that, with his own country and a particular region thereof as a nucleus of his sentiment, he can see and feel the characteristic and the beautiful, not only in old England, but in romantic Spain; that the phlegmatic Dutchman and the mercurial southern European find an equal place in his comprehensive glance. To range from the local wit of *Salmagundi* to the grand and serious historical enterprise which achieved a classic *Life of Columbus*, and from the simple grief embalmed in the "Widow's

Son" to the observant humor of the "Stout Gentleman," bespeaks not only an artist of exquisite and versatile skill, but a man of the most liberal heart and catholic taste.

Reputations, in their degree and kind, are as legitimate subjects of taste as less abstract things,—and in that of Washington Irving there is a completeness and unity seldom realized. It accords, in its unchallenged purity, with the harmonious character of the author and the serene attractions of his home. By temperament and cast of mind he was ordained to be a gentle minister at the altar of literature, an interpreter of the latent music of nature, and the redeeming affections of humanity; and with a consistency not less dictated by good sense than true feeling, he has instinctively adhered to the sphere he was specially gifted to adorn. Since his advent as a writer, an intense style has come into vogue; glowing rhetoric, bold verbal tactics, and a more powerful exercise of thought characterize many of the popular authors of the day; but in literature as in life, there are various provinces both of utility and taste; and in this country and age, a conservative tone, a reliance on the kindly emotions and the refined perceptions, are qualities eminently desirable. Therefore as we look forth upon the calm and picturesque landscape that environs him, we are content that no fierce polemic, visionary philanthropist, or morbid sentimentalist has thus linked his name with the tranquil beauties of the scene; but that it is the home of an author who, with graceful diction and an affectionate heart, celebrates the scenic charms of the outward world, and the harmless eccentricities and natural sentiment of his race. The true bias of Irving's genius is artistic. The lights and shadows of English life, the legendary romance of Spain, the novelties of a tour on the Prairies of the West, and of adventures in the Rocky Mountains, the poetic beauty of the Alhambra, the memories of Abbotsford and Newstead Abbey, the quaint and comfortable philosophy of the Dutch colonists, and the scenery of the Hudson, are themes upon which he expatiates with the grace and zest of a master. His affinity of style with the classic British essayists served not only as an invaluable precedent in view of the crude mode of expression prevalent half a century ago in America, but also proved a bond in letters between that country and England, by recalling the identity of language and domestic life, at a time when great asperity of feeling divided the two Nations.

The circumstances of American daily life, and the impulse of the national destiny, amply insure the circulation of progressive and practical ideas ; but there is little in either to sustain a wholesome attachment to the past, or inspire disinterested feeling and imaginative recreation. Accordingly, we rejoice that this literary pioneer is not only an artist of the beautiful, but one whose pencil is dipped in the mellow tints of legendary lore, who infuses the element of repose, and the sportiveness of fancy into his creations, and thus yields genuine refreshment and a needed lesson to the fevered minds of his countrymen. Of all his immortal pictures, however, the most precious to his countrymen is that which contains the house of old Baltus Van Tassell, especially since it has been refitted and ornamented by Geoffrey Crayon ; and pleasant as it is to their imagination as Wolfert's Roost, it is far more dear to their hearts as Sunnyside

And the legends which he has so gracefully woven around every striking point in the scene, readily assimilate with its character, whether they breathe grotesque humour, harmless superstition, or pensive sentiment. We smile habitually, and with the same zest, at the idea of the Trumpeter's rubicund proboscis, the valiant defence of Bearn Island, and the figure which the pedagogue cuts on the dorsal ridge of old Gunpowder ; and, inhaling the magnetic atmosphere of Sleepy Hollow, we easily give credit to the apparition of the Headless Horseman, and have no desire to repudiate the frisking imps of the Duyvel's Dans Kamer. The buxom charms of Katrina Van Tassel, and the substantial comforts of her paternal farmhouse, are as tempting to us as they once were to the unfortunate Ichabod and the successful Brom Bones.

The mansion of this prosperous and valiant family, so often celebrated in his writings, is the residence of Washington Irving. It is approached by a sequestered road, which enhances the effect of its natural beauty. A more tranquil and protected abode, nestled in the lap of nature, never captivated a poet's eye. Rising from the bank of the river, which a strip of woodland alone intercepts, it unites every rural charm to the most complete seclusion. From this interesting domain is visible the broad surface of the Tappan Zee ; the grounds slope to the water's edge, and are bordered by wooded ravines ; a clear brook ripples near, and several neat paths lead to shadowy walks or fine points of river scenery. The house itself is

a graceful combination of the English cottage and the Dutch farm-house. The crow-stepped gables, the tiles in the hall, and the weathercocks, partake of the latter character; while the white walls gleaming through the trees, the smooth and verdant turf, and the mantling vines of ivy and clambering roses, suggest the former. Indeed in this delightful homestead are tokens of all that is most characteristic of its owner. The simplicity and rustic grace of the abode indicate an unperverted taste,—its secluded position a love of retirement; the cottage ornaments remind us of his unrivalled pictures of English country-life; the weathercock that used to veer about on the Stadt-house of Amsterdam, is a symbol of the fatherland; while the one that adorned the grand dwellings in Albany before the revolution, is a significant memorial of the old Dutch colonists; and they are thus both associated with the fragrant memory of that famous and unique historian Diedrich Knickerbocker. The quaint and the beautiful are thus blended, and the effect of the whole is singularly harmonious. From the quietude of this retreat are obtainable the most extensive prospects; and while its sheltered position breathes the very air of domestic repose, the scenery it commands is eloquent of broad and generous sympathies.

Not less rare than beautiful is the lot of the author, to whom it is permitted to gather up the memorials of his fame, and witness their permanent recognition;—the first partial favor of his cotemporaries renewed by the mature appreciation of another generation; and equally gratifying is the coincidence of such a noble satisfaction, with a return to the cherished and picturesque haunts of childhood and youth. It is a phase of life scarcely less delightful to contemplate than to enjoy; and we agree with a native artist who declared that in his many trips up and down the Hudson, he never passed Sunnyside without a thrill of pleasure. Nor, if thus interesting even as an object in the landscape, is it difficult to imagine what moral attractions it possesses to the kindred and friends who there habitually enjoy such genial companionship and frank hospitality. To this favored spot, around which his fondest reminiscences hovered during a long absence, Mr. Irving returned, a few years since, crowned with the purest literary renown, and as much attached to his native scenery as when he wandered there in the holiday reveries of boyhood. And here, in the midst of a landscape his pen has made attractive

in both hemispheres, and of friends whose love surpasses the highest meed of fame, he lives in daily view in scenes thrice endeared—by taste, association, and habit;—the old locust that blossoms on the green bank in spring, the brook that sparkles along the grass, the peaked turret and vine-covered wall of that modest yet traditional dwelling, the favorite valley watered by the romantic Pocantoro, and, above all, the glorious river of his heart.

We are strongly tempted to record some of the charming anecdotes which fall from his lips in the hour of genial companionship; to revert to the details of his personal career; the remarkable coincidences by which he became a spectator of some of the most noted occurrences of the last half century;—his personal intercourse with the gifted and renowned of both hemispheres; the fond admiration manifested by his countrymen in making his name familiar as a household word, on their ships and steamers, their schools, hotels, and townships; the beautiful features of his domestic life; the affectionate reverence with which he is regarded by his relatives and his immediate friends and neighbours;—the refined yet joyous tone of his truly “Sunnyside” hospitalities, so charmingly enlivened by his humorous and historical reminiscences. But two considerations warn us from these seductive topics—the one a cherished hope that the reminiscences thus briefly alluded to may yet be gathered up by his own hand; the other our knowledge of his delicacy of feeling and sensitive habit in regard to personalities. In a letter to the editor of the “Knickerbocker Magazine,” Mr. Irving, under the character of Geoffrey Crayon, gives an account of his purchase of the Van Tassel estate, now called “Sunnyside,” and a characteristic description of the neighbourhood, which abounds in some of the happiest touches of his style. This letter was the commencement of a series of articles published in the Knickerbocker, which, excepting his “Life of Washington,” are the last of his published writings. It appeared in the Knickerbocker for March, 1839, from which we extract it.

“ To the Editor of the Knickerbocker.

“ Sir : I have observed that as a man advances in life, he is subject to a kind of plethora of the mind, doubtless occasioned by the vast accumulation of wisdom and experience upon the brain. Hence he is apt to become narrative and admonitory, that is to say, fond of telling long stories, and of doling out advice, to the small profit and

great annoyance of his friends. As I have a great horror of becoming the oracle, or, more technically speaking, the 'bore' of the domestic circle, and would much rather bestow my wisdom and tediousness upon the world at large, I have always sought to ease off this surcharge of the intellect by means of my pen, and hence have inflicted divers gossiping volumes upon the patience of the public. I am tired, however, of writing volumes; they do not afford exactly the relief I require; there is too much preparation, arrangement, and parade, in this set form of coming before the public. I am growing too indolent and unambitious for any thing that requires labor or display. I have thought, therefore, of securing to myself a snug corner in some periodical work, where I might, as it were, loll at my ease in my elbow chair, and chat sociably with the public, as with an old friend, on any chance subject that might pop into my brain.

"In looking around, for this purpose, upon the various excellent periodicals with which our country abounds, my eye was struck by the title of your work—'THE KNICKERBOCKER.' My heart leaped at the sight.

"DIEDRICH KNICKERBOCKER, Sir, was one of my earliest and most valued friends, and the recollection of him is associated with some of the pleasantest scenes of my youthful days. To explain this, and to show how I came into possession of sundry of his posthumous works, which I have from time to time given to the world, permit me to relate a few particulars of our early intercourse. I give them with the more confidence, as I know the interest you take in that departed worthy, whose name and effigy are stamped upon your title-page, and as they will be found important to the better understanding and relishing divers communications I may have to make to you.

"My first acquaintance with that great and good man, for such I may venture to call him, now that the lapse of some thirty years has shrouded his name with venerable antiquity, and the popular voice has elevated him to the rank of the classical historians of yore, my first acquaintance with him was formed on the banks of the Hudson, not far from the wizard region of Sleepy Hollow. He had come there in the course of his researches among the Dutch neighbourhoods for materials for his immortal history. For this purpose, he was ransacking the archives of one of the most ancient and historical mansions in the country. It was a lowly edifice, built in the time of the Dutch dynasty, and stood on a green bank, overshadowed by trees, from which it peeped forth upon the Great Tappan Zee, so famous among early Dutch navigators. A bright pure spring welled up at the foot of the green bank; a wild brook came babbling down a neighbouring ravine, and threw itself into a little woody cove, in front of the mansion. It was indeed as quiet and sheltered a nook as the heart of man could require, in which to take refuge from the cares and troubles of the world; and as such, it had been chosen in old times, by Wolfert Acker, one of the privy councillors of the renowned Peter Stuyvesant.

"This worthy but ill-starred man had lead a weary and worried life, throughout the stormy reign of the chivalric Peter, being one of those unlucky wights with whom the world is ever at variance, and

who are kept in a continual fume and fret, by the wickedness of mankind. At the time of the subjugation of the province by the English, he retired hither in high dudgeon; with the bitter determination to bury himself from the world, and live here in peace and quietness for the remainder of his days. In token of his fixed resolution, he inscribed over his door the favorite Dutch motto, 'Lust in Rust' (pleasure in repose). The mansion was thence called 'Wolfert's Rust'—Wolfert's Rest; but in process of time, the name was vitiated into Wolfert's Roost, probably from its quaint cock-loft look, or from its having a weather-cock perched on every gable. This name it continued to bear, long after the unlucky Wolfert was driven forth once more upon a wrangling world, by the tongue of a termagant wife; for it passed into a proverb through the neighbourhood, and has been handed down by tradition, that the cock of the Roost was the most hen-pecked bird in the country.

"This primitive and historical mansion has long since passed through many changes. At the time of the sojourn of Diedrich Knickerbocker, it was in possession of the gallant family of the Van Tassels, who have figured so conspicuously in his writings. What appears to have given it peculiar value, in his eyes, was the rich treasury of historical facts here secretly hoarded up, like buried gold; for it is said that Wolfert Acker, when he retreated from New Amsterdam, carried off with him many of the records and journals of the province, pertaining to the Dutch dynasty; swearing that they should never fall into the hands of the English. These, like the lost books of Livy, had baffled the research of former historians; but these did I find the indefatigable Diedrich diligently deciphering. He was already a sage in years and experience, I but an idle stripling; yet he did not despise my youth and ignorance, but took me kindly by the hand, and led me gently into those paths of local and traditional lore which he was so fond of exploring. I sat with him in his little chamber at the Roost, and watched the antiquarian patience and perseverance with which he deciphered those venerable Dutch documents, worse than Herculanæum manuscripts. I sat with him by the spring, at the foot of the green bank, and listened to his heroic tales about the worthies of the olden time, the paladins of New Amsterdam. I accompanied him in his legendary researches about Tarrytown and Sing-Sing, and explored with him the spell-bound recesses of Sleepy Hollow. I was present at many of his conferences with the good old Dutch burghers and their wives, from whom he derived many of those marvellous facts not laid down in books or records, and which give such superior value and authenticity to his history, over all others that have been written concerning the New Netherlands.

"But let me check my proneness to dilate upon this favorite theme; I may recur to it hereafter. Suffice it to say, the intimacy thus formed, continued for a considerable time; and in company with the worthy Diedrich, I visited many of the places celebrated by his pen. The currents of our lives at length diverged. He remained at home to complete his mighty work, while a vagrant fancy led me to wander about the world. Many, many years elapsed, before I returned to the parent soil. In the interim, the venerable historian of the New Netherlands had been gathered to his fathers, but his name has risen

to renown His native city, that city in which he so much delighted, had decreed all manner of costly honors to his memory. I found his effigy imprinted upon new-year cakes, and devoured with eager relish by holiday urchins; a great oyster-house bore the name of 'Knickerbocker Hall;' and I narrowly escaped the pleasure of being run over by a Knickerbocker omnibus!

"Proud of having associated with a man who had achieved such greatness, I now recalled our early intimacy with tenfold pleasure, and sought to revisit the scenes we had trodden together. The most important of these was the mansion of the Van Tassels, the Roost of the unfortunate Wolfert. Time, which changes all things, is but slow in its operations upon a Dutchman's dwelling. I found the venerable and quaint little edifice much as I had seen it during the sojourn of Diedrich. There stood his elbow-chair in the corner of the room he had occupied; the old fashioned Dutch writing-desk at which he had pored over the chronicles of the Manhattoes; there was the old wooden chest, with the archives left by Wolfert Acker, many of which, however, had been fired off as wadding from the long duck gun of the Van Tassels. The scene around the mansion was still the same; the green bank; the spring beside which I had listened to the legendary narratives of the historian; the wild brook babbling down to the woody cove, and the overshadowing locust trees, half shutting out the prospect of the Great Tappan Zee.

"As I looked round upon the scene, my heart yearned at the recollection of my departed friend, and I wistfully eyed the mansion which he had inhabited, and which was fast mouldering to decay. The thought struck me to arrest the desolating hand of Time; to rescue the historic pile from utter ruin, and to make it the closing scene of my wanderings; a quiet home, where I might enjoy 'lust in rust' for the remainder of my days. It is true, the fate of the unlucky Wolfert passed across my mind; but I consoled myself with the reflection that I was a bachelor, and that I had no termagant wife to dispute the sovereignty of the Roost with me.

"I have become possessor of the Roost! I have repaired and renovated it with religious care, in the genuine Dutch style, and have adorned and illustrated it with sundry reliques of the glorious days of the New Netherlands. A venerable weather-cock, of portly Dutch dimensions, which once battled with the wind on the top of the Stadt-House of New Amsterdam, in the time of Peter Stuyvesant, now erects its crest on the gable end of my edifice; a gilded horse, in full gallop, once the weather-cock of the great Vander Heyden Palace of Albany, now glitters in the sunshine, and veers with every breeze, on the peaked turret over my portal: my sanctum sanctorum is the chamber once honored by the illustrious Diedrich, and it is from his elbow-chair, and his identical old Dutch writing-desk, that I pen this rambling epistle.

"Here, then, have I set up my rest, surrounded by the recollection of early days, and the mementos of the historian of the Manhattoes, with that glorious river before me, which flows with such majesty through his works, and which has ever been to me a river of delight.

"I thank God I was born on the banks of the Hudson! I think

it an invaluable advantage to be born and brought up in the neighbourhood of some grand and noble object in nature ; a river, a lake, or a mountain. We make a friendship with it, we in a manner ally ourselves to it for life. It remains an object of our pride and affections, a rallying point, to call us home again after all our wanderings. 'The things which we have learned in our childhood,' says an old writer, 'grow up with our souls, and unite themselves to it.' So it is with the scenes among which we have passed our early days ; they influence the whole course of our thoughts and feelings ; and I fancy I can trace much of what is good and pleasant in my own heterogeneous compound, to my early companionship with this glorious river. In the warmth of my youthful enthusiasm, I used to clothe it with moral attributes, and almost to give it a soul. I admired its frank, bold, honest character ; its noble sincerity and perfect truth. Here was no specious, smiling surface, covering the dangerous sand-bar or perfidious rock ; but a stream deep as it was broad, and bearing with honorable faith the bark that trusted to its waves. I gloried in its simple, quiet, majestic, epic flow ; ever straight forward. Once indeed, it turns aside for a moment, forced from its course by opposing mountains, but it struggles bravely through them, and immediately resumes its straightforward march. Behold, thought I, an emblem of a good man's course through life ; ever simple, open, and direct, or if, overpowered by adverse circumstances, he deviate into error, it is but momentary ; he soon recovers his onward and honorable career, and continues it to the end of his pilgrimage.

"Excuse this rhapsody, into which I have been betrayed by a revival of early feelings. The Hudson is, in a manner, my first and last love ; and after all my wanderings, and seeming infidelities, I return to it with a heart-felt preference over all the other rivers in the world. I seem to catch new life, as I bathe in its ample billows, and inhale the pure breezes of its hills. It is true, the romance of youth is past, that once spread illusions over every scene. I can no longer picture an Arcadia in every green valley ; nor a fairy land among the distant mountains ; nor a peerless beauty in every villa gleaming among the trees ; but though the illusions of youth have faded from the landscape, the recollections of departed years and departed pleasures shed over it the mellow charm of evening sunshine.

"Permit me then, Mr. Editor, through the medium of your work, to hold occasional discourse from my retreat, with the busy world I have abandoned. I have much to say about what I have seen, heard, felt, and thought, through the course of a varied and rambling life, and some lucubrations, that have long been encumbering my portfolio ; together with divers reminiscences of the venerable historian of the New Netherlands, that may not be unacceptable to those who have taken an interest in his writings, and are desirous of anything that may cast a light back upon our early history. Let your readers rest assured of one thing, that, though retired from the world, I am not disgusted with it ; and that if, in my communings with it, I do not prove very wise, I trust I shall at least prove very good-natured.

Which is all at present, from

Yours, etc.,

GEOFFREY CRAYON."

The Indians called the finest of New England rivers, Connecticut, River of Pines. The summer tourist to the White Mountains, ascending or descending its valley, finds little reason for the name remaining, until he reaches its upper shores, where occasional groves of pines remind him of the name and its significance. A broad, tranquil stream, it flows through much of the most characteristic scenery of the Northern States, from out the "crystal hills,"—from the shadow of Agiocochook, "throne of the Great Spirit," as the Indians called Mount Washington, dividing New Hampshire from Vermont, the granite from the green,—beneath graceful Ascutney Mountain at Windsor, through wide-waving grain-fields, foaming over the rocks in its sole important cascade at Bellows Falls, then into a broader and more open landscape as it crosses Massachusetts, making at Northampton its famous bend—the Great Ox-bow. At Springfield the railways from every quarter meet upon its banks, and its calm breadth here, with the low clustering foliage of its shores, and the boid cliff of Mount Tom glimmering in the hazy noon, which is the hour of arrival at Springfield, gives the tone to the day's impression. The traveller southward follows the stream toward Hartford and New Haven; the northern traveller clings to its shore until he reaches Northampton.

Lying in the heart of Massachusetts, Northampton is one of the most beautiful of country towns. Looking over a quiet and richly cultivated landscape, the view from Mount Holyoke is of the same quality as that from the Londoner's Richmond Hill. Gentle green hills, fair and fertile meadows, watered by the River of Pines. That river is not classic Thames, and no grotesque Strawberry Hill, nor historic Hampden Court, no Pope's villa at Twickenham, nor stately Bushy Park, tell tales to the musing eye of the singularly artificial and amusing life which is so strangely and intimately associated with the graceful English scene. The River of Pines laves its peaceful shores with Indian lore. Terrible traditions of the fights of the early settlers of New England haunt the stream. Historic life in its neighbourhood is not old enough to be artificial. Like much American pastoral scenery, which seems the natural theatre of tranquil life and a long Arcadian antiquity, the landscape of the Connecticut, so far as it is suggestive, reminds the observer only of the dull monotony of savage existence; but,—irresistibly as the stream flows to the sea,—

bears imagination forward to the history that shall be. Alone of all scenery in the world, the American landscape points to the future. The best charm of the European and Asian lies much in its reference to the past. Human interest invests it all.

"The mountains look on Marathon,
And Marathon looks on the sea."

But that sea is not only a sublime waste of waters, with the inherent character of every grand natural feature, but it teems and sparkles all over with another spell. And this charm is undeniable. The pass of Leonidas is more interesting than the Notch of the White Mountains, because man is the master of nature, and wherever human character has entwined itself with natural beauty, it becomes an inseparable element of enjoyment in the scene, and an element which enhances the dignity of the landscape. Thus in Concord, the spot upon the river's bank where the battle was fought, is lovely and tranquil, but how much lovelier—not as water and foliage, but as feeling and inspiration, which is the immortal beauty of landscape—for the remembrance of the human valor which consecrates it, and its significance and results.

No man, of course, grieves that American scenery is not generally invested with this character. Born upon this superb continent, heaped at intervals with the inarticulate mounds of extinct races, yet races which have left no historic trace, and can never be more than romantically interesting, Americans are fed upon the literature and history of the world. The grandeur of Egypt, the grace of Greece, the heroism of Rome, are all theirs, and the lands illustrated by that various character do not fail to fascinate them. But at present the landscape is not unlike the Indian himself. It is grand but silent; or eloquent only with speechless implication. Foreign critics complain that Americans are enamored of foreign scenery, and do not know their own wealth. But their admiration for the old world is only their homage to that human genius which shall make American story as splendid. Seeing what it has elsewhere done, we perceive more truly what, in a sphere so stately and spacious, it will yet accomplish. A Greece more Greek and a more Roman Rome, is the possible future of America. Why are Europeans so jealous of the American's delight in the Parthenon—in the Alps—in the Italian pictures? Shall they not honor the flowering of the power that ornamented the old lands and times, when they

look to its future blossoming for America's own glory? Were we an American we would say, "We prospectively honor ourselves in respecting the old world. And if, sometimes, the youth of a sensitive and delicate temperament, fully capable of enjoying to the utmost the resources of European life, and requiring the successes of art and the convenience of an old civilization for the happiest play of his powers, longs for the galleries, the societies, the historic shores, it may well be pardoned to him, in consideration that he is an indication of our capacity for that condition. He shows what we shall be,—he shows that only the genius of creation, but of appreciation, is part of our constitution. When, however, this peculiarity takes the form of a querulous fastidiousness, and, in Broadway, sighs for the Boulevards, and, remembering St. Peter's, sneers at the Capitol, it is foolish and offensive. But, on the other hand, we shall not necessarily improve our nationality by perpetually visiting Niagara or reading Mr. Schoolcraft's Legends, or refusing assent to the positive superiorities of other countries and times. Essentially eclectic in our origin, we shall be so in our development. Foreign critics treat us as if we had not a common ancestry with them, but were descended from the Indians. They say to us,—How are you ever to have a nationality, if you desert all your traditions and devote yourselves to loving and imitating Europe? The question is fair, but the implication is unjust. They forget, especially the English critics, that our diffidence is not absolute and final, but only relative. We have the same history and language with them. Their men and events are peculiarly ours, more, that is, than Italian and Patagonian events and men, and our literature, which they so obstreperously insist must be national, necessarily has a family likeness to their own. Many of our books imitate English books just as they imitate each other. The reason is in the common language and the similarity of habit of thought. But no American need tremble lest the grandeur of his country should fail to be expressed in Art and Literature. Some Homer, or Poet along whose lines shall flash and roar our boundless sea; some Plato, or Catholic Philosopher, in whose calm wisdom the breadth of a continent shall repose; some artist, who shall passionately dash upon immortal canvas the fervor of our topics, and realize in new and unimagined grace the hints of forest and prairie—these must all be, or the conditions of human and national development as they appear in history, will not be fulfilled."

Still as an American we would say, "Certainly, looking from Holyoke, no man grieves that the Connecticut is not the classic Thames, nor that the Great Oxbow is unadorned by Strawberry Hill. Nor do we suppose that he regrets upon the hill the absence of the dandies who composed the court of 'the first gentleman in Europe,' nor that of the Dutch royalty of his three predecessors. Fortunately for us, this law of association works both ways. Horace Walpole in the country, tormenting it with his fantastic fancies, is almost as incongruous a spectacle as Beau Nash by the seaside. But it is the glowing line of history in which these figures are insignificant, that imparts the charm. The elegance of extreme refinement marks the pleasant view from Richmond Hill. It is akin in impression to that of the 'lovely London ladies.' It is in landscape what they are in society. But pastoral peace broods over the valley of the River of Pines. Golden plenty waves in its meadows. Gentle mountains undulate around, covered with green woods. A fresh sweetness and virginal purity every where breathe a benediction. If no historic heroism inspires the mind of the spectator, there is also no taint of sheer artificiality, none of the nameless sadness which haunts the gallery of King Charles's Beauties. This is Nell Gwyn, the ruddy orange-girl, her youth and heart sweeter than the fruit she bore; not the painted and brocaded lady, not the frail but faithful St. Albans."

Looking from the piazza of this house at Round Hill, the eye grasps grim Monadnoc at the north, and the Yankee hills of Connecticut, made poetic by distance. A tranquil and friendly landscape,—somewhat lurid in the early history with Indian fires and desolations,—a broad, fair river,—altogether a fine and suggestive emblem of National condition and resources, it is pleasant to associate with Northampton the commencement of the work that records American history in a manner which secures its final permanence. It is fortunate that it was written now, while the outlines are not lost in the mist of antiquity, and by one who, to an original, clear and profound perception of the great principles which appear in the development of the race, has added the ripeness of rich scholarship, long foreign residence, and that invaluable practical acquaintance with men and affairs, which has made his own life part of contemporary history. Best of all for the purpose, the ineradicable Americanism of the historian imparts his native

air to the page. It is not only a History of America, it is an American History. There is a wild vigor and luxuriant richness in its style of treatment, a proud buoyancy of flow, as if it shared the energetic career of the country it describes. The intellectual habit evident throughout is precisely that required of a historian, not so romantic as to limit the story to a sweet and captivating legend, nor so academic as to marshal in colorless masses the hosts of historic facts. It has no withered, scholastic air. The historian has not curiously culled flowers, and offered them to us pressed,—but with generous hands he gathers all the bounties of the field and heaps them before us, wet with morning dew.

Our present duty is not with the work, but with the circumstances which the work has made interesting. Born near Worcester, Massachusetts, Mr. Bancroft was the son of the Rev. Aaron Bancroft, one of the most distinguished Unitarian teachers of the last half century. In his house the religion learned from his lips by his children was of that grave and humane order which, once permeating the young mind, sweetens the man's life for ever after. Freedom of inquiry,—the supremest liberty of moral investigation, was the golden rule of the old man's life. "Prove all things," was the earnest exhortation of his preaching, sure that otherwise there would be little good to hold fast. When, in the declining years of his life, an intellectual and moral excitement, known as Transcendentalism, prevailed in New England, and many good men of his own persuasion fancied that the foundations of things were at last succumbing, the old clergyman went his way quite unperplexed, sympathized with the spirit, although not with the result of the investigation, and assured his alarmed friends that the errors, if such they were, would necessarily pass, and that all grain of truth grew in husks.

At seventeen years of age the historian went to Germany and studied at Göttingen. Like all ardent and serious New England youths, his interest in theological speculations was great, and he often preached to the quiet German country congregations around Göttingen, in their native tongue. This interest was the puritanical inheritance of his native land. The small towns were parishes, and the minister the high priest. It had been so from the earliest times, and the feeling in the matter, which survived until a quarter of a century since, clearly manifested the fact that the emigration of the pilgrims and the

settlement of New England was a religious movement. Possibly, seen from Göttingen, the theological traditions of New England might lose some of their awful proportions. In the pleasant pulpits of Boston the observer might not always see the Cotton Mathers, and other clerical Boanerges of the elder day, nor trace in their limpid discourse the fiery torrent of Puritan preaching. But the spirit of inquiry inculcated by the father, the pastor of the quiet country town, was sure to preserve the inquirer by neither exaggerating nor threatening. The young man pursued his studies with ardor, in every direction. His penetrant mind, contrasting the European habit of education with American, perceived where the latter failed, and what it was necessary to do to elevate it's standard in the matter. Of singular intellectual restlessness, his mind bounded and darted through the fields of scholastic culture, hiving the sweets, quite ignorant yet of their probable or final use.

During his residence in Germany, the young American student, bringing to the Savans of that country the homage of a fame they did not know to exist, was doubly welcome. In Berlin he knew Schleirmacher, Wolffe, and Savigny. It was in Jena that he first saw Goethe. The old man was walking in his garden in the morning, clad with German carelessness, in heavy loose coat and trowsers, without a waistcoat. He had the imperial presence which is preserved in all the statues and pictures, and talked pleasantly of many things as they strolled. Lord Byron was then at the height of his fame. Goethe asked of him with interest, and said, although without passion or ill-feeling, that the English poet had modelled his Manfred upon Faust. In this remark, however, Goethe showed more the pride of the author than the perception of the critic. For the theme attempted in both poems is precisely the one sure to fascinate all genius of a certain power, and the treatment in these especial instances reveals all the differences of the men.

Afterwards, in Italy, our student saw Lord Byron. He first met him on board an American vessel lying at Leghorn, and to which the poet had been invited. As he mounted the side of the ship, Byron's eye fell upon a group of ladies, and he wavered a moment, saying afterward that he feared they were English, toward whom, at that time, he was not friendly. He advanced down the deck, however, glad to learn that the dreadful cloud of muslin enveloped nothing but Americans, and fell into animated conversation.

"Ah! Lord Byron," said one of the fairest of the group, "when I return to America no one will believe that I have actually seen you. I must carry them some tangible proof of my good fortune. Will you give me the rose in your button-hole?"

The "free and independent" address did not displease the poet, and he gave the rose.

Upon leaving the vessel, Lord Byron asked Mr. Bancroft to visit him at his villa, Montenero, near the city, to which, a day or two after, he went. They talked of many things, Lord Byron naturally asking endless questions of America. He denied the charge of Goethe about Manfred, and said that he had never read Faust. He had just written the letter upon Pope, and, in conversation, greatly extolled his poetry. Without saying brilliant or memorable things, Byron was a fluent and agreeable talker. It was in the year 1821, and he was writing *Don Juan*. "People call it immoral," said he, "and put Roderick Random in their libraries." So of Shelley: "They call him an infidel," said Lord Byron, "but he is more Christian than the whole of them." When his visitor rose to leave, the poet took down a volume containing the last cantos he had then written of the poem, and wrote his name in them, as a remembrance "from Noel Byron." But Ambrosia was that day allotted to the young American, for as they passed slowly through the saloon, the host bade him tarry a moment, and leaving the room immediately returned with the Countess Guiccioli. She, too, smiled, and gliding into the mazy music of Italian speech, led the listener on, delighted. Again he rose to go, but a servant threw open a door and discovered a collation spread in the adjoining room. Perhaps the poet pleased himself with the fancy of graciously and profusely entertaining his foreign subjects in the ambassadorial person of his guest. "That is fame," he said, upon reading in some tourist's volume that a copy of the *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* had been found by him at Niagara. The modesty of his American visitor might recognise in the cordiality of his reception and treatment Lord Byron's acknowledgment of his American fame.

In 1822 Mr. Bancroft returned home, and served for a year as Greek tutor in Harvard College. During his long residence in Europe he had matured his projects to raise the standard of education in America, and in the following year

he, with Mr. Cogswell, Librarian of the Astor Library, commenced the famous Round Hill School at Northampton. Three brothers Sheperd, descendants of the old New England divine, had built three neighbouring houses upon this spot. Gradually they had all passed into the hands of one of the brothers, who was willing to sell them, and they became the seat of the school. The estate comprised about fifty acres. The school was immediately filled by young men from every part of the country, and took rank directly among the finest institutions. Mr. Bancroft devoted himself with unremitting ardor to the enterprise. The system of study pursued at the best schools in the world was introduced, and the scheme was, in itself, completely successful. Unhappily, however, there was no Oxford and no Cambridge for this Eton. The course of study was so high and entire that the graduates of Round Hill were well fitted to enter the advanced classes of any College. But, by a singular provision of College Laws, those who entered an advanced class were held to pay for the preceding years. Nor did the studies in any college carry the student forward to a proportioned result. Shrewd men did not want to pay twice for their son's education. Besides, it was a solitary effort,—possibly some wild whim thought the shrewd men, of this deeply-dyed German student. Thus, although in itself successful, it did not promise to achieve the desired result, like a very perfect blossom, which will yet not ripen into a fruit. Mr. Bancroft's interest in it, therefore, gradually declined.

Meanwhile he had served other aims by translating his friend Heeren's History of Greece, and had been long meditating and preparing the material for a History of the United States. In 1827 he was married at Springfield, and returning to Northampton resumed his connection with the School simply as a teacher, and presently withdrew from it altogether. In the house represented in the engraving, its frontispiece, the first volume of the History was written, and was published in the year 1834. The historian then removed to Springfield, where he resided two years, completing and publishing another volume there.

It was a favorite maxim of Ariosto, and of Lord Byron, that every man of letters must mix in affairs, if he would secure a profound influence upon men. Only by contact, they felt, does man learn to know man. The wandering Homer, the poet Shakspeare, the statesmen Milton, Lord Bacon, the privy councillor Goethe, Michael Angelo planning fortifications for

Florence, Leonardo da Vinci designing drains for the Lombardy plains, are names upon their side. It is easy to see how invaluable to a historian must be this practical intercourse with men and affairs, of whose development history is the record. Mr. Bancroft's political career, therefore, is not only a remarkable illustration of the successes opened in a republic to ability and energy, but it has necessarily had the profoundest influence upon his work. A man who makes part of the history of his own time can better write that of another. While still resident at Northampton, he was, quite unwittingly upon his part, elected a representative to the General Court, but his engagements prevented his taking his seat. Other positions were offered him, which he declined. Appointed Collector of Boston in 1838, by President Van Buren, Mr. Bancroft brought to his new duties an intelligence and zeal which secured the acknowledgment of great ability from very determined opponents. He was again married at this time; and, during the engrossing engagements of his office, he labored diligently upon the third volume of the history, which was published in 1842. In the year 1844 he was nominated for Governor by the democratic party. He was not elected, although receiving a larger vote than had ever before been polled upon the purely democratic issue. Party spirit did not spare any prominent man, and plenty of hard things were said during the contest. But in the excited moments of political difference, although great talent is often conceded to opponents, integrity and kindness of heart are too often denied. Throughout a canvass of great acerbity of feeling, the democratic nominee was in New-York, engaged in examining, often for more than the twelve hours of day, the documents illustrative of America's early history, which Mr. Brodhead had then just brought from Holland for the Historical Society of his State.

In 1844 Mr. Polk was elected President, and summoned Mr. Bancroft to Washington as Secretary of the Navy, and in the autumn of 1846, he crossed the ocean as Minister to England. When Rubens, the painter, resided in England as Dutch Ambassador, a company of diplomats one day called upon him and found him, palette in hand, at work before his easel.

"Ah!" said they, "Monsieur the Ambassador is playing painter."

"No, gentlemen," responded the artist, "the painter is playing Ambassador."

So our historian played Ambassador, and played it well. Upon leaving Washington he said to the President that he should devote his energies to the modification of the Navigation Act, and his success in the effort is one of the chief triumphs of Mr. Bancroft's political career. He did not arrive as a stranger in London, but the scholars there, and the learned representatives of other countries, were already correspondents of the American scholar, and loyal to the fame of the American Historian. We have had no American representative more genuinely American. Still devoted to the aim of his life,—by personal intercourse with eminent men and close examination of all material accessible in England, by constant correspondence with other parts of Europe, especially France, and frequent visits to Paris to explore its libraries and search its archives, the History of the United States went on. In 1849 Mr. Bancroft returned to America and took up his residence in New-York. The fourth volume of the History, comprising the French war and the beginning of the Revolution, was immediately prepared for the press and published by his old publishers, in Boston, in the spring of 1852. Its success, after so long and highly-wrought expectation, was entire, and confirmed the satisfaction that the history of the country was to be recorded by a mind so sagacious, so cognizant of the national ideas, so respectful of the national spirit, so affluent in historic lore, so moulded by intercourse and attrition with great times, and their greatest men, so capable of expression at once rich, vigorous, and characteristic.

Mr. Bancroft's time is now divided between the city and the seaside. Early in the summer he repairs to Newport, and works at the concluding volumes of his history; it will be a noble record of great deeds, and will comprise the first events of the greatest epoch of modern times. Nor is it possible to say to how late a date the work will be continued. The great result of independence once achieved, the consequent organization of details can hardly be properly or copiously treated, until the mind can clearly trace the characteristic operation of principles through a somewhat longer course of years.

The true idea of a home includes something more than a place to live in. It involves elements which are intangible. It means a particular spot in which the mind is developed, the character trained, and the affections fed. It supposes

a chain of association, by which mute material forms are linked to certain states of thought and moods of feeling, so that our joys and sorrows, our struggles and triumphs, are chronicled on the walls of a house, the trunk of a tree, or the alleys of a garden. Many persons are so unhappy as to pass through life without these sweet influences. Their lives are wandering and nomadic, and their temporary places of shelter are mere tents, though built of brick or wood. The bride is brought home to one house, the child is born in another, and dies in a third. As we walk through the unexpressive squares of one of our cities, and mark their dreary monotony of front, and their ever-changing door-plates, how few of these houses are there that present themselves to the eye with any of the symbols and indications of home. These, we say instinctively, are mere parallelograms of air, with sections and divisions at regular intervals, in which men may eat and sleep, but not live, in the large meaning of the term. But a country-house, however small and plain, if it be only well placed, as in the shadow of a patriarchal tree, or on the banks of a stream, or in the hollow of a sheltering hill, has more of the look of home than many a costly city mansion. In the former, a portion of nature seems to have been subdued and converted to the uses of man, and yet its primitive character to have remained unchanged; but, in the latter, nature has been slain and buried, and a huge brick monument erected to her memory. We read that "God setteth the solitary in families." The significance of this beautiful expression dwells in its last word. The solitary are not set in hotels or boarding-houses, nor yet in communities or phalansteries, but in families. The burden of solitude is to be lightened by household affections, and not by mere aggregation. True society—that which the heart craves and the character needs—is only to be found at home, and what are called the cares of housekeeping, from which so many selfishly and indolently shrink, when lightened by mutual forbearance and unpretending self-sacrifice, become occasions of endearment and instruments of moral and spiritual growth.

The partial deprivation of sight under which Mr. Prescott has long labored, is now a fact in literary history almost as well known as the blindness of Milton or the lameness of Scott. Indeed, many magnify in their thoughts the extent of his loss,

and picture to themselves the author of "Ferdinand and Isabella" as a venerable personage, entirely sightless, whose "dark steps" require a constant "guiding hand," and are greatly surprised when they see this ideal image transformed into a figure retaining a more than common share of youthful lightness of movement, and a countenance full of freshness and animation, which betrays to a casual observation no mark of visual imperfection. The weight of this trial, heavy indeed to a man of literary tastes, has been balanced in Mr. Prescott's case by great compensations. He has been happy in the home into which he was born, happy in the home he has made for himself, and happy in the troops of loving and sympathizing friends whom he has gathered around him. He has been happy in the early possession of that leisure which has enabled him to give his whole energies to literary labors, without distraction or interruption, and, most of all, happy in his own genial temper, his cheerful spirit, his cordial frankness, and that disposition to look on the bright side of men and things, which is better not only than house and land, but than genius and fame. It is his privilege, by no means universal with successful authors, to be best valued where most known; and the graceful tribute which his intimate friend Mr. Ticknor, has paid to him, in the preface to his History of Spanish Literature, that his "honors will always be dearest to those who have best known the discouragements under which they have been won, and the modesty and gentleness with which they are worn," is but an expression of the common feeling of all those who know him.

To come down to smaller matters, Mr. Prescott has been fortunate in the merely local influences which have helped to train his mind and character. His lines have fallen to him in pleasant places. His father, who removed from Salem to Boston when he himself was quite young, lived for many years in a house in Bedford-street, now swept away by the march of change, the effect of which, in a place of limited extent like Boston, is to crowd the population into constantly narrowing spaces. It was one of a class of houses of which but few specimens are now left in that densely settled peninsula. It was built of brick, painted yellow, was square in form, and had rooms on either side of the front door. It had little architectural merit, and no architectural pretension; but it stood by itself and was not imprisoned in a block, had a few feet

of land between the front door and the street, and a reasonable amount of breathing-space and elbow-room at the sides and in the rear, and was shaded by by some fine elms and horse-chesnuts. It had a certain individual character and expression of its own. Here Mr. Prescott the elder, commonly known and addressed in Boston as Judge Prescott, lived from 1817 to 1844, the year of his death. Mr. Prescott the younger, the historian, upon his marriage, did not leave his father's house to seek a new home, but, complying with a kindly custom more common in Europe, at least upon the Continent, than in America, continued to reside under the paternal roof, the two families forming one united and affectionate household, which, in the latter years of Judge Prescott's life, presented most engaging forms of age, mature life, and blooming youth. As Mr Prescott's circle of research grew more and more wide, the house was enlarged by the addition of a study to accommodate his books and manuscripts; and here fame found him living when she came to seek him after the publication of the "History of Ferdinand and Isabella." No one of those who were so fortunate as to enjoy the friendship of both the father and the son ever walks by the spot where this house once stood, without recalling, with a mingling of pleasure and of pain, its substantial and respectable appearance, its warm atmosphere of welcome and hospitality, and the dignified form, so expressive of wisdom and of worth, of that admirable person who so long presided over it. This house was pulled down a few years since, soon after the death of Judge Prescott: his son having previously removed to the house in Beacon-street, in which he now lives during the winter months.

Few authors have ever been so rich in dwelling-places as Mr. Prescott. "The truth is," says he in a letter to his publisher, "I have three places of residence, among which I contrive to distribute my year. Six months I pass in town, where my house is in Beacon-street, looking on the common, which as you may recollect, is an uncommonly fine situation, commanding a noble view of land and water."

There is little in the external aspect of this house in Beacon-street to distinguish it from others in its immediate vicinity. It is one of a continuous but not uniform block. It is of brick, painted white, four stories high, and with one of those swelled fronts which are characteristic of Boston. It has the usual proportion and distribution of drawing-rooms, dining-room and chambers, which are furnished with unpretending elegance, and

adorned with some portraits, copies of originals in Spain, illustrative of Mr. Prescott's writings. The most striking portion of the interior consists of an ample library, added by Mr. Prescott to the rear of the house, and communicating with the drawing-rooms. It is an apartment of noble size and fine proportions, filled with a choice collection of books, mostly historical, which are disposed in cases of richly-veined and highly-polished oak. This room, which is much used in the social arrangements of the household, is not that in which Mr. Prescott does his hard literary work. A much smaller apartment, above the library and communicating with it, is the working study—an arrangement similar to that adopted by Sir Walter Scott at Abbotsford.

Mr. Prescott's collection of books has been made with special reference to his own departments of inquiry, and in these it is very rich. It contains many works which cannot be found in any other private library, at least, in America. Besides these, he has a large number of manuscripts, amounting in the aggregate to not less than twenty thousand folio pages, illustrative of the periods of history treated in his works. These manuscripts have been drawn from all parts of Europe, as well as from the States of Spanish origin in the New World. He has also many curious and valuable autographs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Nor is the interest of this apartment confined to its books and manuscripts. Over the window at the northern end, there are two swords suspended, and crossed like a pair of clasped hands. One of these was borne by Col. Prescott at Bunker Hill, and the other by Capt. Lizeen, the maternal grandfather of Mrs. Prescott, who commanded the British sloop of war *Falcon*, which was engaged in firing upon the American troops on that occasion. It is a significant and suggestive sight, from which a thoughtful mind may draw out a long web of reflection. These swords, once waving in hostile hands, but now amicably lying side by side, symbolize not merely the union of families once opposed in deadly struggle, but, as we hope and trust, the mood of peace which is destined to guide the two great nations which, like parted streams, trace back their source to the same parent fountain.

On entering the library from the drawing-room, the visitor sees at first no egress except by the door through which he had just passed; but, on his attention being called to a par-

ticular space in the stored shelves, he is, if a reading man, attracted by some rows of portly quartos and goodly octavos, handsomely bound, bearing inviting names, unknown to Lowndes or Brunet. On reaching forth his hand to take one of them down, he finds that while they keep the word of promise to the eye, they break it to the hope, for the seeming books are nothing but strips of gilded leather pasted upon a flat surface, and stamped with titles, in the selection of which, Mr. Prescott has indulged that playful fancy which, though it can rarely appear in his grave historical works, is constantly animating his correspondence and conversation. It is, in short a secret door, opening at the touch of a spring, and concealed from observation when shut. A small winding staircase leads to a room of moderate extent above, so arranged as to give all possible advantage of light to the imperfect eyes of the historian. Here Mr. Prescott gathers around him the books and manuscripts in use for the particular work on which he may be engaged, and few persons, except himself and his secretary, ever penetrate to his studious retreat.

In regard to situation, few houses in any city are superior to this. It stands directly upon the common, a beautiful piece of ground, tastefully laid out, moulded into an exhilarating variety of surface, and only open to the objection of being too much cut up by the intersecting paths which the time-saving habits of the thrifty Bostonians have traced across it. Mr. Prescott's house stands nearly opposite a small sheet of water, to which the tasteless name of Frog Pond is so inveterately fixed by long usage, that it can never be divorced from it. Of late years, since the introduction of the Cochituate water, a fountain has been made to play here, which throws up an obelisk of sparkling silver, springing from the bosom of the little lake, like a palm tree from the sands, producing, in its simple beauty, a far finer effect than the costly architectural fancies of Europe, in which the water spurts and fizzles amid a tasteless crowd of sprawling Tritons and flopping dolphins. Here a beautiful spectacle may be seen in the long afternoons of June, before the midsummer heats have browned the grass, when the crystal plumes of the fountain are waving in the breeze, and the rich, yellow light of the slow-sinking sun hangs in the air and throws long shadows on the turf, and the Common is sprinkled, far and wide, with well-dressed and well-mannered crowds—a spectacle in which not only the eye

but the heart also may take pleasure, from the evidence which it furnishes of the general diffusion of material comfort, worth and intelligence.

The situation of the house admirably adapts it also for a winter residence. The sun, during nearly his whole course, plays on the walls of the houses which occupy the western part of Beacon-street, and the broad pavement in front is, in the coldest weather, clear of ice and snow, and offers an inviting promenade even to the long dresses and thin shoes which so many perverse wives and daughters will persist in bringing into the streets. Here, in the early days of spring, the timid crocus and snowdrop peep from the soil long before the iron hand of winter has been lifted from the rest of the city. Besides the near attraction of the Common, which is beautiful in all seasons, this part of Boston, from its elevated position, commands a fine view of the western horizon, including a range of graceful and thickly-peopled hills in Brookline and Roxbury. The brilliant winter sunsets are seen here to the greatest advantage. The whole western sky burns with rich metallic lights of orange, yellow, and yellow-green; the outlines of the hills in the clear, frosty air, are sharply cut against this glowing back-ground; the wind-harps of the leafless trees send forth a melancholy music, and the faint stars steal out one by one as the shrouding veil of daylight is slowly withdrawn. A walk at this hour along the western side of the Common offers a larger amount of the soothing and elevating influences of nature than most dwellers in cities can command.*

In this house in Beacon-street, Mr. Prescott lives for about half the year, engaged in literary research, and finding relief

* The beauty of American winter sunsets is, so far as we are aware, peculiar to that country. It depends upon a combination of elements found nowhere else; a low temperature with a brilliant sunlight and a transparent atmosphere: the climate of Sweden with the sky of Italy. In northern Europe, the tone of coloring is too gray and subdued, and the short days of winter leave but little light in the air. In Italy, the beauty of the winter sunsets is essentially the same as that of the summer. In both, the coloring is what painters would call warm. But there is something peculiarly spiritual in the pure light of American winter sunsets, in which the frost keeps down all the clouds and vapors of earth, and the western sky looks like a vault of crystal, through which the glory of some other world is shining.

from his studies in the society of a numerous circle of friends, a precious possession, in which no man is more rich. No author in America is so exclusively a man of letters. His time and energies are not at all given to the exciting and ephemeral claims of the passing hour, but devoted to those calm researches the results of which have appeared in his published works. He is strongly social in his tastes and habits, and his manners and conversation in society are uncommonly free from that stiffness and coldness which are apt to creep over students, and retains more youthful ease and unreserve than most men, whatever be their way of life, carry into middle age. He is methodical in his habits of exercise as well as of study, and is much given to long walks, as in former years to long rides. These periods of exercise, however, are not wholly idle. From his defective sight he has acquired the habit (not a very common one) of thinking without the pen, and many a smooth period has been wrought and polished in the forge of the brain while in the saddle or on foot.*

The occupants of most of the houses in that part of Boston where Mr. Prescott lives, are birds of passage. As soon as the sun of the short-lived summer puts off the countenance of a friend, and puts on that of a foe, one by one they take their flight. House after house shuts up its green lids, and resigns itself to a three or four months' sleep. The owners distribute themselves among various places of retreat, rural, suburban or marine, more or less remote. Mr. Prescott also quits the noise, dust and heat of Boston at this season, and takes refuge for some weeks in a cottage at Nahant. "This place," he writes to his publisher, "is a cottage—what Lady Emeline Stuart Wortley calls in her 'Travels' 'a charming country villa' at Nahant, where for more than twenty years I have passed the summer months, as it is the coolest spot in New England. The house stands on a bald cliff, overlooking the ocean, so near that in a storm the spray is thrown over the piazza, and as it stands on the extreme

* Mr. Prescott inherits from his father a taste for riding and walking alone. For many years, during the life of the latter, they were both in the habit of riding before breakfast. Their horses would be brought to the door at the same time, and they would start together, but one would take the right hand and one the left. This peculiarity, so little in unison with his otherwise social tastes, is often the subject of playful banter among his friends.

point of the peninsula, is many miles out at sea. There is more than one printed account of Nahant, which is a remarkable watering-place, from the bold formation of the coast and its exposure to the ocean. It is not a bad place—this sea-girt citadel—for reverie and writing, with the music of the winds and waters incessantly beating on the rocks and broad beaches below. This place is called ‘Fitful Head,’ and Norna’s was not wilder.”

The peninsula of Nahant, which Mr. Prescott has thus briefly described, is a rocky promontary running out to sea from the mainland of Lynn, to which it is connected by a straight beach, some two or three miles in length, divided into two unequal portions by a bold headland called Little Nahant. It juts out abruptly, in an adventurous and defying way, and, laid down on a map of a large scale, it looks like an outstretched arm with a clenched fist at the end of it. Thus going out to sea to battle with the waves on the stormy New-England coast, it is built of the strongest materials which the laboratory of Nature can furnish. It is a solid mass of the hardest porphyritic rock, over which a thin drapery of soil is thrown. At the southern extremity this wall of rock is broken into grand irregular forms, and seamed and scarred with the marks of innumerable conflicts. A lover of Nature in her sterner moods can find few spots of more attraction than this presents after a south-easterly storm. The dark ridges of the rapid waves leap upon the broken cliffs with an expression so like that of animal rage, that it is difficult to believe that they are not conscious of what they are about. But in an instant the gray mass is broken into splinters of snowy spray, which glide and hiss over the rocky points and hang their dripping and fleecy rocks along the sheer wall, the dazzling white contrasting vividly with the reddish brown of the rock, as does the passionate movement with the monumental calm. One is never weary of watching so glorious a spectacle, for though the elements remain the same, yet, from their combination, there results a constant variety of form and movement. Nature never repeats herself. As no two pebbles on a beach are identical, so no two waves ever break upon a rock in precisely the same way.

The beach which connects the headland of Little Nahant with the mainland of Lynn, is about a mile and a half long, and curved into the finest line of beauty. At low tide there is a space of some fifty yards wide, left bare by the

receding waters. This has a very gentle inclination, and having been hammered upon so long by the action of the waves it is as hard and smooth as a marble floor, presenting an inviting field for exercise, whether on foot, in carriages, or on horseback. The wheels roll over it in silence and leave no indentation behind, and even the hoofs of a galloping steed make but a momentary impression. On a fine breezy afternoon, in the season, when the tide is favourable, this beach presents a most exhilarating spectacle, for the whole gay world of the place is attracted here; some in carriages, some on horseback, and some on foot. Every kind of carriage that American ingenuity has ever devised is here represented, from the old fashioned family coach, with its air of solid, church-and-state respectability, to the sporting-man's wagon, which looks like a vehicular tarantula, all wheels and no body. The inspiriting influence of the scene extends itself to both bipeds and quadrupeds. Little boys and girls race about on the fascinating wet sand, so that their nurses, what with the waves and what with the horses' hoofs, are kept in a perpetual frenzy of apprehension. Sober pedestrians, taking their "constitutional," involuntarily quicken their pace, as if they were really walking for pleasure and not for exercise. The well-fed family horse pricks up his ears and lifts his feet lightly, as if he felt a sense of pleasure in the coolness and moisture under them. Fair equestrians dash across the beach at full gallop, their veils and dresses streaming on the breeze, attended by their own flying shadows in the smooth watery mirror of the yellow sands. Let the waves curl and break in long lines of dazzling foam and spring upon the beach as if they enjoyed their own restless play; sprinkle the bay with snowy sails for the setting sun to linger and play upon, and cover the whole with a bright blue sky dappled with drifting clouds, and all these elements make up so animating a scene, that a man must be very moody or very apathetic not to feel his heart grow lighter as he gazes upon it.

The position of Nahant, and its convenient distance from Boston, make it a place of much resort in the hot months of summer. There are many hotels and boarding-houses; and also a large number of cottages, occupied for the most part by families, the heads of which come up to town every day and return in the evening. The climate and scenery are so marked, that they give rise to very decided opinions. Many pronounce Nahant delightful, but some do not hesitate to call it detest-

able. No place can be more marine and less rural. There are no woods and very few trees. There are none but ocean sights and ocean sounds. It is like being out at sea in a great ship that does not rock. As every wind blows off the bay, the temperature of the air is very low, and the clear green water looks cold enough in a hot August noon to make one's teeth chatter, so that it requires some resolution to venture upon a bath, and still more to repeat the experiment. The characteristic climate of Nahant may be observed in one of those days, not uncommon on the coast of New England, when a sharp east wind sets in after a hot morning. The sea turns up a chill steel blue surface, and the air is so cold that it is not comfortable to sit still in the shade, while the sky, the parched grass, the dusty roads, and the sunshine bright and cold, like moon beams, give to the eye a strangely deceptive promise of heat. Under the calm light of a broad full moon, Nahant puts on a strange and unearthly beauty. The sea sparkles in silver gleams, and its phosphoric foam is in vivid contrast with the inky shadows of the cliffs. The ships dart away into the luminous distance, like spectral forms. In the deep stillness the sullen plunge of the long, breaking waves becomes oppressive to the spirits. The roofs of the cottages glitter with spiritual light, and the white line of the dusty road is turned into a path of pearl.

The cottage which Mr. Prescott occupies at Nahant is built of wood, two stories in height, and has a spacious piazza running round it, which in fine weather is much used as a supplementary drawing-room. There is nothing remarkable whatever in its external appearance. Its plain and unassuming aspect provokes neither criticism nor admiration. Its situation is one of the finest in the whole peninsula. It stands upon the extremity of a bold, bluff-like promontory, and its elevated position gives it the command of a very wide horizon. The sea makes up a large proportion of the prospect, and as every vessel that sails into or out of the harbour of Boston passes within range of the eye, there is never a moment in which the view is not animated by ships and canvas. The pier, where the steamer which plies between Boston and Nahant, lands and receives her passengers, and the Swallow's Cave, one of the lions of the place, are both within a stone's throw of the cottage.

Mr. Prescott resides at Nahant from eight to ten weeks, and

finds a refreshing and restorative influence in its keenly bracing sea-air. This, though a season of retirement, is by no means one of indolence, for he works as many hours every day and accomplishes as much, here, as in Boston, his time of study being comparatively free from those interruptions which in a busy city will so often break into a scholar's seclusion. As his life at Nahant falls within the travelling season, he receives here many of the strangers who are attracted to his presence by his literary reputation and the report of his amiable manners; and this tribute to celebrity, exacted in the form of golden hours from him as from every distinguished man in our enterprising and inquisitive age, is paid with a cheerful good-humour, which leaves no alloy in the recollections of those who have thus enjoyed the privilege of his society.

Mr. Prescott's second remove—for if Poor Richard's saying be strictly true he is burnt out every year—is from Nahant to Pepperell, and usually happens early in September. His home in Pepperell is thus described by him in a letter to his publisher.

“The place at Pepperell has been in the family for more than a century and a half, an uncommon event among our locomotive people. The house is about a century old, the original building having been greatly enlarged by my father first, and since by me. It is here that my grandfather, Col. Wm. Prescott, who commanded at Bunker Hill, was born and died, and in the village church-yard he lies buried under a simple slab, containing only the record of his name and age. My father, Wm. Prescott, the best and wisest of his name, was also born and passed his earlier days here, and, from my own infancy, not a year has passed that I have not spent more or less of in these shades, now hallowed to me by the recollection of happy hours and friends that are gone.

“The place, which is called ‘The Highlands,’ consists of some two hundred and fifty acres, about forty-two miles from Boston, on the border-line of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. It is a fine rolling country; and the house stands on a rising ground that descends with a gentle sweep to the Nissitisset, a clear and very pretty river, affording picturesque views in its winding course. A bold mountain chain on the northwest, among which is the Grand Monadnoc, in New Hampshire, makes a dark frame to the picture. The land is well studded with trees—oak, walnut, chestnut, and maple—distributed in

clumps and avenues, so as to produce an excellent effect. The maple, in particular, in its autumn season, when the family are there, makes a brave show with its gay livery when touched by the frost."

To possess an estate like that at Pepperell, which has come down by lineal descent through several successions of owners, all of whom were useful and honorable men in their day and generation, is a privilege not common any where, and very rare in a country like America, young in years and not fruitful in local attachments. Family pride may be a weakness, but family reverence is a just and generous sentiment. No man can look round upon fields of his own like those at Pepperell, where, to a suggestive eye, the very forms of the landscape seem to have caught an expression from the patriotism, the public spirit, the integrity, and the intelligence which now for more than a hundred years have been associated with them, without being conscious of a rush of emotions, all of which set in the direction of honor and virtue.

The name of Prescott has now, for more than two hundred years, been known and honored in Massachusetts. The first of the name, of whom mention is made, was John Prescott, who came to the country in 1640, and settled in Lancaster. He was a blacksmith and millwright by trade—a man of athletic frame and dauntless resolution; and his strength and courage were more than once put to the proof in those encounters which so often took place between the Indians and the early settlers of New England. He brought with him from England a helmet and suit of armour—perhaps an heir-loom descended from some ancestor who had fought at Poitiers or Flodden-field—and whenever the Indians attacked his house he clothed himself in full mail and sallied out against them; and the advantages he is reported to have gained were probably quite as much owing to the terror inspired by his appearance as to the prowess of his arm.

His grandson, Benjamin Prescott, who lived in Groton, was a man of influence and consideration in the colony of Massachusetts. He represented Groton for many years in the colonial legislature, was a magistrate, and an officer in the militia. In 1735 he was chosen agent of the province to maintain their rights in a controversy with New Hampshire respecting boundary lines, but declined the trust on account of not having had the small-pox, which was prevalent at the time in London.

Mr. Edmund Quincy, who was appointed in his place, took the disease and died of it. But in the same year, the messenger of fate found Mr. Prescott upon his own farm, engaged in the peaceful labors of agriculture. He died in August, 1735, of a sudden inflammatory attack, brought on by over-exertion, in a hot day, to save a crop of grain from an impending shower. He was but forty years old at the time of his death, and the influence he had long enjoyed among a community slow to give their confidence to the young, is an expressive tribute to his character and understanding. He had the further advantage of a dignified and commanding personal appearance. In 1735, the year of his death, he received a donation of about eight hundred acres of land from the town of Groton for his services in procuring a large territory for them from the General Court, and the present family estate in Pepperell forms probably a part of this grant.

His second son was Col. Wm. Prescott, the commander of the American forces at the Battle of Bunker Hill, who, after his father's death, and while he was yet in his minority, settled upon the estate in Pepperell, and built the house which is still standing. Up to the age of forty-nine, his life, with the exception of a few months' service in the old French war, was passed in agricultural labors, and the discharge of those modest civic trusts which the influence of his family, and the confidence inspired by his own character, devolved upon him. Joining the army at Cambridge immediately after the news of the Concord fight, it was his good fortune to secure a permanent place in history, by commanding the troops of his country in a battle, to which subsequent events gave a significance greatly disproportioned both to the numbers engaged in it and to its immediate results. At the end of the campaign of 1776, he returned home and resumed his usual course of life, which continued uninterrupted, except that he was present as a volunteer with Gen. Gates at the surrender of Burgoyne, until his death, in 1795, when he was in his seventieth year. He was a man of vigorous mind, not much indebted to the advantages of education in early life, though he preserved to the last a taste for reading. His judgment and good sense were much esteemed by the community in which he lived, and were always at their service both in public and private affairs. He was of a generous temper, and somewhat impaired his estate by his liberal spirit and hearty hospitality. In the career of Col.

Prescott we see how well the training given by the institutions of New England fits a man for discharging worthily the duties of war or peace. We see a man summoned from the plough, and by the accident of war called upon to perform an important military service, and in the exercise of his duty we find him displaying that calm courage and sagacious judgment which a life in the camp is supposed to be necessary to bestow. Nor was his a rare case, for as the needs of the revolutionary struggle required such men, they were always forthcoming. Nor is there any reason to suppose that Col. Prescott himself ever looked upon his conduct on the seventeenth of June as any thing to be specially commended, but only as the performance of a simple piece of duty, which could not have been put by without shame and disgrace.*

* The revolutionary annals of New England abound in curious and characteristic anecdotes, illustrating the resolute spirit of the people, most of which are preserved only in those town histories which contain the results of minute investigation, applied to a limited territory and guided by a spirit of local pride and affection. The news of the march of the British troops out of Boston on the morning of April 19, 1775, which flew like a fiery cross through New England, reached Pepperell at about ten o'clock in the forenoon. Col. Prescott immediately summoned his company, and put himself at their head and proceeded towards Concord, having been joined by a reinforcement from Groton. A member of the company—Abel Parker—was ploughing in a distant field, and did not receive the alarm in season to start with his fellow soldiers; but as soon as he heard it, he left his oxen in the field unyoked, ran home, seized his gun in one hand and his best coat in the other, and set out upon a run to join his companions, whom he overtook in Groton. After the departure of the Pepperell and Groton troops, these towns were left nearly defenceless, but in a state of great uneasiness from a rumoured approach of the British regulars. In this emergency, several of the women of the neighbourhood met together, dressed themselves in the clothes of their absent husbands and brothers, armed themselves with muskets, pitchforks, and such weapons as they could find, and having elected Mrs. David Wright of Pepperell their commander, took possession of a bridge between Pepperell and Groton, which they resolved to maintain against foreign force or domestic treason. A person soon appeared on horse-back, who was known to be a zealous Tory. He was immediately seized by these resolute heroines, unhorsed and searched, and some treasonable correspondence found in his boots. He was detained prisoner, and his despatches sent to the Committee of Safety. For these anecdotes, as well as for some of the statements in the text, we are indebted to Butler's History of Groton, an unpretending and meritorious work.

Judge Prescott, who died in Boston in the month of December, 1844, at the age of eighty-two, was the only child of Col. Prescott, and born upon the family estate at Pepperell. His son, in one of his previously quoted letters, speaks of him as "the best and wisest of his name." It does not become a stranger to their blood to confirm or deny a comparative estimate like this, but all who knew Judge Prescott will agree that he must have gone very far who would have found a wiser or a better man. His active life was mainly passed in the unambitious labors of the bar; a profession which often secures, in America, a fair share of substantial returns and much local influence, but rarely gives extended or posthumous fame. He had no taste for political life, and the few public trusts which he discharged were assumed rather from a sense of duty than from inclination. He was never a member of Congress, nor in any way connected with the general government, but was always content to move within the narrower sphere of his own State. As a practising lawyer, no person ever enjoyed in a greater degree the confidence of the community or the respect of the courts, and for many years his only difficulty was how to dispose of the great amount of responsible business intrusted to him, without injury to his health. This rank at the bar he had fairly earned both by a large measure and a happy combination of moral and intellectual qualities—by a good sense and sagacity which instinctively led him to the right, by invincible industry, by large stores of legal learning, by natural dignity of manner and a perfect fairness of mind which never allowed him to overstate the testimony of a witness or the force of an authority. To say that Judge Prescott was a man of sense and sagacity is not enough, for in him these qualities ripened into wisdom. As he was never called upon to manage public affairs upon a large scale, or to draw conclusions from a very wide range of observation, we can only reason from what we know to what we do not know, and infer that in the prime of his faculties he would have proved himself competent to the highest trust which his country could have imposed upon him; but, within his sphere of action and experience, his judgment commanded the greatest respect, was sought in the most difficult questions, and reposed upon with the utmost confidence. For the last thirty years of his life there was no one in Boston whose counsel was more solicited or more valued in important matters, whether public or private. He was not called upon,

like his father, to serve his country in war ; but the walks of civic and peaceful life allow a man to show of what stuff he is made, and the friends of Judge Prescott knew that he had the hereditary courage of his race, and that had duty required him to face a bristling line of muskets, he would have done it with as much composure as he ever stood up before a jury to argue in behalf of a client against whom an unjust current of popular prejudice was setting.

The resources of his mind and the well-balanced symmetry of his character, were strikingly seen in his declining years, after his retirement from the bar, which took place in 1828, in consequence of failing health. The interval between active life and the grave is apt to be a trying period with lawyers. It is one of the burdens of the profession that they are obliged to spend half their time in learning what they wish to forget the moment it has served some particular end. The brain is like an inn that is constantly receiving new guests and dismissing the old. Thus the mind of an old lawyer is apt to be like a warehouse, which is in part empty, and in part filled with goods of which the fashion has passed away. But such was not the case with Judge Prescott. His social tastes, his domestic affections, his love of general knowledge, and the interest he had taken in every thing which had interested the community in which he lived, had prevented his mind from becoming warped or narrowed by professional pursuits ; and when these were no longer permitted to him, he passed naturally and cheerfully into more tranquil employments. His books, his friends, his family, filled up his hours and gave healthy occupation to his mind. His interest in life was not impaired, nor the vigor of his understanding relaxed, by the change.

The writer of this sketch had the privilege of a personal acquaintance with Judge Prescott during the last years of his life. His appearance at that time was dignified and prepossessing. His figure was tall, thin, and slightly bent ; his movements active, and his frame untouched by infirmity. His features were regular—in outline and proportion resembling the portraits of a kindred spirit, the late illustrious John Jay—and their expression benevolent and intellectual. His manners were simple, but marked by an air of high breeding, flowing from dignity and refinement of character. He was a perfect gentleman, whether judged by a natural or a conven-

tional standard. A stranger, admitted to his society, would at first have been inclined to describe him by negatives. His manner was not overbearing, his tone was not dogmatical, his voice was not loud. He was free from the bad national habit of making strong assertions and positive statements. He was not a great talker ; nor was his conversation brilliant or pointed. But he who had spent any considerable time in Judge Prescott's society, especially if he had had occasion to consult him or ask his advice, would have brought away other than merely negative impressions. He would have recalled the mild and tolerant good sense of his discourse, his penetrating insight, his freedom from prejudice, his knowledge of men so unalloyed by the bitterness, the hardness, the misanthropy with which that knowledge is so often bought, and the natural ease with which the stores of a capacious memory were brought out, as the occasion required. He would have felt that he had been admitted to the presence of a person of eminent wisdom and worth, whose mind moved in higher regions than wit or eloquence alone can soar to. Who can estimate too highly the privilege of having had such a father—so fitted for the paternal office, that if his son could have had the impossible boon bestowed upon him of selecting the parent of whom he would have been born, he could never have found a better guide, a wiser counsellor, a truer friend, than he upon whom, in the providence of God, that trust was actually devolved.

The life of Judge Prescott was as happy in its close as it had been during its continuance. On the morning of Sunday, December 8th, 1844, being then in his eighty-third year, he died suddenly and without pain, surrounded by his family and in the perfect possession of all his faculties. His death, though so natural an event at his advanced age, was widely and sincerely mourned, and the expressions of feeling which it called forth, were proportioned to the respect and veneration which had followed him while living.*

* The widow of Judge Prescott, the mother of the historian, died in March, 1852, at the age of eighty-four. She was a woman of great benevolence, and large, genial and active sympathies. To the last, in winter's cold or summer's heat, her venerable form was constantly seen in the streets of Boston, as she went about on foot upon her errands of charity. She will be long remembered and sincerely mourned by the widow and the orphan, the poor and the friendless, the neglected and the forsaken. She retained her youthful energy of spirit and freshness of feeling in a remarkable degree to the last moment, and her animated smile and cordial greeting were always full of the sunshine of youth and hope.

The town of Pepperell lies in the northern part of the county of Middlesex, bordering upon the State of New Hampshire. Its inhabitants are mostly farmers, cultivating their own lands with their own hands—a class of men which forms the best wealth of a country, the value of whom we never properly estimate till we have been in regions where they have ceased to exist. The soil is of that reasonable and moderate fertility, common in New England, which gives constant motive to intelligent labor, and rewards it with fair returns—a kind of soil very favorable to the growth of the plant, man. The character of the scenery is pleasing, without any claim to be called striking or picturesque. The land rises and falls in a manner that contents the eye, and the distant horizon is dignified by some of those high hills to which, in a magniloquent way, the Bostonians give the name of mountains. The town has the advantage of being watered by two streams, the Nashua and the Nissitisset. The former is a thrifty New England river that turns mills, furnishes water-power, and works for its living in a respectable way; the latter is a giddy little stream that does little else than look pretty; gliding through quiet meadows fringed with alder and willow, tripping and singing over pebbly shallows, and expanding into tranquil pools, gemmed with white water-lilies, the purest and most spiritual of flowers.

Mr. Prescott's farm is about two miles from the centre of the town, in a region which has more than the average amount of that quiet beauty characteristic of New England scenery. The house stands upon rather high ground, and commands an extensive view of a gently-undulating region, most of which is grass land, which, when clothed in the "glad, light green" of the early summer, and animated with flying cloud-shadows, presents a fine and exhilarating prospect. As the farm has been so long under cultivation, and as for many years past the claims of taste and the harvests of the eye have not been overlooked in its management, the landscape in the immediate neighbourhood of the house has a riper and mellower look than is usual in the rural parts of New England. At a short distance in front, on the opposite side of the road, sloping gently down to the meadows of the Nissitisset, is a smooth symmetrical knoll, on which are some happily disposed clumps of trees, so that the whole has the air of a scene in an English park. The meadows and fields beyond are also well supplied with trees, and the morning and evening shadows which fall

from these, as well as from the rounded heights, give character and expression to the landscape.

The house itself has little to distinguish it from the better class of New England farmhouses. It wears their common uniform of white, with green blinds; is long in proportion to its height, and the older portions bear marks of age. There is a piazza, occupying one side and a part of the front. Since it was first built there have been several additions made to it—some recently, by Mr. Prescott himself—so that the interior is rambling, irregular and old-fashioned, but thoroughly comfortable, and hospitably arranged, so as to accommodate a large number of guests. These are sometimes more numerous than the family itself. There is a small fruit and kitchen garden on the east side of the house, and on the west, as also in front, is a grassy lawn, over which many young feet have sported and frolicked, and some that were not young.

The great charm of the house consists in the number of fine trees by which it is surrounded and overshadowed. These are chiefly elms, oaks, maples and butternuts. Of these last there are some remarkably large specimens. From these trees the house derives an air of dignity and grace which is the more conspicuous from the fact that these noble ornaments to a habitation are not so common in New England as is to be desired. Its agricultural population have not yet shaken off those transmitted impressions derived from a period when a tree was regarded as an enemy to be overcome. Would that the farmers of fifty years ago had been mindful of the injunction given by the dying Scotch laird to his son, "Be aye sticking in a tree, Jock; it will be growing while you are sleeping." What a different aspect the face of the country might have been made to wear. A bald and staring farmhouse, shivering in the winter wind or fainting in the summer sun, without a rag of a tree to cover its nakedness with, is a forlorn and unsightly object, rather a blot upon the landscape than an embellishment to it.

Behind the house, which faces the south, the ground rises into a considerable elevation, upon which there are also several fine trees. A small oval pond is nearly surrounded by a company of graceful alms, which, with their slender branches and pensive foliage, suggest to a fanciful eye a group of wood-nymphs smoothing their locks in the mirror of a fountain. At a short distance, a clump of oaks and chestnuts, which look as

if they had been sown by the hand of art, have formed a kind of natural arbor, the shade of which is inviting to meditative feet. Under these trees Mr. Prescott has passed many studious hours, and his steps, as he has paced to and fro, have worn a perceptible path in the turf. A few perches from the house, towards the east, is another and larger pond, near which is a grove of vigorous oaks; and, in the same direction, about half a mile farther, is an extensive piece of natural woodland, through which winding paths are traced, in which a lover of nature may soon bury himself in primeval shades, under broad-armed trees which have witnessed the stealthy step of the Indian hunter, and shutting out the sights and sounds of artificial life, hear only the rustling of leaves, the tap of a wood-pecker, the dropping of nuts, the whir of a partridge, or the iron call of a sentinel crow.

The house is not occupied by the family during the heats of summer; but they remove to it as soon as the cool mornings and evenings proclaim that summer is over. The region is one which appears to peculiar advantage under an autumnal sky. The slopes and uplands are gay with the orange and crimson of the maples, the sober scarlet and brown of the oaks, and the warm yellow of the hickories. A delicate gold-dust vapor hangs in the air, wraps the valleys in dreamy folds, and softens all the distant outlines. The bracing air and elastic turf invite to long walks or rides, the warm noons are delightful for driving; and the country in the neighbourhood, veined with roads and lanes that wind and turn and make no haste to come to an end, is well suited for all these forms of exercise. There is a boat on the Nissitisset for those who are fond of aquatic excursions, and a closet-full of books for a rainy day. Among these are two works which seem in perfect unison with the older portion of the house and its ancient furniture—Theobald's Shakspeare and an early edition of the Spectator—both bound in snuff-colored calf, and printed on paper yellow with age; and the latter adorned with those delicious copper-plate engravings which perpetuate a costume so ludicrously absurd, that the wonder is that the wearers could ever have left off laughing at each other long enough to attend to any of the business of life. When the cool evenings begin to set in with something of a wintry chill in the air, wood-fires are kindled in the spacious chimneys, which animate the low ceilings with their restless gleams, and when they have burned

down the dying embers diffuse a ruddy glow, which is just the light to tell a ghost-story by, such as may befit the narrow rambling passages of the old farmhouse, and send a rosy cheek to bed a little paler than usual.

While Mr. Prescott is at Pepperell, a portion of every day is given to study; and the remainder is spent in long walks or drives, in listening to reading, or in the social circle of his family and guests. Under his roof there is always house-room and heart-room for his own friends and those of his children. Indeed, he has followed the advice of some wise man—Dr. Johnson, perhaps, upon whom all vagrant scraps of wisdom are fathered—and kept his friendships in repair, making the friends of his children his own friends. There are many persons not members of the family, who have become extremely attached to the place, from the happy hours they have spent there. There may be seen upon the window-sill of one of the rooms a few lines in pencil, by a young lady whose beauty and sweetness make her a great favorite among her friends, expressing her sense of a delightful visit made there, some two or three years since. Had similar records been left by all, of the happy days passed under this roof, the walls of the house would be hardly enough to hold them.

And this sketch may be fitly concluded with the expression of an earnest wish that thus it may long be. May the future be like the past. May the hours which pass over a house honoured by so much worth, and endeared by so much kindness, bring with them no other sorrows than such as the providence of God has inseparably linked to our mortal state—such as soften and elevate the heart, and, by gently weaning it from earth, help to “dress the soul” for its new home.

In reply to his publisher's request for a page of Mr. Prescott's manuscript, to be copied in fac-simile, the following interesting note was received:

“NAHANT, July 9, 1852.

“MY DEAR SIR:

“As you desire, I send you a specimen of my autograph. It is the concluding page of one of the chapters of the ‘Conquest of Peru’—Book III., Cap. 3. The writing is not, as you may imagine, made by a pencil, but is indelible, being made with an apparatus used by the blind. This is a very simple affair, consisting of a frame of the size of a common sheet of letter-paper, with brass wires inserted in it to correspond with the number of lines wanted. On one side of this

frame is pasted a leaf of thin carbonated paper, such as is used to obtain duplicates. Instead of a pen, the writer makes use of a stylus, of ivory or agate, the last better or harder. The great difficulties in the way of a blind man's writing in the usual manner, arise from his not knowing when the ink is exhausted in his pen, and when his lines run into one another. Both difficulties are obviated by this simple writing-case, which enables one to do his work as well in the dark as in the light. Though my trouble is not blindness, but a disorder of the nerve of the eye, the effect, as far as this is concerned, is the same, and I am wholly incapacitated for writing in the ordinary way. In this manner I have written every word of my *historicals*. This *modus operandi* exposes one to some embarrassments; for, as one cannot see what he is doing on the other side of the paper, any more than a performer in the treadmill sees what he is grinding on the other side of the wall, it becomes very difficult to make corrections. This requires the subject to be pretty thoroughly canvassed in the mind, and all the blots and erasures to be made there before taking up the pen or rather the stylus. This compels me to go over my composition to the extent of a whole chapter, however long it may be, several times in my mind before setting down to my desk. When there, the work becomes one of memory rather than of creation, and the writing is apt to run off glibly enough. A letter which I received some years since from the French historian, Thierry, who is totally blind, urged me by all means to cultivate the habit of dictation, to which he had resorted; and James, the eminent novelist, who has adopted his habits, finds it favorable to facility of composition. But I have been too long accustomed to my own way to change. And to say truth, I never dictated a sentence in my life for publication, without its falling so flat on my ear that I felt almost ashamed to send it to the press. I suppose it is habit.

"One thing I may add. My manuscript is usually too illegible (I have sent you a favorable specimen) for the press, and it is always fairly copied by an amanuensis before it is consigned to the printer. I have accompanied the autograph with these explanations, which are at your service, if you think they will have interest for your readers. My *modus operandi* has the merit of novelty, at least I have never heard of any history monger who has adopted it besides myself.

"I remain, dear Sir,

"Very truly yours,

"WM. H. PRESCOTT."

"Once, ah, once, within these walls,
One whom memory oft recalls,
The Father of his Country dwelt;
And yonder meadow, broad and damp,
The fires of the besieging camp
Encircled with a burning belt;
Up and down these echoing stairs
Heavy with the weight of cares,
Sounded his majestic tread;
Yes, within this very room
Sat he in those hours of gloom,
Weary both in heart and head."

One calm afternoon in the summer of 1837 a young man passed down the elm-shaded walk that separated the old Cragie house, in Cambridge, from the high road. Reaching the door, he paused to observe the huge, old-fashioned brass knocker, and the quaint handle,—relics, evidently, of an epoch of colonial state. To his mind, however, the house and these signs of its age, were not interesting from the romance of antiquity alone, but from their association with the early days of the revolution, when General Washington, after the battle of Bunker Hill, had his headquarters in the mansion. Had his hand, perhaps, lifted this same latch, lingering as he clasped it in the whirl of a myriad emotions? Had he, too, paused in the calm summer afternoon, and watched the silver gleam of the broad river in the meadows—the dreamy blue of the Milton hills beyond? And had the tranquility of that landscape penetrated his heart with "the sleep that is among the hills," and whose fairest dream to him was a hope now realized in the peaceful prosperity of his country?

At least the young man knew that if the details of the mansion had been somewhat altered, so that he could not be perfectly sure of touching what Washington touched, yet he saw what Washington saw—the same placid meadowlands, the same undulating horizon, the same calm stream. And it is thus that an old house of distinct association, asserts its claim, and secures its influence. It is a nucleus of interest,—a heart of romance, from which pulse a thousand reveries enchanting the summer hours. For although every old country mansion is invested with a nameless charm, from that antiquity which imagination is for ever crowding with the pageant of a stately and beautiful life, yet if there be some clearly outlined story, even a historic scene peculiar

to it, then around that, as the bold and picturesque foreground, all the imagery of youth and love and beauty, in a thousandfold variety of development is grouped, and every room has its poetic passage, every window its haunting face, every garden path its floating and fading form of a quite imperishable beauty.

So the young man passed on unaccompanied down the elm-shaded path, but the air and the scene were affluent of radiant phantoms. Imaginary ladies of a state and dignity only possible in the era of periwigs, advanced in all the solemnity of mob-caps to welcome the stranger. Grave old courtiers, be-ruffled, be-wigged, sworded and laced, trod inaudibly, with gracious bow, the spacious walk, and comely maidens, resident in mortal memory now, only as shrivelled and tawny duennas, glanced modest looks, and wondered what new charm had risen that morning upon the somewhat dull horizon of their life. These, arrayed in the richness of a poet's fancy, advanced to welcome him. For well they knew whatever of peculiar interest adorned their house would blossom into permanent forms of beauty in the light of genius. They advanced to meet him as the inhabitants of foreign and strange towns approach with supplication and submission the leader in whose eye flames victory, sure that he would do for them more than they could do for themselves.

But when the brazen clang of the huge knocker had ceased resounding, the great door slowly opened, and no phantom serving-man, but a veritable flesh and blood retainer of the hostess of the mansion invited the visitor to enter. He inquired for Mrs. Cragie. In answer the door of a little parlor was thrown upon, and the young man beheld a tall, erect figure, majestically crowned with a turban, beneath which burned a pair of keen gray eyes. A commanding gravity of deportment, harmonious with the gentlewoman's age, and with the ancestral respectability of the mansion, assured profound respect; while, at a glance, it was clear to see that combination of reduced dignity condescending to a lower estate, and that pride of essential superiority to circumstances, which is traditional among women in the situation of the turbaned lady. There was kindness mellowing the severity of her reply to her visitor's inquiry if there was a room vacant in the house.

"I lodge students no longer," she responded gravely, possibly not without regret, — as she contemplated the applicant, — that she had vowed so stern a resolution.

"But I am not a student," answered the stranger; "I am a Professor in the University."

"A Professor?" said she inquiringly, as if her mind failed to conceive a Professor without a clerical sobriety of apparel, a white cravat, or at least, spectacles.

"Professor Longfellow," continued the guest, introducing himself.

"Ah! that is different," said the old lady, her features slightly relaxing, as if professors were, ex-officio, innocuous, and she need no longer barricade herself behind a stern gravity of demeanor. "I will show you what there is."

Thereupon she preceded the Professor up the stairs, and gaining the upper hall, paused at each door, opened it, permitted him to perceive its delightful fitness for his purpose,—kindled expectation to the utmost—then quietly closed the door again, observing, "You cannot have that." It was most Barmecide hospitality. The professorial eyes glanced restlessly around the fine old-fashioned points of the mansion, marked the wooden carvings, the air of opulent respectability in the past, which corresponds in New England to the impression of ancient nobility in old England, and wondered in which of these pleasant fields of suggestive association he was to be allowed to pitch his tent. The turbaned hostess at length opened the door of the southeast corner room in the second story, and, while the guest looked wistfully in, and awaited the customary "You cannot have that," he was agreeably surprised by a variation of the strain to the effect, that he might occupy it.

The room was upon the front of the house, and looked over the meadows to the river. It had an atmosphere of fascinating repose, in which the young man was at once domesticated, as in an old home. The elms of the avenue shaded his windows, and as he glanced from them, the summer lay asleep upon the landscape in the windless day.

"This," said the old lady, with a slight sadness in her voice, as if speaking of times for ever past and to which she herself properly belonged,— "this was General Washington's chamber."

A light more pensive played over the landscape, in the Poet's eyes, as he heard her words. He knew that such a presence had consecrated the house, and peculiarly that room. He felt that whoever fills the places once occupied by the great

and good, is himself held to greatness and goodness by a sympathy and necessity sweet as mysterious. For ever after, his imagination is a more lordly picture-gallery than that of ancestral halls. Through that gallery he wanders, strong in his humility and resolve, valiant as the last scion of noble Norman races, devoting himself as of old knights were devoted, by earnest midnight meditation and holy vows, to

“ Act,—act in the living Present !
Heart within, and God o’erhead !”

The stately hostess retired, and the next day the new lodger took possession of his room. He lived entirely apart from the old lady, although under the same roof. Her manner of life was quiet and unobtrusive. The silence of the ancient mansion which to its new resident was truly “the still air of delightful studies,” was not disturbed by the shrill cackle of a country household. In the morning, after he had settled himself to the day’s occupation, the scholar heard the faint and measured tread of the old lady as she descended to breakfast, her silken gown rustling along the hall as if the shadowy brocade of some elder dame departed, who failed to discover in the ghostly stillness of the well-known passage, that she had wandered from her sphere. Then, after due interval, if, upon his way to the day’s collegiate duties, the professor entered the hostess’s little parlor to offer her good morning or make some domestic suggestion, he found her seated by the open window, through which stole the sweet New England air, lifting the few gray locks that straggled from the turban, as tenderly as Greek winds played with Helen’s curls. Upon her lap lay an open volume of Voltaire, possibly, for the old lady’s mind entertained whatever was vigorous and free, — and from the brilliant wit of the Frenchman, and his icy precision of thought and statement, she turned to the warm day that flooded the meadows with summer, and which in the high tree-tops above her head sang in breezy, fitful cadences of a beauty that no denizen of the summer shall ever see, and a song sweeter than he shall ever hear. It was because she had heard and felt this breath of nature that the matron in her quaint old age could enjoy the page of the Frenchman, even as in her youth she could have admired the delicacy of his point-lace ruffles, nor have less enjoyed, by reason of that admiration, the green garden-walk of Ferney, in which she might have seen them.

Or at times, as the scholar studied, he heard footsteps upon the walk, and the old knocker clanged the arrival of guests who passed into the parlor, and, as the door opened and closed, he could hear, far away and confused, the sounds of stately conversation, until there was a prolonged and louder noise, a bustle, the jar of the heavy door closing, the dying echo of footsteps,—and then the deep and ghostly silence again closed around the small event as the sea ripples into calm over a sinking stone. Or more dreamily still, as at twilight the Poet sat musing in his darkening room—hearing the “footsteps of angels” sounding, melodious and low, through all the other “voices of the Night,” he seemed to catch snatches of mournful music thrilling the deep silence with sorrow, and, listening more intently, he heard distinctly the harpsichord in the old lady’s parlor, and knew that she was sitting, turbaned and wrinkled, where she had sat in the glowing triumph of youth, and with wandering fingers was drawing in feeble and uncertain cadence from the keys, tunes she had once dashed from them in all the fulness of harmony. Or when, the summer following the Poet’s arrival, the blight of canker-worms fell upon the stately old trees before the house, and struck them mortally, so that they gradually wasted and withered away,—if then the young man entered her parlor and finding her by the open window, saw that the worms were crawling over her dress and hanging from her white turban, and asked her if they were not disagreeable and if she would do nothing to destroy them, she raised her eyes from another book than Voltaire’s and said to him gravely, “Why, sir, they are our fellow-worms, and have as good a right to live as we.” And as the Poet returned to his chamber, musing more than ever upon the Saturan Time that so remorselessly consumes his own children, and picturing the gay youth of the grave old hostess, he could not but pause, leaning upon the heavy balusters of the stairs, and remember the tradition of the house, that once, as an old hostess, like his own, lay waiting for death in her chamber, she sent for her young guests, like himself, to come and take last leave of her, and as he entered her room, and advancing to her bedside, saw her lying stretched at length and clutching the clothes closely around her neck, so that only her sharply featured and shrunken face was visible,—the fading eye opened upon him for a moment and he heard from the withered lips this stern whisper of farewell,—“Young man, never marry, for beauty comes to this!”

The lines of the Poet had fallen in pleasant places. With the old house and its hostess, and its many known and unknown associations, there was no lack of material for thought and speculation. A country-house in New England which is not only old, but by the character of its structure and its coherent history, suggests a life of more interest and dignity than that of a simple countryman "whose only aim was to increase his store," is interesting in the degree of its rarity. The traveller upon the high road before the Cragie House, even if he knew nothing of its story, would be struck by its quaint dignity and respectability, and make a legend, if he could not find one already made. If, however, his lot had been cast in Cambridge, and he had been able to secure a room in the mansion, he would not rest until he had explored the traditions of its origin and occupancy, and had given his fancy moulds in which to run its images. He would have found in the churchyard of Cambridge a freestone tablet supported by five pillars, upon which, with the name Col. John Vassal died in 1747, are sculptured the words—Vas-sol, and the emblems, a goblet and sun. Whether this device was a proud assertion of the fact, that the fortunes of the family should be always as

"A beaker full of the warm South,"

happily no historian records ; for the beaker has long since been drained to the dregs, and of the stately family nothing survived in the early part of the Poet's residence in the house, but an old black man who had been born, a slave, in the mansion during the last days of the Vassals, and who occasionally returned to visit his earliest haunts like an Indian the hunting grounds of his extinct tribe.

This Col. John Vassal is supposed to have built the house towards the close of the first half of the last century. Upon an iron in the back of one of the chimneys, there is the date, 1759—which probably commemorates no more than the fact of its own insertion at that period, inasmuch as the builder of the house would hardly commit the authentic witness of its erection to the mercies of smoke and soot. History capitulates before the exact date of the building of the Cragie House, as completely as before that of the foundation of Thebes. But the house was evidently generously built, and Col. John Vassal having lived there in generous style, died, and lies under the free-stone tablet. His son John fell upon revolutionary times,

and was a royalist. The observer of the house will not be surprised at the fact. That the occupant of such a mansion should, in colonial troubles, side with the government was as natural as the fealty of a Douglas or a Howard to the king.

The house, however, passed from his hands, and was purchased by the provincial government at the beginning of serious work with the mother country. After the battle of Bunker Hill, it was allotted to General Washington as his head quarters. It was entirely unfurnished, but the charity of neighbours filled it with necessary furniture. The south-eastern room upon the lower floor, at the right of the front door, and now occupied as a study by Mr. Longfellow, was devoted to the same purpose by Washington. The room over it, as Madame Cragie has already informed us, was his chamber. The room upon the lower floor, in the rear of the study, which was afterwards enlarged and is now the Poet's library, was occupied by the aids-de-camps of the commander-in-chief. And the southwest room, upon the lower floor, was Mrs. Washington's drawing room. The rich old wood carving in this apartment is still remarkable, still certifies the frequent presence of fine society. For, although during the year in which Washington occupied the mansion, there could have been as little desire as means for gay festivity; yet Washington and his leading associates were all gentlemen—men who would have graced the elegance of a court with the same dignity that made the plainness of a republic admirable. Many of Washington's published letters, are dated from this house. And could the walls whisper, we should hear more and better things of him, than could ever be recorded. In his chamber are still the gay-painted tiles peculiar to fine houses of the period; and upon their quaint and grotesque images the glancing eyes of the Poet's children now wonderingly linger, where the sad and doubtful ones of Washington must have often fallen as he meditated the darkness of the future.

Many of these peculiarities and memories of the mansion appear in the Poet's verses. In the opening of the poem "To a Child," whence many a motto is taken, the tiles are painted anew.

"The lady with the gay macaw,
The dancing girl, the grave Bashaw
With bearded lip and chin;
And, leaning idly o'er his gate,
Beneath the imperial fan of state,
The Chinese mandarin."

The next figure that distinctly appears in the old house is

that of Thomas Tracy, a personage of whom the household traditions are extremely fond. He was a rich man, in the fabulous style of the East ; such a nabob as Oriental imaginations can everywhere easily conjure, while practical experience wonders that they are so rare. He carried himself with a rare lavishness. Servants drank costly wines from carved pitchers in the incredible days of Thomas Tracy ; and in his stately mansion, a hundred guests sat down to banquets, and pledged their host in draughts whose remembrance keep his name sweet, as royal bodies were preserved in wine and spices. In the early days of national disorder, he sent out privateers to scour the seas and bleed Spanish galleons of their sunniest juices, and reap golden harvests of fruits and spices, of silks and satins, from East and West Indian ships, that the bountiful table of Vassal House might not fail, nor the carousing days of Thomas Tracy become credible. But these "spacious times" of the large-hearted and large-handed gentleman suddenly ended. The wealthy man failed ; no more hundred guests appeared at banquets ; no more privateers sailed into Boston Bay, recking with riches from every zone ; Spain, the Brazils, the Indies, no more rolled their golden sands into the pockets of Thomas Tracy ; servants, costly wines, carved pictures, all began to glimmer and go, and finally Thomas Tracy and his incredible days vanished as entirely as the gorgeous pavilions with which the sun in setting piles the summer west.

After this illuminated chapter in the history of the house, Captain Joseph Lee, a brother of Madame Tracy, appears in the annals, but does not seem to have illustrated them by any special gifts or graces. Tradition remains silent, pining for Thomas Tracy, until it lifts its head upon the entry into the house of Andrew Cragie, Apothecary-General to the Northern provincial army, who amassed a fortune in that office, which, like his great predecessor, he presently lost ; but not until he had built a bridge over the Charles river, connecting Cambridge with Boston, which is still known by his name. Andrew Cragie did much for the house, even enlarging it to its present form ; but tradition is hard upon him. It declares that he was a huge man, heavy and dull ; and evidently looks upon his career as the high lyric of Thomas Tracy's, muddled into tough prose. In the best and most prosperous days of Andrew Cragie, the estate comprised two-hundred acres. Upon the site of the present observatory, not far from the mansion, stood

a summer-house, but whether of any rare architectural device, whether, in fact, any orphic genius of those days said a summer-house, which, like that of Mr. Emerson's, only "lacked scientific arrangement" to be quite perfect, does not appear. Like the apothecary to the American army, the summer-house is gone, as likewise an aqueduct, that brought water a quarter of a mile. Tradition, so enamored of Tracy, is generous enough to mention a dinner-party given by Andrew Cragie every Saturday, and on one occasion points out peruked and powdered Talleyrand, among the guests. This betrays the presence in the house of the best society then to be had. But the prosperous Cragie could not avoid the fate of his opulent predecessor, who also gave banquets. Things rushed on too rapidly for him. The bridge, aqueduct and summer-house, two hundred acres and an enlarged house, were too much for the fortune acquired in dealing medicaments to the American army. The "spacious times" of Andrew Cragie also came to an end. A visitor walked with him through his large and handsome rooms, and struck with admiration, exclaimed,

"Mr. Cragie, I should think you could lose yourself in all this spaciousness."

"Mr. ———" (tradition has forgotten the name) said the hospitable and ruined host, "I *have* lost myself in it,"—and we do not find him again.

After his disappearance Mrs. Cragie, bravely swallowing the risings of pride, and still revealing in her character and demeanor the worthy mistress of a noble mansion, let rooms. Edward Everett resided here just after his marriage, and while still Professor in the college of which he was afterwards President. Williard Phillips, Jared Sparks, now the head of the University, and Joseph E. Worcester, the Lexicographer, have all resided here, sometimes sharing the house with Mrs. Cragie, and, in the case of Mr. Worcester, occupying it jointly with Mr. Longfellow when the grave old lady removed her stately turban for the last time.

The Cragie House is now the Poet's, and has again acquired a distinctive interest in history. It was in Portland, Maine, in the year 1807, and in an old square wooden house upon the edge of the sea, that Longfellow was born. The old house stood upon the outskirts of the town, separated only by a street from the water. In the lower story there is now a shop,—a bookseller's, doubtless,—muses imagination,—so that the same

house which gave a singer to the world may offer to the world his songs to justify its pride in him. He graduated at Brunswick with Hawthorne, whom then the Poet knew only as a shy youth in a bright-buttoned coat, flitting across the college grounds. During his college days he wooed the muses, as all students woo; and in the United States Literary Gazette, then published in Boston, the world learned how his suit prospered. In 1826 Longfellow first visited Europe. He loitered through France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Holland, and England, and returned to America in 1829. Appointed professor in his alma mater, he devoted himself to the scholar's life, poring long and earnestly over the literature of lands which he knew so well and truly that their literature lived for him and was not a hard hieroglyph only. During these quiet professional years he contributed articles to the North American Review—a proceeding not unprecedented among New England scholars, and in which Emerson, the Everetts, and all the more illustrious of the literary men of the north, have been participants. The forms of foreign travel gradually grouped themselves in his mind. Vivid pictures of European experience, such as illuminate the memory of every young and romantic traveller, constantly flashed along his way, and he began to retrace them in words, that others might know, according to the German proverb, that “behind the mountains there are men also.”

In this way commenced the publication of “*Outre Mer, or Sketches from Beyond Sea*,” a work of foreign reminiscences, tales and reveries of the life peculiar to Europe. It was published, originally, in numbers, by Samuel Colman, a townsman of the author's. Like the Sketch Book, it was issued whenever a number was prepared, but unlike the author of the Sketch Book, the Professor could not write as his motto, “I have no wife nor children, good or bad, to provide for;” for in the midst of the quiet professorial days, still a very young man, the Poet was married,—a fleeting joy ending by the death of his wife in Rotterdam in 1835. In Brunswick, also, and at this time, he made the translation of the ode upon “*Coplas de Manrique*,” by his son Don Jose Manrique, a rich, mournfully-rolling Spanish poem. The earlier verses of the young man had made their mark. In school reading-books, and in volumes of elegant extracts, and preserved in many a daintily ribboned manuscript, the “April Day,” “Woods in Winter,” “Hymn of the Moravian Nuns at Bethlehem,” “Burial of the

Minnisink," and others, were readily found. As yet the Poet was guiltless of a volume, but his name was known, and upon the credit of a few fugitive pieces he was mentioned first after the monopolizing masters of American verse.

In the year 1835 he received the appointment of Professor in Harvard College, Cambridge, which he accepted, but sailed for Europe again in the course of the year. Upon leaving he committed the publication of "Outre Mer" to the Harpers in New York, who issued the entire work in two volumes. The second European visit was confined to the North of Europe, Denmark, England, Sweden, Germany, a long pause in Holland, and Paris. In the autumn of 1836 he returned, and in December of the same year removed to Cambridge to reside. Here, again, the North American Review figures a little in the literary life of the Poet. He wrote several articles for it during the leisure of his engagements as Professor of Modern Literature, and, at length, as we have seen, one calm afternoon in the summer of 1837, Longfellow first took lodgings in the Cragie House, with which the maturity and extent of his reputation was to be so closely associated.

Some wan ghost of Thomas Tracy, lordly with lace and gracious in perfumed pomp, surely the Poet saw advancing holding in his hand some one of those antique carved pitchers brimmed with that costly wine, and exhorting him to drain potent draughts, that not by him should the fame of the incredible days be tarnished, but that, as when a hundred guests sat at the banquet, and a score of full-freighted ships arrived for Thomas Tracy, the traveller should say,

"A purple light shines over all,
It beams from the Luck of Edenhall."

The vow was pledged, and now under the few elms that remain of those which the fellow-worms of Mrs. Cragie blighted, the ghost of Thomas Tracy walks appeased.

In his still southeastern upper chamber, in which Washington had also slept, the Poet wrote "Hyperion" in the years 1838-9. It is truly a romance, a beaker of the wine of youth, and was instantly received as such by the public. That public was, and must always be, of the young. No book had appeared which so admirably expressed the romantic experience of every poetic young mind in Europe, and an experience which will be constantly renewed. Probably no American book had ever so passionate a popularity as "Hyperion." It was published in

the summer of 1839 by Colman, who had then removed to New-York, but at the time of publication he failed, and it was undertaken by John Owen, the University publisher in Cambridge. It is a singular tribute to the integrity of the work, and a marked illustration of the peculiarity of American developement, that Horace Greeley, famous as a political journalist, and intimately associated with every kind of positive and practical movement, was among the very earliest of the warmest lovers of "Hyperion." It shows the national eclecticism of sentiment and sense, which is constantly betraying itself in a thousand other ways

Here, too, in the southeast chamber, were written the "Voices of the Night," published in 1840. Some of the more noted, such as the "Psalm of Life," had already appeared in the Knickerbocker Magazine. Strangely enough as a fact in American literary history, the fame of the romance was even surpassed, and one of the most popular books of the day was Longfellow's Poems. They were read every where by every one, and were republished and have continued to be republished in England and in various other countries. The secret of his popularity as a poet is probably that of all similar popularity, namely, the fact that his poetry expresses a universal sentiment in the simplest and most melodious manner. Each of his most noted poems is the song of a feeling common to every mind in moods into which every mind is liable to fall. Thus "A Psalm of Life," "Footsteps of Angels," "To the River Charles," "Excelsior," "The Bridge," "A Gleam of Sunshine," "The Day is done," "The Old Clock on the Stairs," "The Arrow and the Song," "The Fire of Driftwood," "Twilight," "The Open Window," are all most adequate and inexpressibly delicate renderings of quite universal emotions. There is a humanity in them which is irresistible in the fit measures to which they are wedded. If some elegiac poets have strung rosaries of tears, there is a weakness of woe in their verses which repels; but the quiet, pensive thought,—the twilight of the mind, in which the little facts of life are saddened in view of their relation to the eternal laws, time and change,—this is the meditation and mourning of every manly heart; and this is the alluring and permanent charm of Longfellow's poetry.

In 1842 the Ballads and other Poems were published, and in the same year the Poet sailed again for Europe. He passed the summer upon the Rhine, residing some time at Boppard,

where he saw much of the ardent young German poet Freiligrath. He returned after a few months, composing the poems on slavery during the homeward passage. Upon landing, he found the world drunken with the grace of Fanny Ellsler, and learned, from high authority, that her saltations were more than poetry, whereupon he wrote the fragrant "Spanish Student," which smells of the utmost South, and was a strange blossoming for the garden of Thomas Tracy.

In 1843 Longfellow bought the house. The two hundred acres of Andrew Cragie had shrunken to eight. But the meadow-land in front sloping to the river was secured by the Poet, who thereby secured also the wide and winning prospect, the broad green reaches, and the gentle Milton hills. And if, sitting in the most midsummer moment of his life, he yielded to the persuasions of the siren landscape before him and the vague voices of the ancestral house, and dreamed of a fate fairer than any Vassal, or Tracy, or Cragie knew, even when they mused upon the destiny of the proudest son of their house,—was it a dream too dear, a poem impossible?

In 1846 the "Belfry of Bruges" collection was published, in 1847 the "Evangeline," in 1850 "Seaside and Fireside," and in 1851 the best of his works, up to the present time.—"The Golden Legend." In this poem he has obeyed the highest humanity of the poet's calling, by revealing,—which alone the poet can,—not coldly, but in the glowing and affluent reality of life, this truth, that the same human heart has throbbed in all ages and under all circumstances, and that the devotion of Love is for ever and from the beginning, the true salvation of man. To this great and fundamental value of the poem is added all the dramatic precision of the most accomplished artist. The art is so subtly concealed that it is not suspected. The rapid reader exclaims, "Why! there is no modern blood in this; it might have been exhumed in a cloister." Yes, and there is the triumph of art. So entirely are the intervening years annihilated that their existence is not suspected. Taking us by the hand, as Virgil Dante, the Poet introduces us directly to the time he chooses, and we are at once flushed and warmed by the same glorious and eternal heart which is also the light of our day. This is the stroke which makes all times and nations kin, and which, in any individual instance, certifies the poetic power.

The library of the Poet is the long northeastern room upon the lower floor. It opens upon the garden, which retains still

the quaint devices of an antique design harmonious with the house. The room is surrounded with handsome book-cases, and one stands also between two Corinthian columns at one end, which impart dignity and richness to the apartment. A little table by the northern window, looking upon the garden, is the usual seat of the Poet. A bust or two, the rich carvings of the cases, the spaciousness of the room, a leopard-skin lying upon the floor, and a few shelves of strictly literary curiosities, reveal not only the haunt of the elegant scholar and poet, but the favourite resort of the family circle. But the northern gloom of a New England winter is intolerant of this serene delight, this beautiful domesticity, and urges the inmates to the smaller, room in front of the house communicating with the library, and the study of General Washington. This is still distinctively "the study," as the rear room is "the library." Books are here, and all the graceful detail of an elegant household, and upon the walls hang crayon portraits of Emerson, Sumner, and Hawthorne

Emerging into the hall, the eyes of the visitor fall upon the massive old staircase with the clock upon the landing. Directly he hears a singing in his mind :

" Somewhat back from the village street,
Stands the old-fashioned country-seat,
Across its antique portico
Tall poplar-trees their shadows throw,
And from its station in the hall
An ancient timepiece says to all,
 ' For ever—never !
 Never—for ever ! ' "

But he does not see the particular clock of the poem, which stood upon another staircase in another quaint old mansion,—although the verse truly belongs to all old clocks in all old country-seats, just as the " Village Blacksmith" and his smithy are not alone the stalwart man and dingy shop under the " spreading chestnut-tree" which the Professor daily passes upon his way to his college duties, but belong wherever a smithy stands. Through the meadows in front flows the placid Charles.

" River ! that in silence windest
Thro' the meadows, bright and free,
Till at length thy rest thou findest
In the bosom of the sea ! "

So calmly, likewise, flows the Poet's life. No longer in his

reveries can mingle more than the sweet melancholy of the old house's associations. No tradition records a ghost in those ghostly chambers. As if all sign of them should pass away, not only Mrs. Cragie's fellow-worms destroyed the elms in front, but a noble linden-tree in the garden, faded as she failed, and languished into decay after her death. But the pensive grandeur of an old mansion sheds a softer than the "purple light" of the luck of Edenhall upon the Poet's fancies and his page. He who has written the Golden Legend knows, best of all, the reality and significance of that life in the old Craige House, whose dates, except for this slight sketch, had almost dropped from history. And while the exquisite music of this poem of our author's lingers in the heart of the reader, as he turns from this page, will he not seem to be sitting, on one of the dreamy summer afternoons, in the old chamber where so often the young Poet sat lost in the luxury of reverie, and hearing with intoxicating sadness the ghosts of tunes long since forgotten, which the turbaned and trembling widow of Andrew Cragie vaguely played upon the harpsichord :

" The old house by the Lindens
 Stood silent in the shade,
And on the gravelled pathway
 The light and shadow played.

" I saw the nursery window
 Wide open to the air ;
But the faces of the children,
 They were no longer there.

" The large Newfoundland house-dog
 Was standing by the door ;
He looked for his little playmates
 Who would return no more.

" They walked not under the Lindens,
 They played not in the hall ;
But shadow, and silence, and sadness,
 Were hanging over all.

" The birds sang in the branches,
 With sweet, familiar tone ;
But the voices of the children
 Will be heard in dreams alone !

" And the boy that walked beside me,
 He could not understand
Why closer in mine, ah ! closer,
 I pressed his warm, soft hand."

Low lisplings of the summer rain,
Dropping on the ripened grain,
As once upon the flower.

Visions of childhood ! stay, O stay !
Ye were so sweet and wild !
And distant voices seemed to say,
"It cannot be ! They pass away !
Other themes demand thy lay ;
Thou art no more a child !

"The land of Song within thee lies,
Watered by living springs ;
The lids of Fancy's sleepless eyes
Are gates unto that Paradise,
Holy thoughts, like stars, arise,
Its clouds are angels' wings.

"Learn, that henceforth thy song shall be,
Not mountains capped with snow,
Nor forests sounding like the sea,
Nor rivers flowing ceaselessly,
Where the woodlands bend to see
The bending heavens below.

"There is a forest, where the din
Of iron branches sounds !
A mighty river roars between,
And whosoever looks therein
Sees the heavens all black with sin,—
Sees not its depths, nor bounds.

"Athwart the swinging branches cast,
Soft rays of sunshine pour ;
Then comes the fearful wintry blast ;
Our hopes, like withered leaves, fall fast ;
Pallid lips say, 'It is passed !
We can return no more !'

"Look, then, into thine heart, and write !
Yes, into Life's deep stream !
All forms of sorrow and delight,
All solemn Voices of the Night,
That can soothe thee, or affright,—
Be these henceforth thy theme."

ART. VI.—ANOTHER MARY.

Marie Thérèse de Lamourous : Foundress of the House of La Miséricorde, at Bourdeaux. A Biography, abridged from the French By the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe."
London : John W. Parker and Son, West Strand. 1858.

Deeds of heroism or self-devotion in what phase soever they present themselves to the human mind are possessed of a charm so potent in their efficacy, so ennobling in their tendency that the soul becomes elevated and the heart purified by the mere recital of such records. The physical courage displayed by the soldier on the battle field, or the chivalric feats so frequently performed in civil as well as military life, noble as they undoubtedly are, fade into sheer nothingness when contrasted with that high and holy courage which inspires a pure and saintly woman, refined in mind and elevated in position, to trample under foot all the conventionalities of her station, and devote a life to the moral regeneration of her sex. The sainted sister whose name heads our paper was a true type of that Christian heroism by which nature is superseded by grace, the bitter made sweet, and the outcast soothed into the fold of repentance; the undying zeal of this one gentle woman, has been more prolific of good than all the vaunted prowess of ancient or modern heroes, many of whom worked for evil whilst she laboured for love.

The translation before us is in itself the very highest tribute that can be offered to the foundress of an institution which has tended more to the advance of virtue than almost any other in existence, being the work of one who avowedly differs in religious belief from the Holy woman whose life and virtues are recorded; and whilst making allowance for some slight scepticism on irrelevant matters, we are free to admit that it has been done in a truly liberal and tolerant spirit. After these few prefatory remarks we shall endeavour to give a short resume of the subject of the memoir.

MARIE THERESE DE LAMOUROUS, FOUNDRRESS OF THE HOUSE OF LA MISERICORDE, AT BOURDEAUX, was born at Barsac on the 1st of November 1754; her father was an untitled noble possessing a moderate property, he was a good amiable man, but nothing more, her mother was remarkable for great piety and good sense. Marie Thérèse was the eldest of four children,

three girls and one boy, and there is little to be recorded of her childhood save her extreme delicacy, which made her parents at one period dread she would be deformed; this however was not the fact: though not by any means pretty, her expression was so sweet and her eye so soft and gentle, that it gave her a peculiar attractiveness which aided materially in after life to win the hearts of the most froward.

Beside the advantages possessed by the children of having a good mother, their nurse was equally remarkable for her piety, and assisted materially both by precept and example to their mental culture. We must not omit one peculiar trait in her mode of training. She was a communicant on all great Festivals, and the day before she uniformly checked any ebullition of temper or unruliness in her young charges by saying, "My dears, you must not vex your nurse, it will be her good day to-morrow!"—and thus she in a great measure imparted the holy peace and reverence of her own mind to her nursery. On the great day she dressed with peculiar care and neatness, and the children accompanied her to mass, where they became impressed with the strongest devotional feeling, and on returning home, considered themselves bound during that entire day to be particularly good, in order not to disturb their nurse whom they dearly loved; thus were their hearts early trained, not only to love virtue for its own intrinsic worth, but even to respect in others the possession of it.

The little Marie Thérèse began early to practise forbearance and mortification, and for this purpose imposed various penances on herself which she performed with a cheerful and happy spirit, such as denying herself at meals some favorite dish and other little acts of self-restraint. She made a sort of compact before a crucifix every day of bearing "Three crosses without crying;" if a fourth came, however, she was at liberty to indulge her tears; this was sowing the good seed in right earnest, and a rich and plenteous harvest of golden and glorious fruit it produced in her after life of patient self abnegation.

To her good mother was she indebted for that sweet and tender charity which marked her whole career; their household was a truly patriarchal one, and the noble hearted Madame de Lamourous sat like the ladies of old with her little daughters around her, sending them on missions of charity and kindness, carrying dainties to some poor dependent who was ill, or it might be to soothe a fretful infant if the mother were busy performing some domestic duty.

At eleven years old she was admitted to her first communion, and on Ascension day received with much fear and trembling, yet with great eagerness and love, the Holy Communion. The Sunday festival crowned the bliss of the week, and in her old age she would revert to those innocent and happy days when dancing formed one of the greatest pleasures of her life.

"We were very fond of dancing," she would say when in after years recalling those halcyon days of youth, "and to supply the place of a gentleman one of us would wear a bow of rose colored ribbon in her hair. Often in the midst of our sports we would recollect that we had a prayer still unsaid: then we would break off for our devotions, and then resume our game. Sometimes in the midst of a country dance I would recollect that I was to have the happiness of communicating next day, and this thought made me dance on with redoubled joy."

To us, this would appear like levity, did we not take into consideration the difference of country and the pure joyous spirit of the young Therese who thus gave expression to the ecstatic feeling of her heart.

They now resided at Bourdeaux where they removed when Therese was about twelve, and she and her sisters formed a society with the daughters of two ladies of rank and met frequently during the week under the surveillance of the three mothers, who for their remarkable piety were designated by the Bordelois the three Maries.

Thérèse under her mother's instruction acquired a knowledge of all the information necessary for a lady of quality, with a practical knowledge of arithmetic which in after life proved most useful. Her manners were perfect, and she possessed a frank simplicity which, springing from her warm and unselfish heart, had a fascination all her own, and which it was impossible to withstand.

The mother and daughter were particularly attached and dwelt in the utmost confidence; she could not however divest Thérèse of the almost exploded habit of rising from her seat when she entered the room, and often put the question "will you never forget that I am your mother?"

The pure mind of the young girl was not vitiated by the baneful literature of the time, as novels were altogether excluded, and this total freedom from all imaginary excitement may have tended to maintain that freshness of heart and feeling so useful in the great task of her life.

Her love of neatness and elegance in dress frightened her, lest she might give way to vanity; she appealed to her confessor on this point, who gave her an admirable rule for her future conduct. "Do not," said he, "be one of the first to adopt a fashion, neither be one of the last, nor wait to take it up till it be over. Let your dress be just what is least liable to remark. Thus, after dressing, consult your glass, and ask yourself, 'when I pass by will people say, how well she looks?' If so, you must suppose there is something superfluous, and remove it; but if, on the other hand, people would exclaim 'how careless!' something must be wanting. If they are likely to notice nothing either for praise or blame, that is the point to be gained by one who seeks to please God."

Thérèse was now about to encounter her first great trial; her beloved mother fell dangerously ill, and aware of her approaching dissolution dreaded the effect it might produce on the mind and health of her favourite child, (her other daughters had been married whilst very young); she therefore told Thérèse that her greatest pain in dying would be the consciousness that she would grieve too much. Thérèse comforted her parent with the assurance that she would bear her trial with the hope of a Christian. Nature however succumbed under this heavy affliction, and for several days after her mother's death she was dangerously ill; her mind however soon regained its usual tone, but she became anxious to enter a convent and devote herself to a religious life. Her confessor however, after a careful investigation, told her to her surprise and disappointment that she had not sufficient vocation for a conventual life, she bowed to his decision, and gave herself up to the care of her father and general acts of kindness to all her relatives. The Revolution, with all its attendant horrors, broke out soon after Madame's death, and Bourdeaux was presided over during this reign of terror by a schoolmaster named Lacombe, who exercised his power with the most unremitted tyranny.

The Lamourous family were too loyal to be safe under such a dynasty; they were obliged to disperse; the only son fled to America, and Thérèse removed her father to a small estate belonging to the family at the village of Le Pian about four leagues from Bourdeaux.

Here, Thérèse began to shew the nobility of her nature by the warmth of her devotion in attending to her father's com-

fort, surrounding him with every little luxury in her power in order to try and assuage his grief in leaving his once happy home, and also in watching over the interests of the poor villagers by whom she was almost revered as a saint.

The pastor, under whose guidance these poor people had lived, had now unfortunately from the easiness of his nature been induced to take the constitutional oaths; they were consequently deprived of all spiritual comfort. *Mamizelle*, as they called her, did all in her power to atone for this deficiency, and invited the women and children of the neighbourhood to meet her at a particular part of the estate every Sunday; she instructed them in all the essentials of their religion, and brought several of them home afterwards to sing vespers in her little oratory.

In all cases of illness she was at their bedside, and though they were deprived of the actual reception of the spiritual rites of their church, she contrived to lead their minds to spiritual communion, and by prayer and gentle offices soothed and cheered the departing spirit. The poor priest, who had been led away by weak fear, actually venerated her, and even requested permission to visit her, in order to thank her for the care she had taken of the flock who had disowned him, and he acknowledged to her the regret he experienced in having abandoned the charge with which God had entrusted him. So much was she loved and revered by the peasantry, that, even after the restoration of the clergy, she had great difficulty in breaking them off the habit of sending for *Mamizelle* instead of a priest to attend their last moments.

Thérèse fitted up an oratory with every essential necessary for the performance of the holy sacrifice of the mass, in order that whenever Providence permitted a proscribed priest to seek shelter in her vicinity, she might have the happy privilege of mass in her chapel. A lady, who resided near, shared in her feelings, and these heroic women braved all danger, and often in the middle of the night traversed the woods that divided them, when either had the good fortune to harbour a priest. She has herself related a charming incident connected with those nocturnal meetings; on one occasion when returning alone she was overtaken by darkness in a place reported to be haunted by wolves; she thought of her guardian angel, and remembering that wolves were supposed to be afraid of the human voice, and so, as she sweetly and simply related it,

"With my little bundle on my head, my hand in my good angel's, and singing a hymn, I came safely through."

There was a childlike simplicity in her courage which rendered it peculiarly attractive even to those whom she braved. One Sunday evening, when she had been repeating her rosary at the foot of the large crucifix at the entrance of the village, she saw two ruffianly looking men evidently on the watch for her. She immediately went forward and accosted them in a friendly tone. "Good evening *citoyens* ! you look tired ; you are welcome to come rest in my house, I have some good wine for you." "So much the better, *citoyenne*, we were on the way to you," they answered. And, concealing her alarm, she led them in and entertained them so hospitably, that after some consultation one of them said to her, "*Citoyenne* ! do you know what brings us here ?"

"No ; perhaps you are seeking employment ?"

"Poor woman !" said the fellow laughing, "see there !" and he threw on the table an order for her arrest.

"Is that it ?" said Mademoiselle de Lamourous, quietly, "we will go to-morrow morning !"

"No, no," cried the emissaries, "you are too good a creature, it would be a pity to harm you ; we will say you were not at home ;" and they went off after shaking hands warmly with her.

Thérèse was prudent as well as courageous, and had much trouble in preventing her father from ruining them by his violence against the republicans ; she employed a strange ruse to save him from his own imprudence on one occasion. As they were going to Bourdeaux to visit her sister during her husband's absence, the old man insisted on walking into the town, and reckless of consequences was openly and bitterly inveighing against the new order of things. Thérèse, dreading that he would be overheard, walked boldly up to two men, who were evidently republicans, and telling them that she was obliged to go on to Bourdeaux quicker than her old father was able to walk, and that she feared leaving him alone, begged of them to take him under their protection, as she knew he would be safe in their hands. They, feeling complimented at this confidence in their honor, brought him safe to his destination. He died shortly after.

Thérèse still continued her residence at Le Pian where she found many opportunities of doing good. She, on one occasion,

had the hardihood to introduce a priest to the bedside of the dying wife of a furious republican, and by her tact, eluded all suspicion on the part of the husband, and obtained for the poor lady the happiness of receiving the last sacraments, and dying with all the consolations of religion. It was hard to expect, that when a name was a crime, Thérèse could escape altogether unscathed; she was not therefore surprised when cited to appear before the revolutionary tribunal, but though prepared to die, her usual tact did not abandon her.

"*Citoyenne*" began the President, "you stand accused of nobility, and of hiding priests. Have you anything to say for yourself?"

"Possibly *Citoyen*," she answered; "but pray let me ask one question first. What is that mark on your face?"

"A strange question!" he said, "do you not see it is a mole?"

"But how came you by such a mole on your cheek?"

"How? I was born with it, I had it from my mother?"

"Well *Citoyen*, it is just so with me; I was born with my nobility, I had it from my mother."

As occasionally even in this fearful time, repartee was the best defensive weapon, the laugh was on her side, and "Go along then, you are a good child," was her order for dismissal. She was exiled from Bourdeaux, but permitted to go any where else she pleased; she therefore chose her old residence Le Pian.

In all the strange vicissitudes with which unhappy France was then visited, it occasionally happened that some of her acquaintance were elevated to the bloody tribunal; she had the temerity to go see them, and even obtained a sight of their list of proscriptions; aware of the peril to which she exposed herself, she, notwithstanding, at various times sent private information to persons not yet arrested, and was so conscious that her own life would be forfeited, that she cut off her hair, in order that the executioner need not have to do it, at the last moment. The Almighty, however, willed otherwise, and she was spared for a high and holy mission.

The reign of terror, however, came to a close, and Bourdeaux breathed again; Mademoiselle de Lamourous having braved the storm, and without any particular cares or duties to attach her to the world, conceived the idea that God had saved her for a special purpose. Active charity towards all her

neighbours, had always been her marked characteristic, and she yearned to devote herself more earnestly to the service of God by ministering to his poor. The calm tranquil happiness she enjoyed at Le Pian caused her a struggle in leaving it, and she in after life acknowledged that she had caught herself kissing the very walls in recollection of the happy days she spent there; indulgence in such feelings, however, would not do, and she prayed fervently for enlightenment to know the Divine will, and grace to act faithfully up to it.

Her prayer was heard, and in July 1800, a young woman who had been led into vicious courses, applied to a charitable old lady at Bourdeaux, called Mademoiselle de Pichon Longueville, and begged to be shewn in what manner she could extricate herself from her present way of life. She was placed with a dressmaker, and several of her companions being equally desirous of reformation, Mademoiselle de Pichon hired some rooms in a house in the Rue St. Jean, where fifteen of these poor creatures were assembled; they were very unruly, being unaccustomed to restraint, and frequently rebelled against the authority of the person placed over them. Mademoiselle de Pichon, who was in her eighty-second year, became almost disheartened at the bickering and confusion she saw around her; recollecting however that Mademoiselle, who was only forty-two, was peculiarly gifted in dealing with the froward and always anxious to do good, she entreated her assistance in this meritorious work. Thérèse was at first inclined to reject this mode of charity, having a kind of shrinking horror at even meeting those wretched outcasts in the streets; but, impelled by the spirit of God, she overcame her repugnance, and accompanied her friend to the Rue St. Jean. It being her nature to speak sweetly and gently to all, so great was the effect of her manner on these poor untamed creatures, that they stood whispering together "There is one who would succeed with us." Her very countenance had already won their hearts, and she heard them on the occasion of her next visit, calling joyfully to one another, "Here comes Mademoiselle de Lamourous!" Each visit rendered them more attached and drew her more to them; her sisters, who were anxious she should live with them, did all in their power to dissuade her from undertaking this charge, but she prayed earnestly and ardently to be shewn the right course; and one gentleman, a relative of hers, who was in favour of her turning her attention to these poor

penitents, being a man of strong sense and great piety, strengthened her in her resolves by saying "Do sister, reclaim these poor fallen creatures, it is for the glory of God." Her contending feelings to know the right and to follow the Divine impulse, so excited her mind, as to produce an attack of illness, the result of her agitation, and during a feverish dream, imagined herself beholding the Great Day of Doom, and that she recognized each of the sinners in the Rue St Jean standing before the judgment seat, and receiving sentence of condemnation, and then each, in falling, looking full at her and crying, "Had you come to us, we had been saved!"

The recollection of this awful scene had such an effect on her mind that she accepted the dream as an inspiration from God, and determined accordingly; next morning she repaired to Bourdeaux, and having first waited on Mademoiselle Pichon, she, accompanied by her and Monsieur Chaminade, her confessor, visited the Rue St. Jean, but without the slightest hint of her intention, till they were about to part in the evening, when she lighted them to the door and said simply "good night! I shall stay." Thus, from that period, the penitents were her children, their abode her home, and, except an occasional visit to Le Pian, she devoted her life to their service.

France never before so peculiarly needed such an asylum; as many of those poor outcasts were driven to the shameless courses they had pursued, by the awful scenes they had witnessed, and the complete overthrow of all religious belief even in its external forms, this, coupled with their unprotected state, caused them more frequently to continue in their lives of sin, than any attachment they felt towards the degraded condition in which they found themselves, and, consequently, they hailed as a bright star of hope and promise the refuge opened for them in the Rue St. Jean.

They came in numbers to request admittance, and poor Thérèse in the charity of her heart could not bear to turn them from the door, though at the time over-crowded; Mademoiselle slept in the midst of them, and, having no laundry, even accompanied them to the river where they were obliged to wash their clothes, and protected them from the insults offered by those who considered themselves degraded by contact with them.

The Reign of Terror raised saints as well as sinners, and an association was formed even at its worst period, amongst the

faithful at Bourdeaux, who agreed to kneel every day at five o'clock, no matter where they might be, and offer up their prayers to the throne of mercy for the conversion of hardened sinners. This good work, undertaken by those charitable ladies Pichon and Lamourous, was considered by Monsieur Boyer, the vicar general of the diocese, and Monsieur Chaminade, as a favorable answer to the prayers of the people, and those two holy men united in raising a subscription among the pious ladies of the city in order to enable them to take a larger place, where they might extend their sphere of usefulness. Accordingly, on the eve of Ascension Day 1801, Mademoiselle de Lamourous, with thirty-five women, repaired to another dwelling in the Allées d'Albret.

This establishment took the name of *La Miséricorde*, and rules were drawn up for its management. Monsieur Chaminade blessed the black caps and kerchiefs which the women were to wear as symbols of penitence, and Mademoiselle de Lamourous was constituted head of the institution, where she was soon designated by the loving title of '*La bonne Mère.*' A nun named Mademoiselle Adelaide, from a destroyed convent, came to assist, and on the Whit Sunday following they were solaced in their labours by one of the penitents who had been preparing from the previous February renewing her baptismal vows and receiving the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion.

This was, however, but one sweet drop in the cup of bitterness they had before them. Storms assailed them both from within and abroad; all sorts of false reports were circulated about them out of doors which deprived them of the support they would otherwise have obtained. This in itself would have been a sad trial, but the insubordination of the inmates, and the dread of their relapsing into their former errors, was far more grievous for the good sisters to be obliged to encounter; so fearful were the passions worked up by those wretched creatures in each other, that poor Thérèse almost sunk under the trial, and her health suffered so materially that she was ordered an entire change of scene, and had to withdraw for two whole months. Thus, was the charge of forty-two wild excitable beings from the very dregs of society, vitiated by intercourse with the worst amongst their class, left to one simple Nun, who during this fearful time underwent a species of martyrdom. Their conduct was so outrageous during this eventful period, that they lost all self-control, and their peals of

merriment, which were frequently heard in the street, brought them into worse repute than ever.

Marie Thérèse, having regained strength, came back with unabated energy, and the disorders subsided through her influence, but not however until she had expelled seven of the most mischievous and incorrigible.

The fatal consequences, however, of their misdeeds, did not rest here; the public were disgusted, and withdrew their subscriptions, the funds were exhausted, and on the 15th of September, 1801, the committee decided on dismissing half the inmates for want of means.

Mademoiselle de Lamourous was summoned to the committee to be informed of those resolutions, and, being later than usual, the women gathered round her on her return exclaiming at her delay. "Alas! my children," she said, "it was you who caused my being so tardy. Never have you grieved me so much as to-day. The offences you have committed has brought down God's anger on us all. This very night you were to be driven from La Miséricorde, and I was deputed the painful task of expelling you!"

With a strange perversity, those wild and hitherto unmanageable creatures clung with desperation to the home which their own waywardness was near closing against them, and cries and sobs broke out in the hall, each entreating that the sentence might not fall on her. "What!" cried one, "just when I had heartily begun to work at my general confession? how could I finish it?"

"And I!" exclaimed another, "have I only learnt to abhor my past life that I may discover there is no more mercy for me?"

"I would not go," said a third, "they could not tear me away!"

Thus, these excitable creatures worked themselves into a complete phrenzy of despair at the bare idea of their leaving a home and a mother to whom they had become so fondly attached, and they pressed to know who were to have been the unfortunate outcasts.

Mademoiselle told them she could not have had the heart to decide, but would have left them in the hands of Providence by obliging them to draw lots.

"Lots!" cried one, "oh! I should most undoubtedly have the black lot! I have been unlucky all my life, here only may I hope for rest."

When they were calmed, Mademoiselle de Lamourous tried

to explain how circumstances were, and that their only hope was in the mercy of that God whom they had outraged, even at the time he was blessing them ; she told them sweetly and earnestly that they must entreat for aid in the spirit of penitence, as their errors had caused the faithful to withhold all aid from them, and that if in the Divine Mercy they were spared, they should endure the most severe privations.

“ Bread and water ! ” cried the poor girls, “ we will live on bread and water, provided it is at *La Miséricorde*. ”

This panic had such an effect on them, that their hearts were completely changed, and the Almighty, who in his mercy works such wonders, thus wrought the conversion of those poor wild wayward beings, whom the very dread of expulsion made truly penitent.

The sincerity of their penitence was however to be more severely tested ; the whole funds were exhausted, the baker refused bread, and there was no firewood in the house, nor scarcely any food, though there were thirty-five to be fed, and some of them ill. Mademoiselle de Lamourous trusted still in Divine assistance. “ We have done all in our power, ” she would say. “ If this work be from God, He will not fail us ; and what desire have we but to do His Divine will ? Let us be at peace, then, and wait with patience, firmness, and cheerfulness until the end. ”

During the hour of recreation she remained in earnest prayer, and was much affected by seeing several of the poor women doing the same, though the last food in the house was being dressed at a fire made of vine clippings for want of firewood. There was a knock at the door, a cart-load of faggots had been sent in by the committee. Before the evening was over supplies of vegetables, wine, and money had arrived, and the danger was averted.

Though this crisis was past, the inmates of *La Miséricorde* were for many years struggling, their principal supplies being from washing and needle-work obtained through the exertions of Mademoiselle, who suffered many indignities whilst seeking for it ; accused by some with taking the bread out of honest people’s mouths, and treated with scorn by vulgar minded employers ; but she bore all with heroic and truly single-minded patience, and every small piece of work, or gift from without, was hailed as a fresh token of mercy. So frequently did relief come in at the moment most needed, that she felt as if the

hand of Heaven was open to her, and recorded these answers to her prayers with a simplicity of faith and earnestness of thankfulness truly charming.

If Thérèse looked on these timely succours as so many interpositions of Providence on their behalf, which they undoubtedly were, how hallowed must have been the feelings of the poor inmates for whose sake God vouchsafed such blessings; and we find their confidence in prayer as sincere and ardent as the *bonne mère* could desire. With regard to her, her confidence in God was unbounded, and her love for and devotion to the Blessed Virgin was pure and fervent; she attributed very many of the benefits she received to her intercession, and offered frequent Novenas to St. Joseph and her own patroness St. Theresa.

The most serious evil consequent on their poverty was the want of an infirmary, which obliged them to send severe cases of illness to the public hospital. Here visitors had access to the patients, and unfortunately the good work was occasionally undone, and the poor patients returned to their evil courses. La Miséricorde was overlooked by the prisons, and perceiving that the prisoners hooted at her when she appeared and not at Mademoiselle Adelaide, she at once perceived that her nuns' dress was her protection, and accordingly adopted black as her future costume, and when other directresses joined (the first came in 1802, shortly before the death of Mademoiselle Adelaide) she thought it well they should wear it also. She objected to their wearing veils, lest been seen with them in the streets in the evening might bring the cloistered nuns into disrepute, and the huge cap which pervaded the whole establishment was their natural dress, and may be seen in portraits of the date of her youth, worn by young ladies as well as old. The crown is like Mambrino's helmet, and a broad frill with a wide hem acts as sides, border, trimming and all. The directresses wore it in white, the penitents in black, otherwise there was no distinction.

Every thing was made to turn to account, in this abode of thrift and economy, and Thérèse never failed to pick up the smallest rag she met in the street, and said she never felt so dishonest as in passing a rag merchant's; and at the beginning of each season her whole hoard was brought forth in order to dispense her stores as most required. Her gaiety of heart and lively sallies made the scene a perfect festival. Even in ex-

treme old age, and when confined to bed, her half-yearly rag fair was one of the great events of La Miséricorde. Mademoiselle de Pichon Longueville, who had lived long enough to see the good seed blossom died in 1807, and her memory was revered at La Miséricorde as the first foundress. The institution had increased to such an extent that Thérèse was anxious to take a confiscated convent of the Annunciation in the Rue St. Eulalie which was put up for sale by government. She sent for Monsieur Chaminade to consult him, who, frightened at the expense attending it, asked her if she firmly believed it was the work of God?

"Yes, I firmly believe so," she answered.

"And do you likewise firmly believe that you are the person called to undertake it?"

"I do," she replied with a decision that struck him so forcibly that he said at once—

"Then buy it by all means, but buy the two lots at once, both house and church."

With great effort, and by mortgaging her beloved estate at Le Pian, Thérèse raised the first instalment, and was put into possession on the eve of Palm Sunday 1808: and fearing that the soldiers might intrude she left a sturdy portress at the gate with strict orders to hold no parley with any soldier that might present himself, but civilly to refuse him entrance. Maret, afterwards Duke of Bassano, minister to Napoleon, had come in his train to Bourdeaux, and accompanied by the mayor and a train of officials was visiting the public buildings; being attracted by the convent of St. Eulalie he knocked at the gate, but the old portress true to her trust refused either to let him in, or to call her mistress.

"I tell you," cried an official, "His Excellency wants to see Mademoiselle."

"I know nothing about Excellencies; my orders are not to leave my gate." They succeeded, however, in obtaining an interview; and in going over the house the minister was deeply touched by the evidences of poverty, and the noble self-devotion of the Superior, whose high-bred ease and charming simplicity of manner delighted his Excellency.

M. Maret, when respectfully taking leave, begged her to write down all she had been telling him, and send it in at once, as he was leaving town next day. After asking Monsieur Chaminade's advice on the matter, she complied with the

Minister's request, who laid the paper before the Emperor, and on the 28th of April, only three weeks after her bold purchase, she received a letter from Maret informing her, that his Majesty, desiring to participate in her pious undertaking, made her a free grant of the convent without purchase; adding 12,000 francs for the necessary repairs; thus, was her confidence in God rewarded, and her beloved Le Pian released from mortgage.

In this ruinous old convent La Miséricorde took up its abode, re-consecrating the spot where the orgies of the Revolution had for nearly twenty years taken the place of the hymns of the sisterhood.

The additional space acquired by her removal, enabled Thérèse to receive new inmates, and she was induced to apply for an annual grant from government, which was refused; Napoleon's gift, though merely the land, building, and repairs, put a stop for a time to private charity, and their receipts were so trifling, that they could have scarcely subsisted had not Mademoiselle obtained permission that the inmates should be employed in rolling tobacco leaves into cigars for the imperial manufactory.

In 1809, a document of Mademoiselle de Lamourous states that there were ninety penitents, under five directresses besides herself, the Superior. Many others, after a thorough reformation, had been placed in respectable services; others had returned to their parents; some had married; and many more remained too much attached to La Miséricorde again to expose themselves to the perils of the world. More than forty had already died, blessing the refuge where they had been led back to the paths of eternal life.

A sad misfortune now however awaited them:—on the first day of the year 1813, they were deprived of their cigar work, on the pretext that this employment was needed by the poor. In vain did Mademoiselle de Lamourous represent to the authorities the awful responsibilities attending the wants of *her* poor, and the direful consequences of depriving them of their home; her plea was disregarded, and she had now the sad prospect of her hundred inmates living solely on her credit, as private charity had almost ceased. An appeal to the Central Board at Paris was now her only hope, and though near sixty, and in delicate health, she, with the untiring self-devotion that enabled her to labor thus far for those poor desolate ones, determined

not to forsake them now, and on the 27th of February started for Paris on her mission of love. A few of her letters which have been luckily preserved, will be the best illustration of the buoyancy of spirit with which this happy old woman worked her noble cause ; carrying with her a perpetual spring of joy ever simple and playful.

LETTER I.

‘ I am at Paris at last, my good and very dear children ; I took the novice to her destination, and went myself to my rooms, which I share with a good nun. I am well off in every respect,—nowhere could I have so much freedom. I shall rest to-morrow, which will be Sunday, and on Monday I shall begin to stir in our affairs. You must not cease to pray that I may be obedient to the leadings of Divine grace.

‘ And how are you, dear children ? How are you all, not only my five assistants, but my three little ones, and all my dear daughters ? Do they follow their rules ? Are they loving ? Do they seek for opportunities of making offerings, as I advised them, thus to unite them to mine, and present them together to Him who alone can render them meritorious ? Everywhere I see *La Miséricorde*. Nothing can distract me from the sight. I am constantly occupied with my three classes. I am uneasy about some, but many more are a joy to me ; and I console myself by thinking perhaps the first will do equally well, and I may have notes which will make me quite happy. Do not fail to write to me, my dear fellow labourers, and direct with great exactness.

‘ I write to-day by M. L., who goes to-morrow. You will have this letter later than the one I post to-day, because I cannot bear to leave you anxious in order to save the postage. What shall I tell you of my journey, or what would not N—— tell you if she had been in my place ? Nothing could be more droll than the ladies who travelled with us. The two first did not lament their husbands long. They chattered from the first moment like magpies, night and day. Soon came another who was worse, then a fourth, who constantly censured the gossip of the others, while they complained of hers. To tell you all the debates over the opening and shutting of the coach windows, and about the rooms and beds when we stopped at night, would be too long, but very comical. Then came three gentlemen who had seats in the cabriolet ; and the gestures of all these people, their talk about fashions and fortunes, and the figure cut by the novice and myself dining among officers and generals, was amusing enough I can assure you. We did not put ourselves out of the way, on fit occasions, nor spare them one sign of the cross, and they were very civil to us, so that all went off easily, even our eggs on fast days. In the coach we pretended to sleep, and guess what your good mother was meanwhile thinking about ! I will tell you. Two nights ago, we went on the whole night, and I saw the moon constantly ; so when the hours came for your recreation and your going to bed, I said to

myself, 'My daughters see the same thing as I do! Ah! if the moon could carry them all my wishes their sport would be blessed, their last waking thoughts would be holy! At sight of the moon, they would remember my exhortations, which I wish she could carry to them!' And so I came to the plan of appointing you all a rendezvous with me in the moon, and asking you to say to yourselves, 'I am gazing at what my good mother is gazing at.'

• Your good mother,

• M. TH. LAMOUROUS.

LETTER II.

'I wrote to you yesterday by M. l'Abbé L., but as the coach is slower than the post, I send you this letter lest you should be uneasy.

'Providence has found me just such a lodging as suits me, where I can see company or be alone, as I please. The lady with whom I am is very kind, and will I think be of great use in our business. She is very business-like, and seems to understand everything. She is an old sister of St. Clara, of a very strict order, very good and sensible, all which suits me so well that I ought to put up with the warbling of the dozen canary birds she keeps in her room, all tame and constantly singing. I shall be sure to grow use to them soon, and besides, I can get away from them in my own room.

'I am near the church of St. Sulpice, famous for its clergy and its good order. There is benediction there every day, but I was not there yesterday, though I mean to contrive to have that happiness as often as I can. This morning I was at mass there. I cannot tell you whether the church is fine, for I had not time to look at it, but I will tell you another time; this afternoon we go to vespers and a sermon. Nor can I tell you much of Paris. If I had no heart, I should think myself at Bourdeaux. Paris is beautiful, but I feel as if I had already been in all the buildings I have seen there. What pleases me best is the dome of the Invalides. The promenades do not strike me at all, they only remind me of what I have seen in *perspectives*, and especially in that of M. E. The streets are very like Bourdeaux, more lively, but very muddy. Women, young and old, generally dress as they do with us, and have the same air; my pelisse is not alone, and my cap finds companions. I shall go to all the *grandees* just as I am, and in fact I am like many others. My nun has promised to let me see the Pope, but I know not when or how.

'I was here in my letter when it was time to go to vespers, and I resume. I have been at St. Sulpice! Oh! how beautiful the services there are! How surprised I was to see the collegians in hoods! but I was still more astonished to find the good M. Thomas in the pulpit. He preached for an hour and a quarter with the simplicity you know so well. There were so many people that again I could not look at the church. We came home at six o'clock, for on common days, vespers and the other evening offices last till six, on great days much later. Imagine my amazement when just after we came in, my nun told me it was supper-time. It was necessary to make up one's mind to it, and by seven o'clock all was over, and we were going

to bed, or at least as regards myself, pretending to do so, when there was a ring at the bell and in came M. R. I was very glad to see him. I told him my story, and my intention of making *quêtes** in different districts, charging him with his own, where reside Madame Mère and Cardinal Fesch.† He promised his help, and we agreed that I should not go to him for two days, to give him time to see what he can do. He went away at half-past eight, when my nun went to bed, and I to finish my letter. Here I am, and since one must retire so early, you see I shall be able to do a good deal in the evening.

‘I hope, my dear children, that the good God will bless my journey; but after all, I fear nothing but myself, so pray that I may always act as He would have me, and that I may not be wretched enough to offend Him, and thus to check the stream of favours that He would shed upon you all.

‘Write to me when you get this letter. Write very small, as I do, so as to be able to tell me more. I will write in a week, and I hope the next will be *gratis*. How lucky you are: this is my fourth letter to you, and I shall have none for twelve more days, besides the eight slow—very slow ones since I left you, and judge! But let us respect our good Master’s will. Privations, if we use them right, become joys in eternity; and that reminds me that M. Thomas told us that not only must we flee from sloth, and work well, but that if we wish to be recompensed by the Lord, we must also do it for Him. ‘For,’ he said, ‘if a workman came to claim his hire, you would ask him for whom he had worked; and if it were for one of your neighbours, you would say,—‘Friend, ask your wages from him whom you serve.’’

‘I finish, embracing you all, my dear children, without reading over my letter. If there are follies or blunders in it, pass them over, or take what profit you can from them; but through them all, read the heart of your good mother.

‘M. TR. LAMOUROUS.

‘February 14th, 1830.’

LETTER IV.

‘I want to write to the good M. Boyer, whom for twenty years I have loved with all my heart. I wish to tell him that the certificate of the archbishop is my great support, and procures me friends. At his name alone all the world is in extasies. Tell M. Boyer that I will soon write to him. I have so few moments to myself that I cannot perform all the projects of my heart. Every day there are accounts to send in, letters, memorials, and poor Marie Thérèse goes as Providence sends her, and sometimes Providence drives her rather hard.

‘To-morrow it is intended to write to a great duchess, to whom La Miséricorde has been mentioned. There is great piety in some of the ladies of that rank. How many good works they support at Paris! It is admirable; the old and new court vie with each other in zeal. I know ladies who dine on apples, and sup on dry bread, and give the rest to the poor. . . . I forgot to answer N.

* Expeditions in quest of alms.

† The mother and the uncle of Napoleon I.

that she might have the black cotton. All of you, children, beloved of your mother, freely take what belongs to her as your own. She is very poor, but all she has is at your disposal. Here, I am at no expense but coach hire. My dress is what you know,—nothing more. My caps have not the air that N. gives them, because I make them myself, and have long forgotten how; but at Paris, as at Bourdeaux, I can pass, and all goes on well. Nothing more is required in the most brilliant apartments. My provincial accent is more remarkable than my appearance. I am called the demoiselle from the south, and people do me the honor to ask if I am a Provençale. But nothing has prevented my meeting with kindness and interest, for our merciful God arranges all.

‘ You, dear children, must want many things, caps, shawls, stockings, &c. Provide these I beg of you, I will have it so. You know I told you it was to honor God and His providence, to do things that are needful, and then trust confidently to His tender foresight.’

LETTER V.

‘ Breakfast well to-morrow, the Good Shepherd’s day. Pray to Him well—thank Him well—bless His goodness. I shall write to all the old and new ones. My poor new ones have all written to me, and so have the old ones. Be good, and in all your doubts and temptations, the Holy Virgin will arrange your difficulties. Yes, soon we shall meet, I hope. In the mean time, patience, prudence, order, submission, humility, charity, watchfulness, cheerfulness. Ah! how your mother will be received, if you are in such good company. Courage, daughters, every one of you. No *poule mouillée** in my house. Strive constantly. Pray always for your *bonne mère*. Take care to recommend her to our heavenly friends. Good-bye, again, old and new! I look at you all, and my heart rejoices in the hope that you work, and walk towards heaven. So be it.

‘ I received your parcel dated the 10th of May, and felt both joy and grief; joy at hearing of you, grief that we do not get on. I must resume the affair of the cigars. I have nothing more to tell you of my collection; latterly it has fallen off, since a new and excellent work has injured that of La Miséricorde, and purses are closed against the latter, so that I shall only bring home about a hundred pistoles, instead of three or four thousand francs which I had reckoned upon. But patience, our good God knows what we want better than we do. Providence invites me to make efforts of every kind, and in every quarter. When I return, we will make many things to sell—coverlets, rosaries, images, children’s toys, pincushions, scapularies, &c. But the best of all is, that a famous worker in chocolate is teaching me his business gratis, and letting me into all his secrets. I have been, for some days, working under him, and have no doubt that his recipes will bring us in a pretty gain; and besides, he is to give them to me in writing, to be kept carefully at La Miséricorde. Strong and vigorous arms! We want no more!

* An expression for fretful faint-hearted character.

We will work, children, and I hope our merciful God will help us, and make our industry His means of supporting us. Since He is pleased to keep me at Paris, He permits me by remaining there, if I cannot get money, to learn how to earn it.

‘I am trying to do like you, and not lose all the fruit of the toils which the goodness and loving kindness of the merciful God ordains for me. The cross is a pledge of His love, dear children. Besides, when I think of the children He hath given me, so affectionate, so good, so excellent, so exactly what I wish, I think myself very happy; yes, even humanly speaking, I am happy, for you are my happiness. O children! what pleasure you give your poor mother, pleasure the sweeter, because our good Master is the Author of it; and doubtless is well pleased to behold the joys with which you constantly feed my heart. Let us be more and more faithful to Him, my dears, that the ties he forms between us on earth may be drawn closer in eternity. Alas! what are all attachments here below in comparison with the love in heaven? If here He is the author of our common love, there He will be our object and our all.

‘Dear children, when shall I speak to you again? When the good God pleases. I still hope it will be the week after Ascension Day. Keep up the hopes of our poor girls, tell them we shall soon be together again. Festivals delayed cause weariness, and you know that weariness is dangerous to the soul; so find some means of occupying them and all will be well. Tell me of the one at the hospital.

‘Your mother,

‘M.-TH. DE LAMOUROUS.’

We thus see how ardently and zealously this good mother worked for her poor children; she was now advised to plead her own cause before the Central Board of Administration of Home Manufactures, and prayed earnestly for help as she stood awaiting the interview; when admitted to the presence of the statesmen, the simple eloquence with which she detailed her case won all hearts, particularly that of Chevalier Suchet, brother to the Marshal Duke of Albufera. So sincere and heart-felt was her appeal, that it was at once decided, that without lessening the number of cigars sent up by the rest of the Gironde, an additional quantity should be manufactured at La Miséricorde.

“Truly Mademoiselle,” said one of the members of the council, “you speak in such a way that one can refuse you nothing, there is no resisting you, you win at the first encounter.”

“I wonder why!” said Mademoiselle de Lamourous, merrily, “Is it my dress? No, it cannot be that. Or my fine language? No, no, people laugh at my southern tongue. It must be be-

cause I am a child of the woods and speak naturally. In the woods, trees grow freely as Dame Nature teaches them, but elsewhere, they are cut and trimmed by Art. You grow weary of the clipped and regular trees, all alike, but in the wild fresh greenwood, you go deeper and deeper without ever counting the moments, for the heart is never weary of Nature; and so my simple, untutored words are a change to you, after the fine language and set phrases you have every day. Love of the true and natural is in all our hearts, and is not one of the least blessings given by our Maker; and this is the cause of your extreme indulgence to me, and of your being kind enough to like my simple manners." This conquest by "her native wood notes wild" enabled her to write on the 23rd of May,—

'My dear children,—I hasten to tell you that our good God has restored our cigars in spite of all the opposition, even at Paris. M. Suchet has promised to let us have them, and those who were averse to it have ended by giving their consent. An order will be despatched to the manufactory of Bourdeaux to send to La Miséricorde 3000 kilograms of tobacco every year, and M. Suchet promises me that this order shall be made out quickly. I told him of my fears that this slender supply might yet be uncertain, and he answered, No, since it depended upon him. It is likely that, as soon as the order is received at the manufactory, they will send to La Miséricorde. Receive the deputy well, and tell him that I was glad to see the good account which the Bourdeaux gentleman had sent up to Paris of the work, and with what sincerity I told the Paris gentlemen of my gratitude and obligations to those at Bourdeaux. Begin the work as soon as you can. I hope all will go well, my dears, and that it will not again be the will of heaven to send me to Paris to fish for cigars.'

Her mission thus terminating so favorably, *la bonne Mère* was now about to return home; aware of the joy which this would occasion in her household, she tried wisely to repress too great an exuberance of feeling, and wrote frequently to the directresses warning them to moderate the joy which she knew it was natural they should feel on the occasion.

Highly, as at all times they valued her opinions, her advice on this matter was totally unavailing; so intensely beloved was *la bonne Mère*, and so protracted was her absence from that home, which her presence rendered a paradise to her grateful and repentant children, that they could not resist preparing a festival for her reception; and on the 20th of June, a deputation of two directresses and the oldest penitents set off to meet her where she was to land after crossing the Garonne by the ferry.

When the tidings arrived that she was in the Rue St. Eulalie, the whole community drew up in two rows in the garden, singing couplets, bidding the parlor door open, and warning it if it did not, that they would force its hinges to turn and let in their good mother, for they could live no longer without her. She at length arrived, but by the express orders of Monsieur Boyer, they stood still and silent; he feared their excitement might become tumultuous, as their feelings were wrought to the very highest pitch; she, therefore, only passed silently down the lines shaking hands and speaking kindly to, and smiling sweetly on each in turn, as she proceeded to the chapel. Her path was strewn with laurel wreaths, and garlands of flowers hung all round; the penitents, uniting round her as she passed, continued their song as they formed into procession, and followed her to the chapel. There all knelt in silent prayer and thanksgiving, and then rising, chanted together the psalm, "*Laudate Dominum Omnes Gentes.*" She was then led back to the refectory, and seated beneath an arch of flowers and ever-greens, while fresh couplets were sung, and each of her flock came up in turn to present a flower, and was received by her with an affectionate embrace. Presently she observed one who had been ill almost the whole time of her absence, and who had just contrived to drag herself to the refectory to enjoy the sight, but was not strong enough to go forward; springing from her chair she cried, "You there, my poor Louise! are you not to have the pleasure of embracing your mother?" and she pressed her fondly in her arms. Next came the dinner, such a dinner as had never been tasted at La Miséricorde, and never was again, for a kind-hearted market woman had actually sent in a feast of poultry and peas, sufficient for the whole party, in honor of the return of the much beloved and honored Superior. A fresh and more novel entertainment, however, awaited Mademoiselle de Lamourous after the evening devotions, and which had been concerted during her absence; this was no other than an impersonation of each city on the way to Paris, being introduced by a legend and led up to offer her homage. The vivacious and playful impromptu couplets with which *la bonne Mère* responded to each compliment, were, as well might be expected, the most attractive part of the scene.

We must not, however, omit to mention a charming little incident which formed an interesting feature in this ovation of

genuine heart homage. A present was brought from one of her nieces, a piece of white watered silk embroidered with the device of the "pelican in her piety," having the following motto underneath :—

" Even as the bird, herself unsparing,
Thou, for thy brood, thy heart art tearing,"

all framed as a picture, and the couplet was sung as it was carried to her. This completely overcame her, and she burst into tears,—the only time she had been seen to weep since her mother's death,—and cried out, "O! children, how you pain me!" She kept the picture to the day of her death, but not with the personal motto; she caused this to be picked out, and another worked in its stead, which gave the pelican the truest and highest application, "Let my blood be your meat and drink, my beloved," and bearing this device it is still preserved in her room at La Miséricorde.

This was her first and last absence from her beloved home for any lengthened period; she paid an annual visit to Le Pian to gather in her vintage, and the Abbé Chaminade sent her to Agen to establish an institution similar to her own, of which he was the founder; but she did not remain longer than six weeks on that occasion, and was greeted on her return with various complimentary couplets, an innocent recreation which she never discouraged, as she wisely considered these compositions a safety valve through which the exuberance of the girls' feelings could get egress. So watchful was this good mother in providing little enjoyments for her poor children, that she established two festivals, which were to be kept with great state, that of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and the Feast of St. Teresa, conscious that the preparations for, and anticipations of, the simple pleasures to be enjoyed on these Festivals would arrest many a roving fancy from straying to the free and mirthful licence of the grape gathering of sunny Bourdeaux.

It was only after her return from Paris that Mademoiselle de Lamourous drew up a regular system of rules for La Miséricorde; a regular method had of course been observed, but she had too much good sense to enforce stringent rules, till the experience of twelve years' government enabled her to do so without any apprehension of failure, and she accordingly arranged the regulations of the house for the guidance of future Superiors.

Her flock were composed of various grades and degrees of cultivation—some were of high descent, having the prefix of *de* to their names, some carefully trained in showy accomplishments; whilst others were taken from the degraded refuse of the city, and the equally ignorant peasantry. Such an admixture of classes required much care in their arrangement, as mutual association would do more harm than the closest surveillance of the directresses could counteract. To obviate this difficulty therefore, Mademoiselle de Lamourous divided her penitents into families six in number, and containing from nine to twelve members, under charge of a directress, who served as elder sister or mother. Each family had a separate garden, work-room, dormitory, and refectory; and was known as *La Famille de St. Joseph, de St. Thérèse, des Anges, &c.*—as the case might be; and in order to break off all old recollections, each new comer was obliged to assume a new name. One was *Théologale*, because the other penitents admitted her by acclamation, at a time when it was doubtful whether they could find bread for another day, *la bonne Mère* said they had exercised the three *theological* virtues of faith, hope, and charity.

They rose very early and sang a hymn of praise whilst dressing, and breakfasted on brown rye bread—there were only three great festivals in the year on which they were allowed white; then came their devotions in the chapel, after which they labored at the work on which their livelihood depended. At twelve, dinner of soup and bread; work and prayer again in the chapel; an early supper on cheese, bread, apples or other garden produce; and then bed. Such was the routine of their simple and regular lives. So potent did Mademoiselle de Lamourous consider labor, and so essential a quality for true conversion, that she refused the offer of an endowment, which would have secured daily food to the inmates, saying that a life of labor was one great means of conversion, and it would lose reality unless they felt the necessity of working for their living. She impressed upon them that their fare, dress, and habits were to be really penitential; and yet the lively sweetness she kept up, and the cheerful songs of praise that varied their toils, rendered it a happy and attractive home.

She entertained a great horror of greediness or love of dainties: the following little incident will show how far she went to put down all predilection for what she considered a grievous error.

There was a peach tree covered with fruit one summer; until an unlucky night when some inmates were forced to sit up to finish a piece of work, and in the morning it was found to have been stripped. She summoned the watchers of the previous evening and said—"I thought I had succeeded in establishing good order and subordination in this house, and I grieve to find myself mistaken. Disobedience reigns here still, and my strict orders are slighted. Some daughters of Eve amongst you have dared to eat of the forbidden fruit, and, like Eve, have sinned through disobedience and gluttony. I will not know who are the aggressors, in order that I may not have to punish such humiliating faults, but you shall all know that my commands are not to be infringed with impunity. The tree whose fruit tempted you, is accursed, and from this moment shall produce nothing!"

She caused boiling water to be brought, and herself watered the tree with it before their eyes till it died, and the withered remains served for a long time as a spectacle of warning and terror; but when she saw that it had produced the desired impression, she had it cut down and removed.

Discernment of character fitted *la bonne mère* in a peculiar manner for the high position to which God had called her; this she evinced on all occasions, but particularly on the reception of new penitents. Some she would tenderly embrace, and soothe like angels rejoicing over the returning sheep; some she would meet with rebukes and assurances that they were great sinners, in much need of penitence; but she scarcely ever erred in judgment as to the treatment which would best bind them to her. One day a penitent told her she was weary of the place and was going away.

'You are tired, daughter? I may well pardon you, for so am I.'

'You weary of the place, *bonne mère*?'

'Are you surprised? Do you think it pleasanter to me to live here than to you? the only difference is that you are weary of yourself alone, I am wearied for all of you! But what would you have? it is God's will. Take my hand, we will talk of it no more!'

She shook hands with the penitent, who thought no more of going. Another likewise, under a fit of weariness, bent on going home, was brought to her during an illness, seeing her very determined, *la bonne mère* asked where her home lay.

‘ At Preygnac !’

‘ Preygnac ! then we are neighbours ! I am of Barsac ; and she launched forth in praises of her birthplace, declaring she could not bear to part with one that came from it. Seeing however, that this had no effect, she added, ‘ Since you have come from Preygnac no doubt you can make *cruchade* ?’ the woman said yea. ‘ Oh how glad I am !’ cried Mademoiselle de Lamourous, ‘ make some for me I beg of you, I know you will not refuse a poor sick woman ? These Bourdeaux people don’t understand it.’ The woman was flattered, cooked the *cruchade* with all her heart, and was so thanked and praised, that in her sense of usefulness she lost all weariness and remained quite content at *La Miséricorde*. Thus, by sweet and innocent wiles did this noble and devoted woman win the froward and refractory to the love and practice of virtue.

La bonne mère became now very infirm from rheumatism and for the last sixteen years of her life was almost totally confined to her room, gradually losing the use of her limbs and suffering acutely from a complication of disorders. During the last few months of her life she was covered with sores and ulcers so that she could not be lifted without the greatest pain, all of which she endured with a holy joy. Her faculties were perfect as ever, and her interest in all around undiminished ; the care with which she was tended, was so much of heart homage, that she often expressed the unselfish fear that it was more from personal love, than that general charity which proceeds from the love of God that stimulated their attention.

Her end was now, however, approaching, and on the 4th of September, 1836, the last rites of her Church were administered to her ; and on the 13th of the same month, conscious that she was soon about to receive the last summons, she called the directresses to her, and after exhorting them to a faithful compliance with the duties committed to their charge, she enjoined them above all to have complete confidence in the Holy Virgin, to consult her in all difficulties, and to take her as their mother ; she then made them promise implicit obedience to her successor.

She lived, however, till the next day, and on the 14th of September resigned her pure spirit into the hands of her Maker, having to the last strengthened herself by those various “acts of devotion” which her Church provides for the union of the soul with the Creator ; thus she departed, in the eighty-second year of her heavenly life.

La bonne mère had earnestly desired to be simply buried, and her nephew, the curate of Le Pian, did all he could to comply with her wishes; but the clergy of Bourdeaux declared that it would displease the whole City if they were prevented from paying her remains due honor. The only concession made therefore in accordance with her desire, was, that she should not be removed from her own home; and there she lay with her face uncovered, numbers of persons coming, not alone to give a last look at her serene and celestial features, but even to touch her sacred remains with various articles, which thenceforward were considered relics.

Permission had been given by the local magistrates for her to be buried in her own church, but the people would not be satisfied till her remains, in her ordinary dress, had been carried round the town upon a bier supported by the directresses, assisted by the sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, preceded by the municipal guard on horseback, and followed by two of the magistrates, and by deputations from the various clerical and charitable establishments. This procession over, the coffin was placed in the chapel, and the requiem mass chaunted over it. After which it was placed in the vault by the loving hands of the directresses.

The spot is marked by a tablet of white marble thus inscribed :—



MARIE THERESE CHARLOTTE DE LAMOUROUS,
FIRST SUPERIOR AND FOUNDRRESS OF THE HOUSE
OF LA MISERICORDE AT BOURDEAUX,
BORN ON THE 1ST OF NOVEMBER, 1754,
DIED THE 14TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1836.

Well may her loving daughters fondly keep a wreath of roses hung over her portrait.

The present Superior is the niece of Mademoiselle de Lamourous, who seems to have inherited many of her aunt's peculiar gifts. An English lady who visited it in 1854, describes the whole as nearly in the same condition as it was left by *la bonne mère*; with the valuable difference of a vast accession to the number of the inmates, who are now so numerous that fifty are obliged to be lodged in a country house.

The cigar work having been taken from them since 1832, they support themselves by washing, needlework, and making artificial flowers for the adornment of altars.

In 1852 there were 440 penitents, who are never left together without a directress or a *surveillante*, and their history is known to the Superior and confessor alone. They are free to come or go ; some have gone to service, others have returned to their families, some have married, but the greater number cling for life to La Miséricorde, and one has spent fifty years there. The mixture of cheerfulness and tender love, with strict toil and severe penance, seems to have been unusually effective in accomplishing that most difficult task which has become a problem to so many minds.

Thus concludes the history of a Christian heroine, and we have been tempted by the attractiveness of this little volume far beyond the limits we prescribed to ourselves in our resumé. We have placed before our readers a portion of the letters, and all the spirit of the translation before us. Truly! we are come upon good times ; when gifted minds can understand, and able pens portray the charms of virtue, irrespective of class, country, or creed. Nor is this an isolated case ; with what delight have we not pored over those charming volumes, the Legends of the Madonna, from the gifted and womanly pen of Mrs Jameson, and though we may, and do differ on some trifling points still, her simple little work on the Sister of Charity at Home and Abroad was read by us with deep interest. Nor can we be unmindful of a more recent pleasure experienced in the perusal of the letter from an English Protestant lady which appeared in the April Number of the IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, where the simple record of facts is given with such graceful eloquence (for truth is ever eloquent) that we discover new traits of virtue even in those whose claims to our veneration were the household word of our childhood. With what truth therefore may we not exclaim, we have come upon good times !

ART VII.—ROBERT CANE—THE CELTIC UNION.

1. *The Williamite and Jacobite Wars in Ireland.* By Robert Cane, M.D. Dublin : W. M. Hennessy.
2. *The Celt, Edited by a Committee of the Celtic Union.* Dublin : John O'Daly.

The Bard of Erin has sung :—

“ 'Twas ever thus from childhood's hour,
I've seen my fondest hopes decay,
I never loved a tree or flower,
But 'twas the first to fade away ;
I never reared a dear gazelle,
To glad me with its soft black eye,
But when it came to know me well,
And love me, it was sure to die !”

We can imagine the fair form of Hibernia stooping pensively over the graves of her children, and giving utterance to a similar moan of monody. Her fondest, most hopeful, and best beloved sons have been too often the first to die ere they had reached the noon of their day. Many of them have rarely caught more than a glimpse of their destiny, and died before they reached it. When Sir Cahir O'Dogherty rose, at the head of his clansmen to resist the wholesale confiscation of Ulster, an English bullet struck him down in the midst of his successes, and at the early age of three-and-twenty. The powerful career of “Silken Thomas,” (Lord Fitz-Gerald) was likewise brought to a close at the age of twenty-three. Intense anxiety for the cause struck Talbot Duke of Tyr Connell dead at the siege of Limerick in 1691. That formidable opponent of English rules, Sir Phelim O'Neil, was but thirty-six when he perished. St. Laurence O'Toole, Malachy, O'More, Sarsfield, and though he were but a Celt in heart—St. Ruth—all expired at the moment when Ireland's need was the sorest. It was also thus with Owen Roe O'Neill, who fell dead in Cloughouter Castle, by the foeman's poison ; but leaving a name behind which will live for ever in the hearts of the Irish people. Long have they sang that mournful *keen* for “Kingly Owen Rua” which bursts in its eighth verse into the truly eloquent lines,

Mo m'le léun ! zup téarṡad an cámla éruaib,
cúirṡead an zall i rṡéin, 'ra fáolcuin réanta a nṡuaif;
a “m-beanna an b'aoṡaib,” zo r'naonṡad an zleo, zanduaif,
a' r é cneac na nṡaodaib an t'éuz rin Eoṡaib Ruaib !

And which Erionnach thus translates :

My burning, bitter dolours that our hero young has died,
The Saxon hordes he shatter'd all, subdued their champions' pride—
In "barna bael"* did ~~we~~ e'er fail to lay the spoiler low?
Our country's doom, dear Erin's tomb, was the death of Owen Rua!

Temple Emmet, the boy orator, Lord Maguire, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Wolfe Tone, and Robert Emmet would have dignified and ornamented the land of their birth had they lived. Molyneux, Goldsmith, Sterne, Dermody, Lucas, Furlong, Stannard Barrett, Charles Wolfe, Maturin, Clarence Mangan, Bishop Doyle, Edward Walsh, Thomas Kennedy, William Maginn, Lalor Sheil, Thomas Davis, Thomas Mc'Nevin, W. Elliott Hudson, John Banim, Bishop Maginn, Father Mathew, Maurice O'Connell, Maurice Leyne, John Hogan, John O'Connell,—have all mouldered into the clay of the land they loved well ere they had achieved one fourth of the work which their energy, zeal and power could have so easily mastered. With such examples before him of the premature extinguishment of genius and worth, it is no wonder that Gerald Griffin who died at 36, should have penned in his youth, these touching lines.

In the time of my boyhood, I had a strange feeling
That I was to die ere the noon of my day—
Not quietly into the silent grave stealing
But torn, like the blasted oak, sudden away.

That even in the hour when enjoyment was keenest,
My lamp should quench suddenly hissing in gloom:
That even when mine honors were freshest and greenest,
A blight should rush over and scatter their bloom.

Good and gifted men come, "like angels' visits, few and far between;" and God knows Hibernia cannot afford to lose them. Yet poor Ireland seems somehow especially fated to see her best and noblest sons wither in their vigor, and maturity. And now when we could ill afford to lose him, Robert Cane, of Kilkenny, has been struck down in the prime of his manhood, in the zenith of his intellectual powers, his professional fame, and his domestic joy—in the midst of his generous labours and researches, his national hopes and projects, and his Samaritan career of wide dispensing charity! "Hope is over," wrote Mr. Kenealy on August 13, "the whole city of Kilkenny resounds with grief, and the prayers and sobs of the people might reach to his very bedside." "For some time past," observes Mr. A. M. Sullivan "he was con-

* The proper orthography is "bearná baogail," or gap of danger.

scious of the existence of the disease which, verifying his own never-failing professional prescience, has proved fatal at the last. About three weeks ago it made its first strong assault, which, however, was repulsed, as even he, himself, for a moment imagined successful. For a few days he was able to take his accustomed place, surrounded by the loved and loving ones of his household, at the head of the hospitable board, where oft he won the heart of friend and guest—where even then *one* friend and guest—the last thus honored—shared the happiness that shone around—the friend who now, with aching heart and blinding tears, sits down to trace these lines !” On Friday August 13, he sank hopelessly. Dr. Corrigan was promptly in attendance on his suffering friend ; but the deadly disease could not be arrested. On Sunday he made an artificial rally, and all was exultation in Kilkenny ; but on Monday the cold sweat of death obliterated every hope, and Robert Cane, a few hours later, was no more. During this terrible interval of suspense, the *Kilkenny Journal* said :—

“ With bursting heart we sit down to write that the last hope is gone, and the days of a good man are numbered. The death of Dr. Cane may be expected any hour. The universal public have hoped against hope, but all in vain.”

The *Nation*, in recording his death, feelingly observed :—

“ The first grass has scarcely rooted on the grave where but a few short months ago we mourned a glorious genius lost to Ireland and the world, when stunned and heart-stricken, in drear bewilderment and grief of soul, we stand beside the bier where, reft from us in the hour when our need was the sorest, lies the trusted and the gifted—the hope and the pride of a gallant cause. Dr. Cane of Kilkenny is no more !

“ The last hope on earth is over : the last rite has been read ; the requiem has been sung ; yet still the heart rejects this sudden reality of disaster ; we listen for one magic tone of that deep, sonorous voice ; we strain the eye for one sight of the kingliest form that ever trod the isle. But, oh ! the chill, the grief, of waking truth. That voice is hushed for ever ; that noble form is cold as clay. The proud, high dignity which throned upon that brow, threw a radiance o’er each feature ; the flashing glance, the giant energy, the glorious intellect, the noble heart—all, all is lost to us. Heaven, mysterious and inscrutable, has taken to itself a soul so pure, and left us to weep another chief struck down on the threshold of a grand career.”

The conservative papers, consigning political feuds to the grave with him, have also, with few exceptions, passed a generous eulogium upon his manly character, and high mental attainments; and all shades of the now unhappily divided liberal party have likewise, through their organs, co-operated to do full honour to his name and memory. The special correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal* writes, "You and I may truly say all Irishmen will regret to learn, that the patriotic, high-minded, and learned Doctor Cane, of this city, breathed his last about five o'clock this morning. He has left, I grieve to state, a family but indefinitely provided for. — The principal traders and shopkeepers of all denominations suspended business entirely during the day, as a token of their sorrow and the respect they held him in. He was attended in his last moments by Rev. Mr. Walsh and also by Rev. Mr. Kavanagh. Ireland has lost a true-hearted and patriotic son, society a social and polished ornament, and medical science a devoted follower."

The *Telegraph* calls him a good and a great man; and the *Dundalk Democrat* declares that "amongst those we have lost since the greatest man of the last thousand years breathed his last sigh in Genoa, none promised to produce, from the effects of his toil, more substantial good for Ireland than the lamented Dr. Cane."

"Alas for Ireland!" it adds, "one by one her great men are borne to exile or consigned to the narrow house of death. One by one they vanish from amongst us, just as we expect the force of their labours or the influence of their example to work a change in our destiny."

The *Tipperary Free Press* says:—

"With the stature and bearing of an Irish Chieftain of old—with the talent and wisdom of the statesman—with the graceful eloquence of the Tribune—with the ready pen of the *litterateur*, he combined a kindness of disposition and a gentleness of manner that insensibly attached to him those with whom he came in contact. In his native city he was first in every movement calculated to add to its honor—as ready to advance a good cause as to hurl back one that would not bear the test of rectitude, and in Kilkenny—aye, throughout Ireland—his demise will long be felt as a national calamity."

The *Tipperary Advocate* says:—"A pure and guileless spirit has been released from its earthly tabernacle. Robert Cane is no more. It is a sad, strange ordination of Divine Providence that those most worthy of love and confidence are sure to be claimed by the Angel of Death, when we are but just learn-

ing to treasure their virtues and their talents. With a mournful pleasure we strew this frail garland upon the green grave of one in whom we centered many a hope."

It may be said that in commencing with the melancholy death of Dr. Cane, and in indicating the various sources from whence the wail for his premature removal proceeded, we are yoking the car before the horse. We desire, however, that every reader should fully know from the beginning, who it is whose memoir follows. We never gaze with interest upon the portrait of a man unless we know who he is, and all about him; and now that the reader has learned the worth of Robert Cane, he will doubtless eagerly examine the picture of his life.

The family of Cane or Canne appears to have originally been one of those Norman septs who, emigrating to Ireland many centuries ago became more Irish than the Irish themselves. Those of the name who remained in England zealously embraced Anglicanism, and an account of John Canne the Puritan may be found in any biographical dictionary. The name became, in course of time, modernised to Cane, Kane, and Keane. That branch of the Sept (long settled in Waterford) who use the latter orthography, have been ennobled in two quarters by a Peerage and a Baronetage; while in Cork it is worthily represented by the present Catholic Bishop of Cloyne the Right Rev. Dr. Keane. In Lodge's Peerage (revised by Archdall, vol. vii, p. 180.) we find mention made of Hugh Cane, an able and honest representative in the Irish Parliament during the earlier portion of the last century. From this individual, Robert Cane of Kilkenny was, we believe, collaterally descended.

In 1807 the subject of this paper was born in Kilkenny. His mother's name had been Scott, and belonged to a family long settled, and very well known in that city. From the day of Robert Cane's birth until several years subsequently it was his lot to feel the pinching grip of penury. His mother had set her heart upon making him a medical practitioner; and her scanty resources were strained to the uttermost in endeavouring to give Robert the opportunities necessary for studying and attaining the object of their united ambition. In 1820 he was placed as an assistant in the Pharmaceutical establishment of Mr Prim of Kilkenny, uncle to John Augustus Prim Esq., now Editor of the *Kilkenny Moderator*, and Co-Hon. Secretary to the South-East of Ireland Archæological Society. Here he continued to handle the pestle and mortar for some years, when he proceeded to Dublin, and assiduously attended

a course of lectures and anatomical studies, in Cecilia-street and the College of Surgeons. The terrible visitation of Asiatic Cholera now for the first time scourged and ravaged Dublin. Several Physicians shrunk from attending persons suffering from this novel and mysterious plague, but young Cane courted danger, and went the round of all the Cholera Hospitals accumulating valuable experience as he went. Having acquired some reputation by his dauntless bearing, and successful treatment of the decimating disease, Cane proceeded back to Kilkenny in the latter end of the year 1832 almost simultaneously with the advance of the Cholera southward. Immediately on arrival he was appointed over the Cholera Hospital of his native city, where for night and day he continued to devote the most untiring exertions to the sick and dying. From this date young Cane rose like a rocket.

Even thus early in life Cane evinced a political tendency by presiding as chairman at a democratic meeting of Medical Students, and alumni of Trinity College. Their resolutions, which were rather loud, appeared in the journals of the day with the signature of Robert Cane, and for a considerable period the present Sir Robert Kane, President of the Queen's College, Cork, got the credit with some, and the discredit with others, of having occupied the responsible post of chairman at the democratic meeting in Kildare-street.

Although John Banim and Robert Cane were boys together in the same town, (Cane of course his junior) they do not appear to have had any intercourse until a period long subsequent. On Banim's return to Kilkenny in 1835, prematurely crushed and prostrate from the effects of an overtasked brain, during his rapid literary career in London, and smitten by poverty from the necessity of relinquishing every mental effort, Robert Cane organised a brilliant reception in honor of Ireland's great Novelist. He wrote the following very complimentary address, and having engrossed it on satin, presented it to Banim in the name of the citizens of Kilkenny. But Robert Cane did not confine himself to paying empty glittering compliments. He served the poverty-stricken and broken down author substantially by taking an active part in the collection of a local subscription, which nearly reached, in a short time, one hundred sovereigns. These substantial stimulants to the poor author's spirits, and condition, having been placed in a massive silver snuff-box, containing a suitable inscription, the offering was presented to Banim, with Doctor Cane's well timed, and delicate address.

“ TO JOHN BANIM, ESQ.,
AUTHOR OF ‘ THE O’HARA TALES,’ &c.

SIR—Influenced by personal regard, and by that esteem which your talents have won, even in far distant lands, your fellow-citizens hail, with sincere pleasure, your arrival amongst them, though that pleasure is accompanied by the regret that your health is not such as the desires of your countrymen would have it; but they trust that native scenes and air shall tend to your restoration, and that, ere long, a fostering legislature shall extend to you that liberal aid which a good and wise government is ever ready to bestow upon distinguished literary worth.

Your fellow citizens have resolved to offer to you some testimony of that respect which native and well-directed talents ever merit—respect due from every Irishman who recollects that your writings have portrayed his country in the colours of truth—delineated, without concealment or exaggeration, its national character—sketched its peasantry as they really are, placing their virtues in relief, and tracing their misfortunes, and their crimes to the true sources whence both spring—showing this country to the sister kingdom as it really is and begetting there commiseration for its sufferings, and esteem for those social virtues and ennobling qualities, which centuries of wrong and bondage have shrouded, but not entombed.

As citizens of Kilkenny your claims come still more forcibly upon their esteem. Your pen has preserved many of the beautiful localities in and around this city—given new charms to most of its popular legends, and delineated, with truth and accuracy, many of its original characters, blending the charms of truth with the creations of a powerful fancy, and directing all to the noble purpose of elevating the national character, and vindicating a too long-neglected and oppressed land.

The citizens of Kilkenny, therefore, hope that you will accept of the token of your countrymen’s regard, which accompanies this address, and they venture to express their ardent wish that you may live to use it in an advanced and honourable old age, with bodily powers then as vigorous as is that intellect which has won you the proud distinction of fame, conferred an honour on Kilkenny, and an important benefit upon Ireland.

Signed, for their fellow-citizens, by
C. JAMES, Chairman,
R. CANE, M. R. C. S., Secretary.”

It is painful to contemplate the prostrate, and helpless condition of poor Banim, bodily, at this period. Doctor Cane, writing in *The Celt*, on August 1st 1857, observes:—

“As I was sitting in the Kilkenny citizens' club room, I was disturbed by a bustling movement; a heavy step was audible advancing up the stairs; it was John Banim's servant man carrying him from his carriage and bearing him up to the green baize-covered sofa allotted to him in the best corner of the room. Members pulled their chairs aside, the fire was raked up into a better blaze, and men pressed officiously to bid him welcome. He was in the servant's arms, half reclining, half sitting up, his arms round the man's neck so that his fingers were locked upon his shoulders, his legs hung down helplessly; and his emaciated frame told the sad story of paralytic wasting; his long and thin visage was made sadder still by the deep searing of small pock and by well defined traces of anxious and painful thoughts, but his eyes were most expressive, pale blue or gray, but large, prominent, broadly open, starting out of their sockets, they were full of meaning and spoke to you before his lips moved. There was an energy of manner, a fiery gesticulation about him when he warmed with his subject or became excited in narrating some anecdote or reciting some piece of his own poetry, which he did in a most impassioned manner, and so as to impress himself with great power upon his auditory. His voice was deep and solemn, and his emphasis peculiarly impressive. Upon this occasion I heard him recite with deep pathos “Sogarth Aroon,” and in a moment after heard him thunder out these lines written in reply to Wellington's threat, of reconquering Ireland, “*The Brigand, let him come, let him come,*” which he delivered with great power and with an impressive fervour that shook his attenuated frame like so many electric shocks. At its conclusion, when the plaudits of a crowded room answered him, his pale face became fiery red and his eyes actually sparkled.

It was upon that occasion that he narrated two anecdotes of his sojourn in France, which he visited just after the Revolution of 1830.

General Lafayette, then an old man, had waited upon him—the hero who had figured in three revolutions. Banim complimented him on that national guard in which he took such pride, and spoke of it as a grand new thought or suggestion to do away with standing armies and make every citizen a soldier. “Sir,” said Lafayette, “you as an Irishman, may well refer to it with pride. We had the idea from you; the first national guard the world ever saw was the Irish Volunteers.” “Oh,” exclaimed Banim when relating the anecdote to his fellow townsmen, “it was the highest compliment ever paid to me as an Irishman.” Then he told amongst other anecdotes of the three days' revolution, how an old Parisian friend of his had suspended in his parlour the musket he carried on that occasion, and with it a solitary cartridge remaining of the powder he had used at the barricades. “I asked him,” said Banim, “to give me of that powder, thirty-two grains.” “Thirty-two grains,” said the Frenchman, “for what?” “To sow one grain in every county in Ireland,” replied Banim. “My God! I would,” said the Frenchman, “if I thought they would grow!”

Robert Cane had previously been only a member of the Royal College of Surgeons; he now took out his degree as a practising physician and rose rapidly in his profession. The Marquis of Ormonde had from the first, a high opinion of his skill, and Cane became from the year 1836 his Lordship's family physician. Even of the animal man Cane was, at this time, a splendid specimen. The fair girls of Kilkenny were "*to a man*" dying in love with him. He slighted them all however in favour of the accomplished daughter of a deceased military officer who, accompanied by her mother, had come, from a remote county, to reside temporarily, in Kilkenny. The young lady was a Protestant; but in those days the ecclesiastical objection to mixed marriages was not so strongly enforced in Ireland as at present; and the obstacles to their union were soon surmounted. An issue of eight children has been the result of this felicitous alliance. The eldest son, Robert, passed through Trinity College, Dublin, with great *eclat*, and triumphantly underwent, within the last few months, the proverbially searching, and severe examination to which candidates for admission to the Royal Artillery are subjected at Woolwich. He is now with his Regiment in China.

Meanwhile Cane rose with electrical rapidity. His fellow citizens idolized him for his worth, urbanity, and Samaritan kindness to the poor. They respected him for his great talent, his erudition, his uncompromising political integrity, and his entire devotion to the cause of Ireland, its literature, and destiny. In every national movement he was a leading, and a valorous actor. Of every local effort to check injustice he was the animating, and the guiding spirit. To the claims of the oppressed, the houseless the orphan, or the struggling artist who had never known the stimulus of a patron's smile, the purse of Robert Cane was always open. In furtherance of every generous, patriotic, Celtic, or archæological object his pen sped with untiring zeal and power.

A highly cultivated intellect, says the *Tipperary Free Press*, had enabled him to overpass the narrow barrier that too often circumscribes the career of the professional man, and an ardent love of country taught him that a patriotism sincerely maintained seldom failed to win respect even from those most antagonistic to its dictates. So it was with him. Dr Cane was eminently an Irish nationalist—yet amongst the most aristocratic circles of Kilkenny was he found, no less the physician than the friend, esteemed as well for his ability in the one capacity as for his courtesy in the other.

Of O'Connell and his sagacious line of policy Doctor Cane was long a supporter. In 1840 a grand Banquet in honour of the Liberator and Repeal was organised in Kilkenny, mainly through Dr. Cane's exertions. He acted as steward on the occasion and delivered in the course of the evening a speech so redolent of nationality, good sense, and honesty that Kilkenny to this day remembers it with delight.

It is a fact tolerably significant of the estimation in which Dr. Cane's magisterial services were generally held, that whilst numbers of Catholic and Protestant gentlemen from Lord Ffrench to Smith O'Brien were visited with a *supersedeas* for cooperating with O'Connell in the Repeal struggle, Robert Cane was suffered to continue his judicial labours. He often left Kilkenny and his valuable professional practice at great personal sacrifice to thunder forth his vigorous volume of eloquence, and masculine sense on the platform of a monster meeting, or at the National council board on Burgh quay. In 1844 the citizens of Kilkenny marked their high appreciation of Dr. Cane's admirable qualities of head and heart by bestowing upon him the highest dignity which it was in their power to give. Dr. Cane was elected mayor of the "faire and antient cittie of Kilkenny;" and with the lofty generosity for which he has always been distinguished, he applied every farthing of his official salary, and emoluments to purposes of local public utility.

"When O'Connell, writes Mr. Kencaly, was released from prison in 1844, and when the corporations of Ireland tendered their congratulations and respectful homage to the illustrious Liberator, Robert Cane was chosen as the head of the deputation from Kilkenny; and those who saw his noble, gallant form that day, robed in the green uniform of the '82 Club, remember still the proud and princely bearing, the giant grace, the manly beauty, and sweet smile of the representative of Kilkenny. But that kingly form is now cold as the clod of the valley—that glowing heart whose every pulse beat for Ireland, is still for ever."

Mr. Cartan of the *Dundalk Democrat* observes: "The first and the only time we saw him was at the great Levee in the Rotundo, in May, 1845, when Ireland sent its trusted representatives to pay their homage to O'Connell and his fellow-martyrs, who had suffered incarcerations at the hands of a packed jury and from English injustice. He appeared there as Mayor of Kil-

kenny, decorated in his robes; and no one present wore a more dignified or commanding appearance. From that day till the week before his death he laboured zealously for Ireland."

From the earliest days of Dr. Cane's manhood his name was constantly and eagerly sought to dignify, and inspire local movements; and with them, when honestly based, he cordially cooperated. His name wielded a singular influence, and strange liberties were sometimes taken with it. We cull the following episode from the Report of the Proceedings of the Repeal Association on Monday, September 21st, 1846, a few weeks subsequent to the secession from its ranks of Messrs. O'Brien, Meagher, Mitchel, O'Gorman, Doheny, Lalor, Dillon, and O'Donoghue.

Mr. John O'Connell said that Mr. Ray had received a letter from Dr. Cane, of Kilkenny, which he would read out of respect to the writer.

" 8 William-street, Kilkenny,
Sept. 19, 1846.

"DEAR SIR—Feeling that I Cannot subscribe to the proceedings now Going forward in Conciliation Hall for Many reasons, of which a time will arrive for explanations (The present being a Period when men cannot enter it, or Trust themselves to deliver a cool opinion,) I will thank you to have my name Erased from its books.

" I have the honour to be your obedient servant.

" R. CANE, M. D. (ex-mayor,) Kilkenny.

" T. M. Ray, Esq., Secretary Repeal Association."

He was very sorry that that excellent gentleman called on the Association to erase his name from their books. It was unnecessary for him to praise Dr. Cane, of Kilkenny. His character was well-known, for his great abilities, varied attainments, and ardent patriotism, had made his name deservedly popular with the people of Ireland. Unfortunately Dr. Cane, thought proper to adopt the principles of the Young Ireland party, and now wished his name to be erased from the books of the Association. They were sincerely sorry to lose the assistance and co-operation of such an excellent man; but the cause of Ireland must be saved, no matter what the sacrifice; therefore it was with sincere regret—at the same time without the slightest hesitation—that he said they must accept Dr. Cane's resignation hoping that better times would come, when he would be enabled coolly to consider this matter, and come to the same conclusion that so many of their revered prelates, and so large a portion of their respected clergy, as well as the people at large, had come to—namely, that the moral force principle, if it were not the only safe one, ought to be adopted for its beauty and holiness. (Loud

cheers.) He therefore moved that Dr. Cane's name be erased from the books of the Association.

Captain Broderick seconded the motion with much regret.

At the meeting in Conciliation Hall on the Monday following it appeared that the letter purporting to be from Dr. Cane was a forgery! John O'Connell, in the course of his speech observed.

As to the forgery, I must say this—I am acquainted with Doctor Cane's handwriting, and I was under the impression when I read the letter that it was genuine. (Hear hear.) Since then he has written to me on the subject, and on comparing the two documents together I perceived the forgery; but without the special comparison it would be almost impossible to detect it. (Cries of hear, hear.) Doctor Cane complains naturally enough that I should have taken a letter couched in bad English to be a production of his, knowing, as I do, his high intellectual attainments. Of course the bad English of the letter did confound me to a certain extent; but as I thought I could not mistake the evidence of my own eyes as to the handwriting, I therefore considered that the letter was genuine. It is not genuine. He has written a letter to us since, exposing his views on the recent discussion in this Hall—expressing his dissent from a great portion of our proceedings, and calling on us to get the Young Ireland party back again. With all due respect for him, I cannot consent to read his letter here. We can't consent to re-open in this Association (I give him the same answer that I have given to others) a discussion that has been closed for ever—a discussion on which the Irish people have pronounced—the discussion of whether moral force or physical force is the best means to achieve the independence of Ireland,

Doctor Cane's letter was accordingly not read at the Meeting of the Association. Its suppression was an unwise proceeding; and many were the murmurs of disapprobation which this illadvised act drew forth. It may not be uninteresting now to print the entire correspondence which passed between Dr. Cane and Mr. T. M. Ray, the Secretary, at that period.

*Loyal National Repeal Association,
Corn Exchange Rooms,
Dublin, 22nd September, 1846.*

DEAR SIR—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th, requesting to have your name erased from the books of the Association, and to state that your request has been complied with.

I remain, dear sir,

Your faithful servant,

Robert Cane, Esq., M.D.,
(Ex Mayor,)
8, William-street, Kilkenny.

T. M. RAY, Sec.

Kilkenny, Tuesday Sept. 22nd 1846.

DEAR SIR—I perceive by the *Evening Mail* of last night that Mr. J. O'Connell had alluded in the Association to a letter purporting to be from me, and to have my signature.

That letter is a forgery, as I did not write any such to the member for Kilkenny or to the Association. May I request that you will permit me to see the letter, that I may be enabled to trace it. If you can, send it to me with its envelope or superscription—I may be able to discover the writer.

I would be glad to have it by return of post, as I mean to write in time for Monday's meeting, when it shall be returned to you.

Pray inform me has the committee, or the Association, acted upon it and removed my name.

Yours truly,

To T. M. Ray, Esq., &c.

ROBERT CANE.

*Loyal National Repeal Association,
Corn Exchange Rooms, Dublin,
23rd Sept., 1846.*

MY DEAR SIR—I acknowledge, with sincere satisfaction, your favor of yesterday, acquainting us that the letter read at the Association on Monday last, requiring your name to be erased from the books, is a forgery. I assure you we received with very deep regret that notification, which we are now delighted to find a malicious fabrication.

I enclose the letter as you desire, in the hope that you may be able to trace the author. The envelope has been thrown away.

I remain, my dear sir,

Most faithfully your sincere servant,

Robert Cane, Esq., M.D., Kilkenny.

T. M. RAY.

Kilkenny, September 26th, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, the first announcing to me that my name had been erased from the books of the Association, the second enclosing me the forged letter, upon which, as if genuine, the Association had acted in so erasing my name.

I thank you for the courtesy of both communications; but cannot avoid expressing my surprise that the Association, where some of my letters might have been found, did without the trouble of inquiry or examination, consider as mine, and act upon as such, a note whose illiterate origin might have been traced in the facts that while it occupies but ten lines of note paper, it yet contains three grammatical errors, and no fewer than twelve misplaced capitals. Indeed, the note is such a one as no professional man could have written; and it is consoling to find that the individual who maliciously signed my name, and dared to jest with the solemn business of that Association, of which he has been himself a member, and towards which body his act has been a gross outrage, is a man whose education cannot be degraded by the cowardice of his concealment, the daring of his forgery, or the meanness of his lying.

I had intended to have been present at the Association early in October. I wished to press upon its consideration some matters

which I consider of vital consequence to the cause of national independence ; but the occurrence of last Monday makes it imperative on me to hasten my purpose, and—as I am scarcely sure of my position whether on or off the books—to do it by letter.

The present aspect of Repeal is such as to fill with the saddest presages the hearts of many of its warmest advocates. The Repeal ranks filled with dissensions—dissensions arousing bitter passions between Repealer and Repealer—dissensions thinning the Association, reducing the rent, separating the leaders, and sowing doubt, distrust, and apathy amongst the people—dissensions which threaten to sever the noblest confederacy that ever struggled for liberty.

When I look at this distracting state of the public mind, and read the speeches of gentlemen in various localities, who speak as if there was no clashing of public opinion—as if the dissentients were but some dozen of young barristers, whose sentiments met with no responsive sympathy in the provinces—when I see division hushed up, suppressed, or so varnished over as to be nearly hidden, I ask myself, can it be that these men are in ignorance of the true state of the country? Are they so blind as not to see? Can they believe it is an idle murmur that will die away, and be replaced by the restoration of public confidence? If they do, it becomes the duty of every honest man who does see the danger to warn them of it.

It happens unfortunately that a vast number of those who are dissatisfied will not openly avow their dissatisfaction, though they are acting upon it, and quietly retiring from agitating the cause of the country. Their succession will not be known until the next year's muster-call, when their names and money will both be missing. Those men whisper their dissatisfaction and their doubts to one another, and resolve upon retirement. They were the silent and steady labourers of Repeal—ever ready for the work ; but neither speech-makers, nor lovers of wordy contentions, they shrink from the collision which the avowal of their opinions might create. Some of them are deterred by high influences—such as can trammel the expression, but not the freedom of thought. Amongst the gentry and the professions these dissentients constitute a large and an important class. They embrace, too, a large proportion of the bone and sinew of the land—the industrial classes, the productive trades—who, as a mass, warmly deplore the divisions which have taken place in Conciliation Hall. They are a noble and a high-minded race ; their calling places them beyond the corruptions of the state ; their sufferings have made them Repealers ; their intelligence and growing education have made them of immense consequence to the Irish League ; and the struggle for liberty cannot do without them. They were the marshalled men of the monster meetings—the object upon which the people looked with pride. They paid their subscriptions cheerfully—subscribed for their scarfs, their bands, and their banners from meagre means, and surrendered many a day's work to follow the idolised chieftain and the cause of their hearts. They had nothing to win by agitation unless it succeeded ; and even then but better pay for hard toil. Patronage and place entered not into their calculations ; and the sorrows and distrust which has now seized upon them are the better growth of disappointed hopes. To rally them now, as then, would be a work of giant labour.

These things may be unpleasant to be heard, and many who believe their truth may timidly question the wisdom of avowing our weakness, forgetting that the avowal may remedy the ill. Perchance their very truth may be questioned, and the statements I make considered as a needless raven-croak. If so, my answer is—I speak the truth, as I know it; I speak it fearlessly, because it is the truth; and I speak it energetically, as I would arouse men whose duty it is to avert the evil! And I am confident that the results of a few months shall prove I am right, when, Cassandra like, my prophecy may be believed with its fulfilment—"If a re-union of parties be not speedily achieved and confidence restored to the people, the present agitation for Repeal will cease."

This is a bold declaration, only to be smiled at, if it be false and groundless; but if it be true, it calls for the serious consideration of Irishmen everywhere, who, if they neglect their duty of truth to the country, to the Association, and to the Liberator, may live to lament that their political characters were buried in the ruins of the noble temple whose pillars they had torn away.

Men should ponder well over a responsibility like this; and the responsibility is great indeed upon those, if any there be, who would veil from O'Connell the disunion which is spreading through the ranks of the followers who love him.

A feature most melancholy in this lamentable division is, that it does not seem to have arisen upon any necessary movement—it has not sprung up, as required by the aspect of the times or the temper of the people, but brought out at a period of perfect quietude as the assertion of a speculative doctrine, to which every Repealer in the land was ready to subscribe, in the language and manner of the bishop and clergy of Derry. Their resolutions, thank God, have been recognised and entered at the Association; and in them can be found the materials for a re-union of honest men! They pledge themselves to a purely moral force agitation for Repeal, but they do not tie up men's opinions as to all contingencies, all times, and all people.

In the support, too, of these new rules, the committee of the Association have alarmed the public by an assertion of the power of removing members at its pleasure, without consulting the body at large, and of suppressing the correspondence of those men, who, differing from the rules, had written their dissent, thus keeping the opinions of such dissentients from the eyes of their fellow members. And this apparent annihilation of all opposing argument has been further carried out by the omission of such correspondence in all those papers circulated by the committee; while the paper which does publish them has been sedulously excluded from the national reading rooms. This may have been considered wise; but it is at variance with true liberty and freedom of discussion, and utterly subversive of what should be the characteristics of a democratic confederacy like the Repeal Association. The complainings upon this subject are loud and universal: with these are linked the language of impassioned sorrow for what is considered ingratitude to O'Brien, and injustice to THE NATION—a man and a paper whose truth and services the people warmly appreciate.

I tell these things as they are—I do not exaggerate them—and I tell them, because I fear that many, whose duty it would be to tell them to the Liberator and to the Association, are timidly, if not purposely silent. I tell them to awake the Association to a full sense of its danger. I tell them, because my heart is still pulsating for Ireland and Repeal; and I act with the warm hope that even I may be instrumental in reconciling the jarring elements of our party. If I be not so instrumental, I shall yet have the proud consciousness that “I did my duty.”

Having made this statement, I call upon the Association, of which I have been an early, a persistent, and an active member, to devise the means whereby the confidence of the public shall be restored, and the enthusiasm of the people re-animated. And the means I would suggest are, that a committee be formed under the guidance of the Liberator, and that this committee shall have for a duty the consideration of all those sources of discontent and division, and the suggesting of the means whereby, without compromise anywhere, and without disgrace or dishonor, or legal difficulty, the banished shall be recalled, the seceders restored, and unanimity perfectly re-established amongst the band of popular leaders who have hitherto stood around the chieftain O’Connell.

This committee will have an onerous duty; but if they love Ireland it will be performed cheerfully, earnestly, and successfully: and their names shall be written in the hearts of their countrymen as true lovers of peace, and benefactors of their kind.

Were I present, and at liberty so to do, I would move such a resolution; as I am not, is there one man desirous of his country’s welfare who will urge it forward? If there be, may God bless and speed his efforts, shall be the concluding words of one who in his prayers has never forgotten Ireland; and who in despite of all that has occurred to damp enthusiasm and chill the fervour of hope, yet trusts on—relying upon Heaven, and the ultimate predominance of right, that Ireland and Repeal shall triumph.

I remain, dear sir, yours truly,

ROBERT CANE.

T. M. Ray, Esq., &c., &c.’

John O’Connell, although possessing many of the essential qualities of a Tribune was deficient in political foresight. On September 29, 1846. we find him declaring—that the recent discussions and divisions between Old and Young Ireland had closed for ever, and that Dr. Cane’s letter would, if read, tend to re-open them. We need not remind the reader how widely John O’Connell was mistaken in his calculations. Robert Cane, on the other hand, evidenced considerable prophetic power in this letter. The retirement of Smith O’Brien from the ranks of the Association had now only a few weeks taken place; and Doctor Cane clearly saw the disastrous results with which that

secession was fraught. His admirable letter, it will be seen, does not re-open the discussion on Physical Force; but simply deals with the practicability, and just necessity of a reconciliation. It is deeply to be regretted that the well-timed letter of Robert Cane was not read, and its advice adopted by the Repeal Association: and we are quite sure that if John O'Connell were now living, he would be the first to avow, with his characteristic manliness and frankness, the mistake into which he was betrayed by suppressing it.

Although Dr. Cane felt grievously pained and hurt, that his important and generously aimed letter should have been thrown aside, unread, by the Repeal Association; and albeit that his political views were much more in unison with those of Smith O'Brien, than of John O'Connell, he did not then relinquish his connection with that body, but remained linked to it in the hope that he might yet be instrumental in effecting a reunion of all classes of Repealers for the regeneration of their common country.

The *Nation* of October 3rd, 1846. in a leading article said: "There are men on whom verbal praise can confer no distinction—their character, and estimation among their people being written not in words, but in acts.—Dr. Cane is such a man. Through the gifted and cultivated South we know no man of higher intellectual, political, professional, or personal character."

It is easy to nod assent, or to utter ephemeral expressions of approval; but when substantial testimonials which touch the pocket—that test of sincerity—are lavishly thrown at a man's feet there must be some sterling worth in him. The journals of the day record that in September, 1846, a committee was appointed by the people of Kilkenny to conduct the getting up of a suitable Testimonial and address to Dr. Cane. Having assembled at the Tholsel at 2 o'clock, they proceeded from thence to his residence at William-street. That political or sectarian differences is no bar to the cordial union of Irishmen when met to do honor to a man of worth and honesty, was felicitously evidenced by the circumstance that the Protestant mayor and High Sheriff led the van of the deputation. Amongst those who swelled it were the Rev. Messrs. O'Flynn and Mulligan, Aldermen Potter, Banim, Town councillors Kelly, Kinchela, J. Potter, Burke, Dr. Lalor, Messrs. Alkenhead, Cullen, Lubey, Hart, Gaffney, Flynn, Menton, Morrison, Coffey, Dea, and others. "The Deputation," observes a journal of the day,

" Was received by Dr. Cane with the cordial grasp of friendship and genuine Irish hospitality, and having been ushered in, the Mayor, on behalf of the committee and of his fellow-citizens at large, proceeded to present the address :—

" **DEAR AND ESTEEMED SIR**—Be assured there is more of fervour than of formality in our visit to present a fellow-citizen, distinguished for private worth and public integrity, with a complimentary address, as a suitable accompaniment to a more substantial testimonial of public favor.

" Your highest title not only to our respect, but to that of your fellow-citizens at large, without regard to creed or to class, is that you are the architect of your own fame and fortune. By the application of superior talents to generous purpose, you have won for yourself the estimation of men of all parties and all classes, whose patriotism, like your own, is comprehensive, and, therefore, repudiates exact concurrence of opinion, political or religious, as the test of personal friendship or of personal respect.

" Your admirable discharge of the duties of chief magistrate, in which unaffected dignity of manner and high judicial qualities were happily combined ; and stern impartiality on the side of justice, and in the punishment of crime, relived by generous consideration for the victim of misfortune, have well and worthily established your title to the high office which received honor from your administration of its duties.

" Your marked attention to the improvements of the city, and generous appropriation of the salary and emoluments of your mayoralty to purposes of public usefulness, we regard as an enlargement of that kindliness of disposition, and goodness of heart, which have ever characterised your conduct as a private citizen.

" The intrinsic value of the accompanying gift is of slight consideration when contrasted with the circumstances which grace its bestowment. It is, sir, a gift redeemed from partisanship, inasmuch as it is the gift of men of all shades of political and religious opinion—of men who can elevate themselves above the atmosphere of prejudice and party, in admiration of those noble qualities of head and heart, which are purified from the base alloy of an interested opinion or excited feeling.

" Receive, then sir, this gift, or rather testimonial, as a symbol of that friendship which exalts itself in honoring you.

" May you live long to enjoy the luxury of a friendship so general, and so pure in motive ; and may your children's children be stimulated to imitate your virtues and rival your fame, by regarding the testimonial now presented to you as a symbol of that public esteem of which any man might justly be proud.

" Signed on behalf of the committee,

" **JOSEPH HACKETT, Mayor.**"

Doctor Cane's reply was as follows :—

" **MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN**—The poverty of the English language is proverbial ; but now I feel it, when I would convey to you how I appreciate, how I value, the distinguished honor and magnificent present you and my other fellow-citizens and friends have this day conferred upon me.

"Truly does your address say it is 'A SYMBOL OF PUBLIC ESTEEM OF WHICH ANY MAN MIGHT JUSTLY BE PROUD'—and I am proud of it to an extent that shall stimulate me, as far as in me lies, to preserve an esteem which is, I fear, beyond my deserts; yet, but equal to my wishes, and valued by me as one of earth's proudest gifts.

"And permit me to tell you that when I consider my own political position, so calculated to have left me within the limits of a party, I rejoice tenfold in this honor, because it tells me I have been successful in my efforts to act as a magistrate with that impartiality which was due to the dignity of the office you raised me to, and in the discharge of whose duties, truth and law only should be recognized—party, sect, and prejudice, ever forgotten.

"I experience such honest pride in this evidence of your approval, that were this day to close my career amongst you, I should feel that much, if not all, my hopes had dared to look at, what my heart had yearned after, was achieved. I had won upwards to the proudest place within this ancient city; I had entered upon the high office with an earnest aspiration to the Ruler of Men that He might enable me not to discredit it, or to be seduced by prejudice, pride, or interest, from the upright deportment due to it. I thank God I retired from it with the honest convictions of an approving conscience in my breast, and now I have the proud evidence, dearer to me than life itself, that I won your approval.

"The warmth of your eloquent address overpowers me, and your beautiful present has made me over-rich. Heretofore I had nothing of this earth's goods which I valued beyond their passing use, or would sorrow for, if fortune plundered them from me. Conscious of God's providence, full of self-reliance, I could stoop, without a tear, to labor in gathering them again. Now, for the first time, I do feel over-rich, because you have given into my charge a property, whose value to me is beyond the world's average of such things—an estate to pass to my children, and speak to them of me when I am no more, to teach them the value of self-reliance, the glory of truth, the reward which good men, even in this evil world, will give for the mere performance of a duty. Yes, with Heaven's blessing, this shall be a heritage to them, instilling bright and truthful principles into their hearts—shedding over their manhood the halo of hope, and making the eternal spirit triumphant over the earthly man.

"Broad acres or golden store could not do this. You have given a precept, taught a principle to my children, and to the youth who shall surround them, which is, and will be, virtue-creating.

"ROBERT CANE, M.D.,
Ex-Mayor of Kilkenny.

"William-street, Sept. 17, 1846."

The proceedings concluded with a splendid repast furnished by Dr. Cane for his guests.

Cane was the soul of hospitality. He rarely sat down to dinner without a little constellation of local worth and talent around him; while really eminent men of all creeds and parties, and from every quarter, were found, periodically

sparkling at his board. The great Thomas Carlyle, Thomas Davis, and Charles Gavan Duffy, were not unfrequent guests. Every literary man passing through Kilkenny at once left his card on Doctor Cane; and his house in William-street was quite a little Derrynane of hospitality and good cheer. "The feast of reason, and the flow of soul" uniformly pervaded it. "In private life," says Mr. Keneally, "Dr. Cane had the good fortune to be as much admired and respected as in public. His bland and courteous manners, his pure and guileless nature, and his gallant, yet unostentatious, bearing captivated the hearts of all classes, and extorted the admiration of even those who did not sympathise with his views in either religion or politics. Outside his professional ability he was possessed of a high order of genius, which was felt and acknowledged in the society in which he moved—felt in public and private—on the bench and at the council board; a genius which, had his life been spared a little longer, would have stamped itself upon the literature of his country."

For years blatant patriotism had been a source of pecuniary speculation in Ireland. The unblushing pursuit of this venal traffic has too often caused the efforts of really virtuous and disinterested men to be viewed with distrust, and sometimes ridicule. But there is one infallible test, exceedingly easy of application which never fails to establish or impugn a patriot's "honesty." When we see a demagogue denouncing English misrule, and appealing to the prejudices or passions of the multitude, we generally suspect that, if needy he is seeking for a place to stop his mouth, and if not needy that he is endeavouring to woo and win the suffrages of a popular constituency with a view to his election as a member of Parliament. Doctor Cane was exempt from either imputation. He had attained a splendid professional success, and he had not a moment to call his own. It is no poetical flight of imagination to say that his minutes were worth guineas to him. Every hour that he gave up to the cause of Ireland cost him dearly. He loved the cause and the old land, its literature, people, and antiquities better than lucre; and of this the amplest evidence remains on record. He had nothing to gain by his life of consistent patriotism, and generous toil, but, on the contrary, everything to lose. His professions were not words, but uniformly substantiated by acts of serious personal sacrifice. Although he was in the receipt of a considerable income as a practising physician, he dispensed

to the full as largely ; and it is with pain we have to announce that notwithstanding the brilliant professional success of Robert Cane, his premature demise has left an accomplished wife, and children comparatively unprovided for.

In truth Robert Cane was a prince in regard to money. Of the ruinously expensive experiment, to foster and stimulate the growth of a vigorous spirit of racy Nationality in Ireland which engrossed the time and thought of his last two years upon earth, we shall have occasion to speak fully hereafter.

The foresight which Dr. Cane's letter to the Repeal Association, in 1845, displayed, was triumphantly, but sadly verified, in the transactions of the two subsequent years. No one now doubts but that if a conciliatory instead of an acrimonious tone were adopted by the *Conciliation* Hall posterior to the secession, a hearty and irresistible political union of Irishmen would have resulted. The writer of this paper witnessed in October, 1846, the ignominious expulsion from the Repeal Association of a Remonstrance which had been drawn up by an influential segment of the Young Ireland Party ; but it is due to the *Liberator* to say that he was not present on this occasion. We heard the command given to kick it into the street, and we saw this document, engrossed in the handsomest style of caligraphy, expelled from the Hall, and trampled beneath horses' hoofs, cart wheels, and coal-porters' brogues on Burgh-quay. Soon after the Irish Confederation was formally inaugurated ; and if our memory serves us the first meeting of that powerful but somewhat unsteady body took place, with much eclat, in November, 1846. Next morning O'Connell refused to eat at breakfast. His chaplain the Rev. Mr.——, (to console him) observed that the large meeting the evening previous was gathered together "out of curiosity" to hear "the young orators." "You are mistaken, my friend," said the old statesman ; "it was a great meeting—they are a great party."

The frightful decimations in the ranks of our once lusty population by famine and plague, and the criminal apathy in which the English Government seemed sunk, spurred on the Young Confederation to a pitch of indignation which the dictates of discretion would otherwise have checked. Robert Cane was carried along with the popular feeling. He expressed his sentiments honestly, and boldly ; but however he may have felt, he had the good sense to abstain from uttering views which the laws of the land would visit with summary vengeance.

Lord Clarendon, however, having in July, 1848, applied to Parliament for extraordinary powers, the Habeas Corpus Act was promptly suspended, and among the many individuals who were arrested and cast into dungeons without trial or definite accusation was the Ex-Mayor of Kilkenny.

It has long been customary with both the conservative and the liberal party to view Dr. Cane as a most determined Young Ireland-man and ready to go quite as far as Mitchel, O'Brien, or Meagher. On the escape of John Mitchel from penal servitude in 1854 a deputation of fillibusters arrived in Ireland from America, and proceeded to feel the popular pulse of our thirty-two Counties. Ireland was garrisoned by a mere handful of militia. All the military and naval resources of England were draughted to the Crimea and the Baltic; and John Mitchell and his followers entertained considerable hopes that if the roar of their war trumpet received even a partial response from the Irish People, that an independent Republic might, without difficulty, be declared in Dublin Castle. The war deputation, as a preliminary, waited upon Charles Gavan Duffy, and asked him to take the chair at a banquet which they proposed to give in Kilkenny as a triumphant acknowledgment of the escape of Mitchel from Penal Exile. Mitchel, however, having attacked Duffy in his *Gaol Journal*, the latter declined to preside at the demonstration in his honor, but suggested Dr. Cane of Kilkenny as the man above all others best calculated to suit and serve the object which they had in view. "Oh my dear Sir," said the spokesman, "we do not consider Dr. Cane as at all possessing the confidence of the National Party. Surely you cannot be unaware that when the Kilkenny Deputation waited upon Dr. Cane in July, 1848, to ask him to head the clubs in attacking the town he completely evaded the invitation. We consider that Dr. Cane sold the pass upon that occasion." "Sir" replied Duffy, "you amaze me. Am I to understand that you heard Dr. Cane oppose and condemn the wishes of his fellow citizens?" "I was not present," continued the spokesman; "but I heard of the act from one who had been; and you are now in possession of the view which the followers of John Mitchel uniformly take of Dr. Cane's conduct at a very critical juncture in our History."

Setting the judgment of all other parties aside, the most determined Young Irelander cannot but applaud the sagacious course which Dr. Cane pursued in 1848. He saw that the projected Insurrection was a mere prismatic bubble, very pretty to

look at superficially, but when tested in the scales of prudence found wanting. Shaping his conclusions from careful thought and inquiry he felt assured that the popular rising, from want of time to perfect and arm their organization, would be of the most diminutively partial character. He saw that any local hostile interference would render their anticipated Revolution a bloody chaos ending in nought but sadness, misery, and despair.

This view, however, did not save him from the angry grasp of Lord Clarendon's Government. The following paragraph appears in the *Freeman's Journal* of August 2, 1848. The correspondent dates from Kilkenny.

ARREST OF DR. CANE, J.P.

"Shortly after the arrival in this city of the 75th Regt., and two troops of the 8th Hussars, on Monday night, arrangements were made for the arrest of Dr. Cane, and at three o'clock on Tuesday morning, the learned doctor was visited by the County Inspector, and a Dublin detective, who informed him that they had a warrant for his apprehension. Their prisoner at once accompanied them to the county gaol, where he was safely lodged unknown to any of the citizens. The warrant states that the charge is grounded on information of "treasonable practices;" and the arrest was made under the *Habeas Corpus* suspension Act. No one, with the exception of his lady and children, are permitted to visit him, and all letters to, or from him, are opened, and read by the authorities. I am at a loss to know for what the Doctor has been arrested, for it is notorious that, no later than Saturday last, he exhorted the people not to go to Ballingarry.

"The deepest sympathy is felt for him. Troops continue to pour in up to the time I am writing."

The arrest of Dr. Cane was most despotic and unjust. On the night of the 29th July, 1848, a large crowd of people armed with pikes, pitchforks and other weapons, surrounded Dr. Cane's house and called upon him to come out and head them. The Doctor addressed the poor famine stricken desperados from his balcony, and exhorted them to return peacefully to their homes.

Great excitement prevailed. Blood was spilt at Ballingarry, and on August 3rd the county Inspector accompanied by Mr Winslow, J.P., having received information that Mr. Dillon had been privately conveyed wounded to Dr. Cane's house, accordingly proceeded to the Doctor's mansion in William street, and searched every possible nook and crevice for the bleeding rebel leader. The private information, however, which reached the Government proved groundless.

Dr. Cane often complained that the restrictions of the prison

were exceedingly harsh, although the personal demeanour of Mr. Robins, the governor of the gaol, was as courteous as possible under the circumstances. Cane passed a hundred long autumn days drearily within its walls. Permission to see his dying son was haughtily denied him. He craved it anxiously and fervently—he represented to the government that he might be able to avert the disease which was killing his favourite son, if they allowed him to visit the prostrate boy even professionally; but all to no effect—Lord Clarendon was inexorable. The death of young Cane at last melted the heart of the persecutor, and the heart-broken father was liberated on bail by an order in council to perform the sad office of chief mourner at the funeral of his son. As a mark of governmental reprobation, the Lord Chancellor had first superseded Dr. Cane as a magistrate of the county; but at the funeral of his son the people and their municipal representatives resolved, as a beginning, to restore the object of their attachment to the commission of the peace, without the Lord Chancellor's leave—nay, more, to place him over the magisterial bench, by making him, for the second time within three years, mayor of his native city. That resolve they carried out on January 1st, 1849, in a manner that did infinite credit to themselves and the country.

“To-day,” said the *Freeman* “have, the citizens of Kilkenny added one more proof to the many on record of their sterling patriotism and enduring gratitude to all who suffer for devotion to fatherland.”

The pecuniary loss to himself and his family which the despotic incarceration of Dr. Cane caused was of the most serious character. He had been enjoying an eminently lucrative professional practice; and had hardly a moment's leisure during the day. But as if the whig minister's object was to bring ruin upon himself and family by depriving him of all professional advancement, they caused their underlings to *discharge* him from one or two medical offices connected with local public institutions, though his ability as a practitioner had been fully recognised, and frequently testified to by the heads of these establishments. This stroke of authority was not less mean than tyrannical; for Dr. Cane had provided for the attendance, during his incarceration at the hospitals with which he was connected, of other skilful physicians.

All this treatment he bore with dignity, and with that fortitude which men of great minds generally display in hours of trial; but to the last moment of his life he never forgot it.

The procession to the tomb was rapidly followed by a procession to the civic throne, and the government fetters gave place to the chain of magisterial office—the highest honor in the power of “faire Kilkenny” to bestow.

It is but justice to mention as indicative of the unanimity that prevailed on this subject that several highly respected citizens, including Michael Hyland, Esq., who had intended to offer themselves as candidates for the high municipal office, at once withdrew their claim, and gave Dr. Cane their cordial support when it was proposed that he should be the new Mayor. The respective friends, of Daniel Smithwick, Esq., and Richard Sullivan, Esq., would have put these gentlemen forward, only Dr. Cane allowed himself to be nominated.

A journal of the day records:—

“ One o'clock was the hour fixed for the inauguration. The street in front presented a most animated appearance, the people having gathered in thousands round the exterior of the Tholsel. The corporation, attired in their robes of office, and headed by the Mayor, Thomas Hart, Esq., J.P., left the Assembly Room in procession, and proceeded to the City Courthouse, a very fine band playing before them. The streets were densely crowded all along the route of the procession, and cheers loud and enthusiastic greeted Dr. Cane as he passed on. Every window, too, had its fair occupants, who waved their handkerchiefs to testify their delight at seeing their noble fellow-citizen once more in triumph. The interior of the courthouse was packed to the very ceiling with a dense mass of human beings; and when Dr. Cane appeared on the bench from which a short time before he had been summarily ejected by the Lord Chancellor, the enthusiasm of those within the building knew no bounds. Cheer succeeded cheer for several minutes, and for a considerable time the Town Clerk was unable to proceed with the reading of the oath required to be taken by chief magistrates of boroughs at their inauguration.”

The oath having been administered, the late Mayor stripped himself of the gold chain, &c., and invested Dr. Cane with the insignia of office amid vociferous applause. He said “ Dr. Cane, allow me to congratulate you on your appointment. Fellow-citizens, I likewise congratulate you on having made such an appointment—on having a second time placed Dr. Cane in a position which he before filled with honor to himself and satisfaction and benefit to his fellow-citizens.”

The Mayor of Kilkenny, Dr. Cane, then rose amidst the most deafening acclamations and said:—

“ Mr. ex-Mayor, brother members of the corporation of Kilkenny, and fellow-citizens, this is not a time, nor will those circumstances that surround me at all permit of my talking to you as I would wish to talk to you, but there are some things which I would be wanting in my duty to you, and wanting in my duty to myself, if I departed from this great assembly without making some remarks upon. Four years ago, on the the 1st of Jannary, as to-day, I stood where I now stand, a proud and an honoured man. Perhaps I do feel to-day proud beyond my deserts; because, believe me, that when I retired from this high position at the close of my former year of office, I never expected to be again placed in the honourable office to which your kindness has once more elevated me. That was my fixed feeling—that I never could anticipate such an honour again. I felt that if such an honour were to be twice enjoyed by any man, he should pause before he would take at the hands of the people the mayoralty a second time in a city like this, where there are so many good men capable of filling the civic chair with usefulness and dignity. But, my friends, within these four years passing events have put me in such a position as entirely to alter my feelings on this subject; and I will not conceal from you that I feel I now occupy a prouder position than any other that could be offered me on earth. I am after coming among you from nearly one hundred days' imprisonment (cheers.) I have returned to you degraded (tremendous shouts of no, no.) Was I not, my friends, degraded by the withdrawal of the commission of the peace? (renewed cries of no, no) Because it was intended to degrade me, perhaps, you have honoured me beyond my deserts, and I value this commission with which you have invested me more than the proudest appointment within the land (enthusiastic and prolonged cheering.) I was about, fellow-citizens, to give you some of the reasons why I accepted this honour at your hands. My imprisonment seemed calculated to deprive me of my professional practice. For nearly four months was I debarred from occupying myself for the benefit of my family. For nearly four months were my family and myself, consuming the bread of idleness, though the highest bail in the county was offered for me (loud cries of shame, shame.) And, my friends, though I had procured competent men to perform the duties of every public situation I held, I was even driven from these situations. I will not say—for it would not be right to begin the new year with unchristian accusation—that it was meant to beggar me by those proceedings; but they looked very like as if they had been adopted for that purpose (hear, hear.) Thus much as regards myself. Now, with regard to the city. I was rejoiced on my return to you to hear the testimony borne by your respected late Mayor to the peaceable state of this city; and to find that the few crimes that have been of late committed in Kilkenny, were chiefly the offences of strangers (hear, hear.) I am proud, my friends, to hear this; and I am perfectly satisfied, if God Almighty permit me, to come before you at the close of my year of office, that I too will be able to pay a similar compliment to the good men of Kilkenny, who have ever stood by me in what was right (hear, hear, and cheers.) Now, for myself. I promise that should days of pestilence and

famine come before us, I will, with the aid of my fellow-citizens, leave nothing undone that shall be calculated to alleviate the wants with which the poor may be visited."

Town Councillor Hyland in an intrepid speech administered a "knock over the knuckles" to the Dublin Corporation. "What he asked had the corporation of Kilkenny being doing on that day? Why, it had been setting an example to all the other corporations of this country. The people of Kilkenny had not been crouching (hear, hear). They had not been terrified—they had not been cajoled (cheers)—they had not been put out of their duty (loud cheers). They had not been acting like that wretched paltry insignificant set—the corporation of Dublin (*loud groans for the Dublin corporation*). He would like to see the man in the Kilkenny corporation that would stand up and introduce a resolution proposing a vote of confidence in his Excellency (loud laughter, and cheers). Were they to be put down in the way some people supposed they were (no, no)? Was the country to be ruled by coercion? Was he to be told that Repeal was extinct (vociferous cries of no, no, and enthusiastic applause). Was he to be told that because coercion acts were passed and the Lord Lieutenant was invested with powers so extraordinary as to astonish even his Excellency himself, if his lordship had made use of the words attributed to him—because a man could be arrested without cause for his arrest being shown, patriotism should cease (no, no)? He had felt and did feel for Dr. Cane's sufferings—he felt for his afflictions (hear, hear). What had been Dr. Cane's crime? He loved Ireland sincerely, and for this he had been put into a prison—enclosed with felons and robbers. He had been deprived of the commission of the peace and of the situations he had held; but he had gained the position he now occupied, and that without the leave of his Excellency, or the old Kilcreene General (cheers and laughter)."

Alderman Smithwick said that "nothing could possibly be more gratifying to his feelings than to see his excellent friend, Alderman Cane, in the high position he now occupied. He was the more gratified that they had such a man as Dr. Cane for their Mayor, because he was sorry to say he looked on their prospects for the present year as anything but cheering; and he knew that the citizens, in case of distress, would have an able chief magistrate in his friend (loud cheers). Dr. Cane would, he knew, do all in his power to alleviate the wants of the people."

Town Councillor Burke having expressed similar congratulations, the corporation, headed by the new Mayor, then returned to the Assembly room in the same order as they had left it, surrounded by thousands who kept up a continued cheer for Dr. Cane.

When the members of the Town Council had taken their seats in their board-room, a very respectable deputation from the trades of Kilkenny presented the Mayor with the following address:—

“WORSHIPFUL SIR—The day that the corporation of our city decided on your appointment to the civic chair for '49, was one which brought unalloyed pleasure to the hearts of the citizens of Kilkenny, and to none more than the trades, and we are confident that never did a public body more truly reflect the popular will than when you were elected to perform again the important duties which but a few years since, you so admirably discharged.

“Sir, the principal consideration which impels us to pay you our respects is gratitude; for time cannot wear from our remembrance the many benefits you have conferred on us. You have for years deprived yourself of ease and enjoyment, snatching time from your laborious professional duties to elevate us in intelligence by your society—society capable of illumining any sphere of life. In you we have admired the practice of charity to all men, kindheartedness, forbearance, and every social virtue; and if the character of the trades of Kilkenny possess one trait of an ennobling kind, it is a faint imitation of some part of your public or private worth.

“Sir, too frequently has it been the lot of the good and great to be misunderstood in their endeavour to serve their fellow-men. Though actuated by the purest motives, they have been subject to the most unjust censure; but you have been most fortunate in always holding the good opinion of all who ever knew you. It could not be otherwise. All can understand your virtuous motives—to do good when possible; and as well may the mists of morning withstand the lustre of the rising day as a calumny on you Sir, bear the test of reason or of truth.

“Sir, we must all deplore the wretched state of this city, occasioned by the want of employment for the working classes. Notwithstanding the plenty and cheapness of food much distress prevails. From our knowledge of your heart we know you grieve also. We know whatever resources lie within the reach of your office shall be applied to ameliorate the condition of the people—that the various benevolent societies of our city, now relieving much distress, shall be the objects of your fostering care; and your fellow-citizens shall happily find that the wants you cannot redress shall share your deepest sympathy.

“Sir, we have only to wish that you may enjoy a long and happy life—that your children, as they grow to manhood, may possess the esteem of the people, which they will obtain by imitating you—that your amiable lady may be blest with health and happiness; and may all contribute to render your life as happy as it has been useful to your fellow-men.”

(Here follows a long list of signatures.)

The Mayor made the following reply :—

“ GENTLEMEN—I receive your warm-hearted address with pride and gratitude.

“ I am proud of your friendship. I am grateful for the generous attachment which it breathes.

“ It is true I have been long a devoted labourer for the amelioration of the trade, and for the progressive education of the class which you represent. But such was my duty, as it is the duty of all ; and I have only to deplore how few have struggled, and how little they have attained for the regeneration of the lost trade of our hapless and fallen country. But we must not despond. God’s justice is great, and upon it we must rely, with the full confidence that if we merit we shall achieve.

“ It is true that calumnies reach everywhere — they are the ready weapons wherewith the envious and the selfish would strike down all who rise between them and their interest. I fear you tell me over-much, if you tell me I have not been an object for such. But, believe me, that while I despised I disregarded them ; conscious that the hour will speedily arrive when truth can be vindicated, and falsehood shall bow abashed before it. Finally, believe me that not merely my sympathy shall be with those who lack employment or want trade, but that my best exertions shall be given wherever means or opportunity present themselves for benefiting the tradesmen of Kilkenny, as well as forwarding everything that can tend to improve the city of our common birth and common love.”

The inauguration banquet took place in Dr. Cane’s mansion, William street, at six o’clock in the evening, when the Mayor entertained the corporation and other of his fellow-citizens in a style of princely hospitality.

When the cloth has been removed, the Mayor rose and proposed “The Queen,” which was drank with all honours. He then called on the company to fill a bumper. He was about to propose a toast that had been ever remembered at social meetings of the corporation of Kilkenny. He had lately been imprisoned ; but that imprisonment had not changed the opinions which he had for forty years entertained—namely, that a Repeal of the Union was absolutely essential for the prosperity of Ireland. Drank with nine times nine.

The next toast was “The People.”

His Worship remarked that the people had ever been regarded in civilized countries as the true source of legitimate power, and he hoped they should ever be so regarded in this country (cheers).

The ex-Mayor again rose, and in complimentary terms proposed the health of Dr. Cane.

The Mayor returned thanks. Early in life he had made a resolve never to deviate from his duty to his country. He knew this resolve was a question between his God and himself : and he thought he could now assert that he had never deviated from that aspiration—from that vow (cheers). Therefore, he hoped he could now promise them that nothing should ever tempt him to deviate from the course which he conceived to be conducive to the good of their common country, and the benefit and improvement of the city of Kilkenny. He did not know whether it would be the will of the Almighty to prolong his life to the ordinary age to which men might expect to arrive ; but, whether his existence were to be long or short, he trusted that his every exertion should be given to the cause of the land of his birth (enthusiastic applause).

Other toasts having been proposed including "the Press," "Mrs. Cane," and "The Burgesses of Kilkenny," various speeches were delivered, all of which expressed the utmost gratification at Dr. Cane's nomination to the Mayoralty. Those who differed strongly with the Doctor in politics were not less energetic than their neighbours.

"Counsellor O'Donnell expressed his delight at the election of Dr. Cane, and stated that though separated from his fellow citizens in political life, he had ever admired the distinguished gentleman who now filled the office of chief magistrate of their city ; and being a private friend of many of the leaders of the party to which Dr. Cane belonged, he could say that the learned doctor was warmly esteemed and respected by those gentlemen. He rejoiced that the corporation of Kilkenny had not disgraced and degraded themselves as other corporations had done (cheers.)"

Dr. Cane's second tenure of office was a great year for Kilkenny. It knit him with, if possible, additional links of fondness to the people. He toiled like a giant for their amelioration, and he saw them grow lusty and rich around him.

He laboured at the council board achieving in an hour the day's work of half a dozen ordinary corporators. Meanwhile private hospitality, or the natural tendencies which drew him fondly to the pursuit of fair science, or luxuriant literature, were not neglected. "Oh," writes one who knew Cane well, "to have seen him within that home where his truest nature shone ; where that warm and generous heart was best displayed ; where the civic chief laid down his sceptre and became the explorer of science or the devotee of literature, where the scholar and the statesman was enrobed in the simplicity and

fondness of the parent, or the princely dignity and hospitality of the host !”

It is not saying too much to declare that few men ever possessed such impressive power as he did in his very appearance. His tall—almost towering—well proportioned figure ; his broad expanse of chest ; his portly, kingly bearing, seemed to stamp him as one “born to command.” His massive, lofty brow ; his handsome, manly face, was lit up by an eye which spoke the power of mind and depth of soul within : while his voice, deep toned and musical, could well give forth the passionate eloquence that was so peculiarly his own.

Deprivation of pen, ink, and paper, does not seem to have been, as in the case of Lord Cloncurry, among the bitters which were deemed essential to render the imprisonment of Robert Cane in 1848 irksome. This occupation he was permitted to indulge in, subject to the inquisitorial scrutiny of the proper authorities. Cane applied his mind to literary, rather than political themes ; and in eager pursuit of the former his pen sped briskly. Some of the ablest articles in the *Dublin University Magazine* during the hundred days’ imprisonment of Robert Cane were emanations from his active brain.

Robert Cane continued the life and policy we have sketched until October, 1853, when he attracted more than ordinary attention by issuing a document which called upon the country to co-operate with him in establishing a semi-political and semi-literary society known as the Celtic Union. This project he unfolded in a letter to Mr. C. G. Duffy, then M.P. for New Ross, who printed it in the *Nation* of October 22nd, 1853, with the following preface :—

A NATIONAL LITERATURE AND A NATIONAL UNION.

“ I invite attention to the subjoined letter from a man whom neither the engrossing labours, nor the serious interests, of a splendid professional success have been able to seduce from the cause of Ireland. If it attains the purpose he has in view, it will rise to the rank of a State Paper .—

Kilkenny, Oct. 10th, 1853.

MY DEAR DUFFY.—Surely it is time that some effort should be made once more to educate and train our people—to spread useful knowledge amongst them, and to give to the youth of Ireland that intellectual stimulus and discipline which, while it would make them better and more useful men, would make them happier men also.

It is noted by those who mix most with the people, that a desire to acquire information upon all debateable subjects, and a positive taste for reading, are springing up in new quarters and becoming uni-

versal. It is a matter of grave national consideration how this appetite is to be gratified. At present it feeds upon a cheap literature, some of which is good—much of which is bad ; while an entire section is utterly detestable. Books catering to the worst human passions—books attacking morals and religion—books misrepresenting the country, its people, and its faith—books cheaply got up, dashingly written, and with but one aim—to be sold : or, where there is a deeper one, it is to demoralise and to denationalise. Such, at present, is the popular literature that circulates in Ireland.

It is time to step between the people and this danger. Patriotism ought to avail itself of the growing taste, and direct it to wise purposes ; it ought to supply it with cheap, wholesome, and national books, and drive out the foul spirit of uncleanness by the pure spirit of nationality. It is a noble duty to train the youth and the young men who are to be one day the nation—to train them with this object kept steadily in view, so that their education, while it made them better men in all the relations of social life should make them better citizens also. It is almost a platitude to say that in proportion as individual man is made truly good and national, in the exact proportion will a nation of such men be happy, prosperous and free.

But who are to attempt this heavy task ? Where is the association or the men from whom we can expect it ?

Cane refers to the proud and exciting days of O'Connell's leadership.

We have no national organization ; and have you reflected that the next few years must determine for this generation, and perhaps for this century, whether there shall be even a national party in Ireland ? In the necessary attempt to secure daily bread to the people we run serious risk of forgetting the larger aims for which we strove before the famine. *Then* we laboured to make our people fit to contend on equal terms with other nations. Then we taught and fostered a spirit of inquiry into all the resources of Ireland, in order that they might develop and enjoy their national wealth ; then we endeavoured to kindle and strengthen that love of country which is the most powerful stimulus to the spirit of a people, not only in its ambition for glory and independence but even in its industry and enterprise.

But it is not to lament our destitution I have taken up my pen, but to endeavour to repair it. Can men be got to undertake this work so necessary in Ireland at present ? I do believe they can. A few zealous recruits may at least begin it. Greater things have had small beginnings, and fit men are yet plenty in Ireland. No doubt, they are dispersed and scattered, and need to be gathered in. But there are enough, I am convinced, who will enter earnestly on this task.

Dr. Cane paid a graceful tribute to Duffy, and especially to Davis—

“ Whose statue stands so appropriately in the centre of that Industrial Hall in the midst of those results, to which his genius, years before, had pointed as some of the things imperatively needed for Ireland.—He who was ever preaching the development of Irish re-

sources, the awakening of industry, the creation of employment, the arousing of individual energy, and the teaching of self-reliance."

That Exhibition, evidence as it is of one man's persevering industry, full of the triumphs of art, science, and trade, speaks useful lessons to Ireland. Lessons not so much of what she has done, as of that which it shows her she has failed to do. What a lesson in those noble works of art and toil, and skill, which her neighbours have achieved—which the small Celtic State of Belgium, for example, has accomplished, while she has lain in a dreary and desponding lethargy.

Were it possible that the works of science and of handicraft could not stir up an honest emulation within her, surely her national pride should awaken with the memories of the past, called up by the busts, and pictures of her illustrious dead, and the remembrance of the struggles and triumphs in which they lived and moved. The groups of her volunteers, and the sight of her old Parliament House, and Grattan appealing for her liberties, in an Irish Senate, are things to stir her soul, if soul she has.

But I have digressed; I have been appealing, when I ought to have contented myself with a mere statement of the plan I would presume to suggest for an organization suited to the work contemplated.

It should be an organization, whose first duty would be to train and educate; and with this first duty it should content itself until it had grown, if it ever did grow, strong enough for larger things."

Dr. Cane went on to say that it might be called the Celtic Union, and address itself to the Irish race at home and abroad: to consist of members paying an annual subscription of one guinea; and those who would undertake to write and work to be its managing committee—the funds to be mainly applied to the expenses of publishing. And although Cane felt that the latter would, after a while, pay for itself, he recommended, in case of any risk in the first instance, that a guarantee fund should be ready to meet it.

"My idea of the publications is, that they ought to work out the field opened by the "Library of Ireland," and add to it in a more popular, exact, and available way, the class of information supplied in the valuable reports of the Parliamentary Committee of the Repeal Association. The biographies of our great men, for example, following scientific inquiries into the means of becoming a rich and prosperous people; and Essays on Workhouse Industry succeeded by national songs and poems. The publications to include penny papers, sixpenny books, and shilling books—the latter two classes to be illustrated with suitable plans, maps, and drawings, whenever such were needed. Every member should be entitled to copies of all the publications, and they should be on sale for the public generally, at appointed publishers, and in every town and village in Ireland.

One duty of the members would be to secure their universal diffusion.

These papers and books should be of so attractive a nature, so handsome, and yet so cheap, as to be seen in every shop, in every reading room, and upon every stall, and thus their way secured to make them hearthside companions and household words ; things to be sought after at home and abroad ; in the workshop, in the coffee room, and on the rail. The seed thus shown would in the end be gathered into a ripe and yellow harvest.

Whenever the funds of the society permitted of it, public lecturers and teachers to be employed for lecturing, at the society's expense, through all parts of the country, on chosen subjects.

The foregoing arrangements would, of course, be modified or changed by the views of the first meeting of the society, so that I have only ventured to indicate the kind of plan which has suggested itself to my own mind.

In the power of such a society, to do immense good, I have thorough faith. The mere performance of its first duties would tend to hold our people together for useful purposes—to train them for themselves and for the country—and would afford a wholesome and valuable substitute for idleness and intemperance, and for the blasphemous immoralities of Sue and Reynolds, and other secret corruptors of public morals. And when the society grew strong enough to assume its second duty, it would become the guide of sound public opinion, and aid powerfully in the achievement of Ireland's true greatness.

Into your hands I now confide the management of this affair, hoping it will meet your views and win your sanction."

"Dr. Cane's proposal," commented Mr. Duffy, "is not one to be accepted hastily. It is far too serious for that. The end he aims at is too high, the damage and discredit of failure would be too great, to allow of any ill-judged or premature assent. If we undertake this work we must *do it* at all hazards; and I am not prepared to promise my share of it until I have seen the recruits upon whom my friend reckons, and measured their strength and skill for the work. My experience of public affairs in this country all tends to this—that however many are pledged to an undertaking, it ultimately falls upon a few; and if you do not make sure of a certain number of capable and willing workers in the first instance, it falls upon one man or two and stifles them. There is no want of fit men, assuredly, and I believe no insurmountable difficulty in gathering them together; but we must take nothing for granted in a project like this. For myself I answer, that if Dr. Cane's hopes be well-founded, if workmen be forthcoming for the task he proposes, I am ready to take my full share in the labour and responsibility."

Gavan Duffy considered that Dr. Cane's scheme would tend to promote national pride and self-reliance, and he thought well of it for that reason. "The motive power," he often said, "the steam of all great enterprises, has been national pride. The English scattered the Armada, the French drove back allied Europe from her frontiers, America stretches her sheltering arm from the shores of Turkey to the coast of Australia, in the name and by the inspiration of national pride. You unman the people from whom you take it away. They are fit for nothing but the lowest offices of civilization."

Duffy was of opinion that three classes of members were wanting.

1. Members who could write the necessary books and papers in an adequate manner; or who, from their practical experience in business, or scientific knowledge of Irish resources, or their familiarity with the enterprise of other countries, could propose and explain new developments of industry. Of this last class America and Australia would, he hoped, send us useful auxiliaries.

2. Men who were willing to make a moderate outlay of money in trying any safe and well devised experiment in Irish industry on their own locality or elsewhere.

3. Young men who were ready to become the local executives, the active eyes and hands of the Union. Who would appoint its agents in their district, inspect its industrial schools or societies (when it has got them) and rejoice in spending their leisure and their sweat in the good cause. "But let the working members be men who mind their own business—no good comes of idlers or walking gentlemen; while an occasional hour from the energetic self-reliant man will leave sure results behind."

Among the recruits most indispensable is a man fit to be Honorary Secretary. He ought to have leisure, and capacity, and a passion for Ireland. He ought to be able and willing to superintend the publications, and stand like a sentinel over them, to exclude rigidly all nonsense and stupidity. He must hold in his hand the threads of many correspondences, and keep men who can seldom meet *en rapport* with each other. Where is this Minister of Public Instruction to be found?" * *

Gavan Duffy concluded a well digested article with these words:—

"Whoever is willing to help the work in any department ought to speak now. Our enemies affirm that the dazzling and the unreal alone fire our imagination, and that we kick impatiently in the harness of practical work. There are some men, I hope, ready to belie

this imputation. Or, at least, who know nothing grander and more dazzling than work that will raise their country. If so, it is perfectly practicable to see on one hand the mass of the people, by degrees, engaged in industrial pursuits, the profits of which will go into their own pockets; and on the other, the youth of Ireland gradually reared in love and knowledge of their country—as the English boy is fed on the memories of Alfred and Elizabeth, and the French student becomes as familiar with the heroes of his national history on the walls of Versailles and in the public gardens and edifices of Paris, as with the faces round his father's hearth.

A Celtic Union that deserved the name would not stop in this Island. It would be welcomed by our kinsmen in England and America, and in the predestined empire of Australia; and some day perhaps, by the men of our blood, who have won or inherited power in the courts of Europe. But we must begin humbly and at the beginning. Whether we are to begin at all, indeed, depends upon the response Dr. Cane's generous appeal meets from the country."

The following number of the *Nation* announced the receipt of a considerable number of letters on Dr. Cane's proposal, containing suggestions for the practical management of it, and generous offers of aid. The recruits consisted of writers, monied men, and workers, and formed a good week's instalment towards the preliminary work. "The extent of our success," wrote Duffy, "will be exactly in proportion to the amount of mind that goes into the project."

One correspondent in the course of a long letter of suggestions went on to say:—

"I take it for granted that the working man is the special object of your solicitude—the mark at which you aim. Take good care then, that you do not shoot over his head. There are three ways by which you may shoot over his head—by writing above his present educational stature; by not hitting his interest in the selection of subjects; and by aiming at a pocket bigger than he has. It is not necessary that these three 'Irish bulls' stand together between the man and the mark, in order to miss it; any one of them will turn your literary quiver into a right angle, or rather a wrong one.

"Thus would I take up each subject in the order of requirement, and, as there is a feverish desire throughout the provinces for declamation, I would act promptly on Dr. Cane's suggestions of lectures and draw attention to the written by the oral. If Father Mathew spared his tongue and feet by substituting the pen and the press, would he be, in one year, would he be, even now, the Apostle of Temperance?"

A remarkably sagacious and experienced man put the whole project on so solid and business-like a basis that we cannot do better than quote him on this point:—

"There is one eminently practical suggestion in Dr. Cane's letter—that of the Guarantee Fund. It will make your success much more

certain, without increasing your outlay by a penny. But let it be a fund, not a paper security. Let the money be lodged in bank before you take a single step. If you are content with "promises to pay," the publisher will consider them of no great value from the trouble and difficulty of collecting them; or if some of the founders of the Union, such as Dr Cane and yourself, become personally liable to him on the strength of them, you will find it an awkward task to get recompensed for any losses. I would rather have £100 in bank than the best possible guarantee for £200. And if £200. or any sum actually necessary, can not be got, then the country is *not* ripe for the proposal."

Another correspondent wrote:—

"The only difficulty is, who shall write the books? They will be bought and sold again and again, if they are only worthy of the character of the project. On this score, however, I am delighted that we are not tied down to weekly or monthly appearances; and if, before this day twelve months, the Celtic Union has published three or four volumes, as good as the best of the 'Library of Ireland,' with a dozen of Tracts and Lectures, well written on well chosen subjects, I should say it had done well, and that it would be sure to do better.

"I think that we ought to have, within that time, a volume on Irish agriculture—about which the people are in a megrim since the revolutionary action of the famine and the corn laws. Twenty years hence I feel confident that the farming race of Ireland will be as different from what it was before the famine as a meadow is from a bog.

"An Irish Farmer's Manual well done, as familiar as Cobbett's 'Cottage Economy,' for example, would be a godsend to the country believe me. You ought to publish an edition of Mangan in good time. But I think, to begin, that we should have an Almanack ready for the new year—the Almanack of the Celtic Union; with the dates of Irish births, battles, and events generally—bordered with national maxims and mottoes, and the thoughts of Irish Thinkers, and illustrated with perhaps half a dozen good woodcut likenesses."

A young journalist from a thriving provincial town, debated the necessity and feasibility of making fiction the chief feature in the proposed papers.

"I am convinced," he says, "that to make the project fully successful it will be necessary to unite fiction with fact. The general public seek only after what is called light reading, and cannot bring themselves to study history or science. For the one who reads the latter a hundred peruse the former. Therefore it is that this light reading from its vast circulation and influence, has the greatest power in forming the minds of a generation, and consequently presents an excellent medium for reforming or creating a public taste and spirit. Historical tales, laid in the most inspiring periods, and stories in which opinions and facts might be interwoven, would, in my opinion,

do more to advance the good cause than pamphlets upon separate subjects could ever effect. In the first place, they would be certain of being read; and, in the second, the instructive portions would, from their connexion with the interest of the tales, be vividly impressed upon the memory. What has contributed more to the demoralisation of Paris or of London than its light literature? The most frightful immoralities are dressed up and disguised in so dazzling a garb, that nothing else is read by the people. The inference is evident."

A very different caste of man wrote :—

"It was with real and heartfelt pleasure that I read in *THE NATION* of last Saturday a letter from Dr. Cane. I beg to know if a mechanic, with no other recommendation than a heartfelt wish for the success of such an Union as the one suggested, would be eligible as a member? The want of such a 'Union' has been long felt. There has been created in this country, by the importation from England and France of that abominable and atheistical commodity called cheap literature, an insatiable thirst for reading, which if not gratified, through the medium of some such means as those suggested, will be the means eventually of destroying the goodness for which our people have been so justly celebrated."

An Englishman said :—

"The Celtic Union should, amongst its first duties, have a lecture delivered in each of the principal towns of England, the object of which should be to enlist the sympathies of the young men, out of whom a local committee should be formed to act in co-operation with the Union. I think reading rooms ought to be established for the support of which a small weekly donation of one or two pence per week should be paid by each member. In these rooms a lecture should be delivered once a week on some national subject, such as eras of our history, the lives of our great men, the natural products and material resources of the country, and perhaps a lecture on the duties of manhood would not be amiss. All these subjects should be handled, at least, not alone in their general aspects, but with a special reference to their connection with Ireland and her future."

The country seemed interested in an unusual degree, and adherents thronged forward through the medium of suggestive letters. A gentleman who had labored to organize past work, literary and political, sent some shrewd advice.

"To work the project successfully there are three primary wants—first, a publisher who would look after the business; secondly, a committee who would direct the taste, and supply the mind to the matter; and thirdly, a capital which would act as a sort of insurance or indemnity to the publisher. As for a publisher, no doubt Mr.

McGlashan or Mr. James Duffy would meet the necessity. As for the capital, five hundred pounds would be wanting in fifty ten pound shares. The shares to be paid as subscriptions, and all liability utterly avoided. The best price for the volumes would be sixpence, in order to undersell the shilling novels, and to give a stamp of variety to the publications. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge worked in this way. Charles Knight was the publisher; Lord Brougham and a few others were the mind of the movement; and Lord Denman and others, not forgetting the politics of their youth (a custom rather proverbial among successful men in Ireland) supplied the guarantee fund, some of them giving £500. Years ago they succeeded; while Mr. Bentley's last proclamation of a design to reduce to *one-third* the price of original books, shows that the progress of cheap literature in England is still onward, and it will be so until it meets the level of French and Belgian production."

A popular contributor to our periodical literature said:—

"I read with sincere pleasure Doctor Cane's proposal and your comments. It is a return to *first* principles, and resolves itself (if I am right) into a printing press, fed by sound heads and pure hearts, and worked by honest hands. In this I most fully concur. My subscription is ready, and whenever you fix the amount it shall be remitted. The Library of Ireland was left a great but unfinished project—a noble temple of scattered and incomplete columns now to be completed."

An Ulster friend, who has no broken faith to answer for, sent a long letter full of practical suggestions. His description of how the Scotch booksellers have contrived to create a market in Ulster is good:—

"An association, such as your friend proposes, lies under a difficulty from diversity and degrees of opinion to which the single Thinker is not open; he can correct, he can expunge, he can destroy. Now, who will do this for a Union?—who has time to do it? If a man had leisure and capacity, and devotedness to undertake this work, *he* would be the best "Union"—or two or three, if they had leisure; but such leisure implies fortune. They might do it if they had agreed on principles generally acceptable to the country, and acknowledged themselves obedient to the reasonable control of a dictator—your 'Minister of Public Instruction.'

"It is very painful, and I have felt it repeatedly, to find Germany, Scotland, England, America, and France, represented by originals or translations on every bookshelf and bookstall in this province, and scarcely one book written or printed in Ireland. Is it that the Irish publisher is not of the same genius as the Scotch Black and Chambers, or Routledge and Bohn of London? One day's journey in any part of Ulster would convince you that the Scotch publisher *must* succeed with the masses. His humble travelling agents radiate in every district. Under rain, snow, or summer heat, they march on, on—men of quiet age, decently dressed, civil, intelligent, *soberly*.

Nothing turns them aside from their appointed course. Question one of them, and he will tell you he circulates the excellent publications of Mr. Blackie or Mr. Fullarton of Glasgow. He has books for age and youth, for scientific men and humble artisans; poetry, travels, history, romance. He will talk to you for five minutes about his edition of Burns—*our* great poet, sir—and the land of Burns, and Tanahill, and Professor Wilson, and Scott, and Hogg. Why are our Moore, Drennan, Mangan, Griffin, Carleton, Banim, kept in the drawing-room, and denied the homage of a people's heart? Certainly, they own a wider sphere than they have yet found—the good sense and virtue to grace a cottage, sit by the bench and the loom, or by the poor seamstresses fireside. Your Irish publishers forbid it; they will not send persons like the Scotch salesman to introduce them to the homely farms of the country, or suffer them to go in any coarser dress than gilding and fine linen. Did not the 'Penny Magazine' and 'Dublin Penny Journal' go like wildfire? And why were not the volumes of the 'National Library' ten times more read? Because they had no such introduction as Mr. Blackie would have given them—no one to carry them to the villages and solitary farmhouses, and to tell even the roadside querist '*they are all about Ireland.*' Mr. Fullarton would have made them be bought, read, and treasured, and talked about in every townland in Ulster before a month. The Scotch publisher meets difficulties—does not make them. Go to the country circulating library, and you will find the same want of everything about a nation which should be the first in her people's thoughts. A volume of Banim, a copy of Moore's poems, you may find, indeed, but not one syllable about our living celebrities. I have the catalogues of ten of these Societies before me, some of which I have advised in the formation; and unless by taking an active part in their control and management, for which I have neither leisure nor inclination, I could not effect the introduction of Irish books; being always met with complaints of the cost and difficulty of procuring them, and with the suspicion that their Nationality was assumed, as a cover for the introduction of sectarian opinions."

There is a sound and wise thought in this suggestion :—

"There is a class that no one has a kind word for—to whom one part of the project will be of incalculable advantage—the idle young men of the towns. My belief is, that not twenty in five hundred of them are wilfully idle. They are the victims of false pride, neglected education, careless parents, or proud, heartless, improvident relations. Would they not, being every day at wits' end to discover some means of escape from frost-bitten benevolence, hail the information and practical suggestions of the 'Union' with exultation, as a means of guiding them to the sweet bread of industry."

An interesting letter from the O'Donoghue of the Glens, now M.P. for Tipperary, also furnished some acceptable suggestive matter, as well as a substantial proof of the sincerity

of his sympathy. The same remark applies to an able communication from the Rev. Mr. Gillouly, Professor of the *Belles Lettres* at the Collège d'Argentan in France.

Amongst the letters which passed between Dr. Cane and Mr. Duffy, M.P., at this period was the following :—

"MY DEAR DUFFY—I have carefully considered your wise and able commentary, and feel satisfied that your suggestions, for a lesser subscription than one guinea, and for smaller guarantees, are right. I therefore concur in recommending a 10s. subscription, and a guarantee from such as please to volunteer it, of five to twenty-five pounds. But, after all, these matters must be settled at the first meeting of the 'Union,' which I anticipate is not far distant.

I was of opinion we should assemble and organise as soon as we had a hundred adhesions ; already over half that number have pressed forward to aid us in the work, and within a few brief weeks, I trust to see the 'Celtic Union' fully embodied as a working staff.

I quite agree with you, it is not necessary to publish names as yet, or until the first meeting is over, and the title and rules of the Society adopted. Yet, looking at the names you have already received, and those which I now send you, I feel that we can no longer call it a 'forlorn hope.' It is an advance column, and when you look at the station, intellect, and moral and reputed worth and character of the men who approve of the move, they constitute a column of officers, and of working and able ones too.

The name has been objected to by some. I am for the present one ; but it will be a fair matter for discussion when the first meeting takes place.

Yours truly,

ROBERT CANE."

In another letter Dr. Cane observed :—

"Our first meeting ought to consist solely of those who, up to the date of holding, had sent in their adhesions. I would suggest that this meeting be held on Monday, the 21st inst., at the hour of one o'clock, so as to admit of such country members as might wish to attend it returning home by the evening trains.

"The first business of the meeting, having chosen a Chairman and Secretary for the day, ought to be to adopt resolutions declaratory of general principles, and then to resolve itself into a committee of organisation ; to sit from time to time to enrol members, collect necessary information ; to prepare a series of suggestions as to future work, and to call together a meeting of the Union so soon as the number of members amounted to FOUR HUNDRED, with a Guarantee Fund of £200, and an annual income of two hundred pounds. The "Union" will then be strong enough to commence its first work, and then—but not until then—it might elect its permanent secretary.

"Now, I do hold a very positive opinion on the nature of the duties of this office, and how it should be filled.

"It should not be an honorary office. The secretary should be a paid officer, and resident in Dublin. I quite concur with you in the great importance attachable to this office being well filled. A vast deal of our progress and success will depend upon him. He should be an able man, but one who *would* act under a local chairman and committee. He would have a large amount of labour arising out of correspondence and literary work. He should be a man capable of advising and suggesting upon these and all matters of working detail; but his actions should not be independent of the committee. There are two things he should be—an educated gentleman and a nationalist.

"We should be in no haste to choose this officer; first, because until we knew our strength in money, we could not fix his salary; secondly, because a couple of months will show us a larger field to choose from.

"Until the Union be fully installed, it would be better to have merely an honorary secretary of committee, allowing him the assistance of clerk, if needed. For similar reasons, it may not be necessary at first to take regular and permanent rooms for meeting.

"Since I last wrote I have received some valuable adhesions, with letters of useful hints and suggestions, which I will give in the next *NATION*.

"One of these adhesions is the able and honest editor of a well-known Liberal newspaper. The second is from a young and gifted poet and nationalist. The third is from a highly respected parish priest of Ossory. The fourth, a worthy curate of the same diocese. A fifth, is an active and talented town councillor, of a Munster town. And the sixth, from one whose deep love of Ireland has already cost him dearly. Each of them is an able man and fit to rally his own circle around him."

But perhaps the most judicious and clear-sighted piece of criticism in reference to the Celtic Union, and its prospects, was that expressed by the *Kilkenny Journal*.—

"THE *NATION* of Saturday has told us that ours was the only voice of objection raised against Dr. Cane's proposition. But therein our contemporary fell into a slight mistake. We conjured up no objections whatever—we simply recommended caution. And we do believe there is no man living who can appreciate the necessity of caution in public enterprises attempted in Ireland, better than Mr. Duffy himself. He knows that as a race we are only too ready to jump at conclusions, and that our performance is often miserably short of our programme. And it is solely because we possess a keen sensibility of this national failing, we did not at once become enthusiastic when last writing on this subject. We then saw lying in the way difficulties grave and many. We see them still; but we must acknowledge they have lost some of their sterner features. Yet, as genuine Celts, it would be quite natural for us to overlook these when ardently tending to a certain goal; and not observe a single obstacle until we blindly stumbled upon them, and fell prostrate amidst universal derision.

"There has been far too much of this; and, if common sense remain amongst us, there ought to be no more. We have been taught wisdom in what is commonly considered a good school—that of adversity.

"To give a new impetus and direction to Irish intellect—to strike once more the Horeb of the Celtic mind, and bid the waters gush forth in an abundant and refreshing stream—to unloose the icy bonds which defeat and disgust had flung around the founts of song, and bid them lavish again their boundless treasures of genius and imagination, this were truly an undertaking worthy of the loftiest ambition. But its merit must be measured by its success; and we know nothing of the characters of either Charles Gavan Duffy or Dr. Cane, if they be not content to have it decided by that test. Feeling thus, we have purposely leaned rather to the side of discouragement than of buoyant expectation; for we are well aware that in every project of this kind, for the *one* who will assume the disagreeable office of counselling caution and circumspection, there will be *ten* found to express the most unqualified approval. And experience has proved that the ten are not always the truer or safer guides."

Kilkenny, Nov. 16, 1853.

"MY DEAR DUFFY.— Your assent that we should meet on Monday next, for the formation of a 'committee of organization' for the 'Celtic Union,' expedites our progress, and will facilitate the enrolment of the number of members deemed necessary for a working commencement.

"As we are now upon the eve of meeting, it will be useful to enter somewhat into the detail of the work before us, and to make some attempt at an exposition of the duties entailed upon ourselves and upon those who undertake to be our fellow-labourers, and whose toil will thenceforward have commenced.

When that meeting assembles, if the opinion it expresses coincides with that already laid down, it will eventuate in a 'committee.' Upon that committee will then devolve the duties which for the past month were yours largely and mine partially. And if it enters upon those duties, as I feel confident it will, a brief period will enable it to announce its work completed, the requisite sums of money paid in, and the required number of members duly enrolled. With what heartfelt pleasure we shall hear that announcement. We shall hasten to meet again, to thank the committee for its able and efficient work, and thenceforth to start as 'The Celtic Union,' fully formed, well developed, and ready for the engagements made in its behalf.

"If the course now about to be acted upon on Monday next—and which is the one advised by many of our friends—be the one approved of and adopted, the first step taken by the meeting ought to be a resolution declaratory of the mental, social and political condition of the country, and the consequent necessity for such a Union.

"Then, a resolution, that we approve of the formation of such a union, and that we constitute ourselves into a committee for the purpose of organizing it.

"Next, that a chairman and honorary secretary of the committee be then chosen.

"That the annual subscription be 10s. for each member.

"That, in addition to annual subscriptions, it is considered necessary to commence with a fund, independent of subscriptions, to be called a Guarantee Fund, and which shall not be less than £200.

"Thus far as regards money and men. I know your eyes are anxiously watching for the heads that will think, and the hands that can wield pens, to write and work for the country. Some of those men are already around you. Even your limited knowledge shows me a goodly number of them, whose capacity I know and whose labours I build upon as material, which is already ours. But were it even otherwise—if we had not six men of capacity amongst us now—I would feel the fullest confidence that when our muster of 400 is complete, it will as surely furnish us with the necessary number of heads, as an enlistment of 400 men in France would have furnished its own officers in the days of the first Napoleon.

"It might be well if, out of the committee of organization, a sub-committee was formed who would have, as their sole duty, the arrangement of all suggestions thrown out in correspondences, or newspapers, or elsewhere, or made by the committee themselves, as to the works to be undertaken by the society, the order in which they should be undertaken, the prices at which they should be issued, the men who volunteered to write or who should be asked to write to them. These should be all carefully noted in a suitable book, together with all such hints and advices, or offers as to publication, terms, and costs thereof as come within the committee's reach. Such a book would form a valuable aid to the committee of the Union hereafter, and preserve for adoption all that is really good in the letters now pouring in upon us.

"There are two immediate duties before the committee of organization—to prepare a suitable member's card, and to get up a report or address upon the nature and objects of the Union, its organization, rules, and plans, and to have these distributed into all parts of the country—a kind of prospectus, to place in the hands of our friends in every town in Ireland, and to send into England, and Scotland, and across the Atlantic, in fine, wherever the committee considers it advisable to use them as instruments for the propagandism of our Nationality.

"Since I last communicated with you I have received several letters of advice, and some conveying valuable adhesions. One comes from the borders of our beautiful lakes, from a high-minded Nationalist, who still loves and hopes for the country which has long regarded him as a true patriot. Another from the same quarter, written by a member of the legal profession, who has been ever prominent in the cause of Ireland. A third comes from the City of the Violated Treaty, and bears the name of one well known to the country as the fearless advocate of truth and liberty. A fourth comes from the far North, and gives to us a member of the medical profession, whose National writing and lectures have made him long a public man. And a fifth from a young professional man, who, travelling much through the country, and loving it well, sees and appreciates the want we undertake to supply. Upon Monday these names will all be made public. Until then farewell.

Yours faithfully,

ROBERT CANE."

The members of the Celtic Union had a preliminary meeting on Monday, Nov. 21. It was well attended by the class who constitute the strength of a party, or an organization—young, cultivated, uncorrupted men. Several letters of adhesion were received from Nationalists of high social and personal distinction in the country—from members of parliament, clergymen, doctors, engineers, country gentlemen, journalists, civic authorities, merchants, traders, and artizans. The members on the books up to that day amounted to one hundred, and the subscriptions and donations to the Guarantee Fund, actually paid, to the sum of £75. As no canvassing of any kind had been employed, beyond the publication of the plan and of comments on it, this was regarded as a decided success. It encouraged the meeting to form a committee of organization, with instructions to issue a prospectus and appeal to the country for their final verdict on the proposal. The understanding seemed to be, that if four hundred members were enrolled and the Guarantee Fund filled up to the amount of £200 by the first of January, the Union might then be formally inaugurated and commence operations. But that, short of this substantial support, it should attempt nothing.

Charles Gavan Duffy occupied the chair, and made a sensible speech, in which he regretted that the supply of literary laborers ready for work was not in proportion to the extent of the ordinary adherents. He declared that his own labours, as a Member of the Legislature, and as Editor of the *Nation*, were too onerous to admit of his aiding the good work as he should wish. But he promised nevertheless to do something substantial. Mr. Duffy also expressed himself to the following effect.

“The nature of the publications would necessarily depend more or less on the system. If the Union operated chiefly through existing publishers, it might hope in time to have many classes of books, from a Primer to a Cyclopaedia, and embracing the magic circle of fiction and poetry, written in a national spirit, by creating and ensuring a market for them. If it published for itself exclusively, or as far as it does so, its books ought, if possible, to be worthy of the preliminary trouble which has heralded their birth. Some correspondents seem to ambition the creation of a petty literature such as abounds across the channel in *Family Herald*s and *Home Circles*. This is honest work for somebody to do, but it is by no means the task set before the Celtic Union. I conceive our duty is to secure good books by the most capable men of our race, each with a soul and purpose in it—each worth reading many times and publishing in many editions—

each tending to some practical purpose, or planting some fruitful opinion, or, at lowest, raising up from the dust and ashes of an ignominious obscurity some man who has served Ireland. A few volumes of this kind is as many as any single year will produce ; but each of them might mark an epoch in opinion. They will not grow rapidly. In the three and twenty volumes of the 'Library of Ireland,' published in two years, there is a good deal of trash ; but there are half a dozen books which circulated more widely than any published in Ireland since the Union, and which have influenced the writings and speaking of all who write and speak in this island, more than any one not accustomed to note such phenomena could believe. It is books of this calibre, and higher when attainable, which we want.

Of 'Papers for the People' we may hope, perhaps, to have a dozen or two in the year ; each of them also aimed at a definite purpose. There is nothing necessarily incompatible with interest and amusement in this idea of a practical aim : MACAULAY made history as pleasant as a romance, and 'more popular at the Circulating Library than the last new novel ;' DICKENS has written about the driest subjects—about public markets, record offices, statistical tables and new inventions, and projects, for example, in a manner to compete successfully with his own fiction. But there is a higher and more generous interest to be awakened in the breast of man by bringing him face to face with the martyrs and conquerors of his race, and by projecting his imagination into its future, than any with which even genius can invest lower topics. If we can present the people with true pictures of the past of Ireland, and reliable guides to a better hereafter, we will not speak to an indifferent audience. It is my clear conviction, therefore that we must have no serials binding us to publish whether we are ready or not, and that our ambition ought to be, not so much to have many publications as to make them such that each will be memorable in Ireland."

Charles Gavan Duffy having vacated the chair William J. Fitzpatrick was called thereto on the motion of Dr. Cane.

In the *Nation* of the following week we find Mr. Duffy expressing, if possible more intelligibly and unmistakeably, the apprehensions which had begun to fill him in regard to the supply of men qualified to wield pens in the good work.

"On the supposition that the Union is to do everything for itself," he wrote, "and by itself, the supply is seriously deficient. There are not many men of the National Party trained writers or intellectual workers, and of that number some could not from their other engagements, and some would not from moral cowardice, enlist publicly in the ranks of the Union. Various correspondents have expressed an enthusiastic conviction that a host of writers would fly to our aid ; but I am dealing here, not with rhetoric, but with a matter of fact, in which I .

have some experience, and I affirm that the supply would be deficient. On the other hand, I believe it will be abundant, if we are content to suggest, to aid, and to facilitate whatever work we can get done indirectly; to turn to account whatever is well done already; and to attempt, on our own behalf, only what is not available in either of these ways."

Immediately after the meeting of the 21st November, Dr. Cane returned to Kilkenny, from whence he addressed on the following day, the following letter to Mr. John Cashel Hoey, now, of course, for the first time published.

" Kilkenny, November 22nd, 1853.

" MY DEAR MR. HOEY

" I send you annexed to this note, a bank order for eleven pounds, being my ten pounds to the guarantee fund, and ten shillings, my years subscription; the other ten shillings is the subscription of Rev. Patrick Power of Carrick-on-Suir.

" As Duffy proposes to lodge the money in bank in our joint names, I think the lodgments should be in a different form for each fund. Thus subscriptions will be lodged as a current account, and the guarantee monies as a lodgement to receive interest.

" I had to leave in such a hurry on yesterday, that I had not time to talk over with you all, some matters we ought to have spoken upon. Duffy is opposed to publishing names yet awhile, and I have such confidence in his sound judgment, I defer my opinion to his, though not fully satisfied in the reasons given. However, perhaps it might be well in your notice of the business to say that 90, or perhaps it may be, by Thursday, 100 names were enrolled—that amongst them were 2 Members of Parliament, 7 Priests, 6 Physicians, 2 Lawyers, 5 Solicitors, 8 Editors, 7 Merchants, as the numbers may really be.

" Would it not also be well to state the amount of money, and how much to guarantee fund and how much subscriptions were actually paid in?

" You and he ought also to arrange the secretaries names, which positively ought to be made public at once, and I take it, that a competent assistant secretary should be *at once* employed to make out books, accounts, &c., and to arrange correspondence.

" I have had a vision continually before me since my return of that able and earnest looking Kingstown democrat, who hits the bull's eye at 30 yards and thinks all men alike, because the rats eat a dead aristocrat's hip-bone as readily as a democrat's. Verily, we are a strange people, and still more strange as a reasoning people.

" Yours ever truly,

" ROBERT CANE.

" When you have the assistant secretary, get him to send me a list of the paid monies and the members' names."

On November 24, Dr. Cane writes to Mr. Hoey, in reply to a request that he would send the committee a draft of a Prospectus for general distribution:—

"MY DEAR MR. HOBY—I will of course obey the committee; but had hopes that Duffy's able pen would have done it. However, I know his time is terribly pressed upon.

"To do the prospectus it will be necessary to have the resolutions of Monday, of which I have no copy, also to have the list of members now enrolled; and the amount of money now paid in. The assistant secretary ought to be at once engaged. Will you direct copies of these matters to be sent to me next post, and release yourself from further work by getting the assistant secretary appointed. I will concur in whatever arrangement Duffy and you make, and I am sure so will the committee.

"I send you a post office order for £1, being the subscription of the Editor of the *Kilkenny Journal*, and John Carroll, Esq.

"I rejoice the almanack is decided on.

"Yours ever truly,

"ROBERT CANE."

The dearth of competent literary workmen continued to throw an occasional chill upon the ardour of Mr. Duffy's hopes in the success of the Celtic Union. "Where," he frequently observed, "shall we get men qualified to succeed those who planned and executed, with such consummate ability, the *Library of Ireland*?" We find among the unpublished papers of the Celtic Union, the following letter of suggestion, addressed by William John Fitzpatrick to Gavan Duffy, in reply to the observation of the latter.

"Benhedar, Monkstown,

November 24th, 1853.

Will you permit me to address a few observations to you in reference to the *modus operandi* of the proposed Celtic Union?

I conceive that one of our greatest difficulties at present is to enlist the services of experienced literary men whose duty it will be to write the books for the Celtic Union. Those men, I take it, will hardly be philanthropic enough to compile the books referred to without handsome pecuniary recompense. The Society is not by any means rich enough to pay—in the liberal manner that it ought—either authors for their labour or publishers for their trouble. We therefore should go to work as economically as possible, but at the same time in earnest and with the full consciousness of the importance of our mission.

I need not remind you of the high position which "*Duffy's Library for Ireland*," has held in the literary world, for the last eight years. Where would we get a set of books more pregnant of nationality, more soul-stirring in their appeals, more vivid in their delineations of alien misrule, or more eloquent in inculcating principles of self-reliance and self-respect? I fear it would be long ere the books published by the Celtic Union could think of competing with *Duffy's Library for Ireland*.

I would therefore venture to propose that the Celtic Unionists do

purchase from Mr. James Duffy, the copyright and stereotype plates of that national and invaluable series of books, and then republish them at a moderate but remunerative price. It may be argued by some members of your committee that the Irish people are tired of the Library of Ireland—that they have the volumes off by heart already: but I can assure those gentlemen that so far from the multitude being familiar with them, they are, with comparatively few exceptions utterly unconconscious of their existence. *The Library for Ireland never yet got into the hands of the people—it was published at too high a price for them, and the consequence was that the books instead of enlightening the poor people merely circulated in the drawingrooms and around the firesides of the rich.*

Most of the men who wrote those books are either snatched away by death, or exiled from the dear old land of their birth. The contributors to the *Library for Ireland* have been scattered and disorganized, and in all probability, will never again fall back into their old and strong position. The flame of nationality is dying out, and we should lose no time in throwing fuel on the rapidly expiring embers. To search for authors to compose the books—to stipulate with them upon their terms—to cogitate over the subjects which ought to be selected to write upon, &c., would occupy entirely too much time. We ought earnestly to begin at once or not at all, and it appears to me that a very considerable delay, harassing of patience, and waste of money, would result from the publication of new and original works as proposed by the members of the Celtic Union. In the *Library for Ireland* we have the matter as it were, 'cut and dry' for us: and I think the sooner the copyright is purchased, and those admirable compositions republished for the million, the better it will be for Ireland and the Irish. Let each volume of the re-issue contain a new preface, racy of the soil—let the uniform price be only fourpence—and let the title and seal of the society be branded on the covers in order that its name may become a familiar 'Household Word' through the length and breadth of the land. Let agents who sympathise with the project and who will throw themselves heart and soul into it be appointed throughout every town in Ireland—let a staff of hawkers be retained whose duty it will be to diffuse the books through the quiet country parts—far away from towns and cities; and if those sub-agents of the Union only exert themselves half as energetically as the Bible readers do in their distribution of tracts our good work must prosper—and a signal success be as certain as the sun.

The books, ought, of course, to have a cover with a new national and historical design by some competent Irish artist, so that the popular eye may not only be attracted but educated.

I may observe in conclusion that new notes and appendices may of course be introduced with propriety. • • • • •

While the re-issue is appearing, new and more fascinating works may be in preparation. But certainly half the secret is to begin at once before the warm ardour of the country cools, or the present active spirit of sympathy weakens, from vexatious and disheartening delays.

We should begin economically though, and with caution. On

that depends in a great measure our success. I have suggested an economical expedient, and trusting it may meet with your approbation,
I remain, &c.

The President of the Celtic Union wrote to Mr. Fitzpatrick on the following day as follows :—

“ MY DEAR SIR—The contents of your letter to Mr. Duffy deserves *serious consideration*, and its suggestions must be preserved, with all the others, for the consideration of a future committee who will be organized so soon as the Celtic Union is properly in existence.

I am delighted to see the interest you take in the work before us, and wish we had a few more earnest men of the same stamp.

In reply to your remark I hope the committee will be able to issue the Prospectus by next week.

Yours faithfully,

ROBERT CANE.”

The want of a prospectus was greatly felt. Dr. Cane at length drew up one, and forwarded it to Mr. C. G. Duffy for his approval. Mr. Duffy, however, considering that it was too diffuse, and verbose, cancelled the manuscript, and wrote one *de novo* to the following effect.

“ For years the voice of Nationality has been dumb in Ireland. In the interval a poisonous foreign literature has circulated widely among our People, and a sordid utilitarianism, which offers itself as a rival and substitute for our national rights, has grown in pretension and influence. At length it is boasted that the native spirit of Ireland is dead.

It is time to face these dangers. A few men who desire to keep alive the flame of nationality ; who think the corrupting influence of immoral books will be best resisted by a literature which concerns itself with the struggles and triumphs of our race ; who know that the resources of a nation, which we still possess, can only be developed under the impulse of that national spirit which has ever been the stimulant and the safeguard of States, propose to found a Celtic Union.

They propose that by means of this Union the Nationalists of Ireland, without distinction of creed or class, shall renew their relations with each other ; that they shall employ their influence and example to give a national direction to the intellectual and industrial work done in the country ; that they shall publish and encourage the publication of books and tracts, dealing with historical, social, and industrial subjects, calculated to keep up the spirit, to stimulate the enterprise, and to inform the minds of our people.

They desire that the Union may become an extern teacher to perfect the education of our children, from which a knowledge of their own country is so habitually excluded ; that it may encourage that industrial training and social ambition, the absence of which has left

Irishmen to toil in the lowest and worst-paid employments in the world, and that it may herald the way to that better future for which, we believe, Providence has destined our country."

The rejected prospectus was enclosed in the following letter of the Doctor's :—

"My dear Mr. Hoey. I send you the rough draft of the prospectus which I hope may please the committee. The resolutions I consider it right to publish with the prospectus.

I think Duffy's name ought to go in as chairman of one of the Committees.

It might be neatly printed as a small sheet or letter, or as a small pamphlet the size of this paper. I think a couple of thousand will be needed."

The growing importance of the Society was attested by a very deliberate, and most unnecessary public assault upon it from the pen of a Catholic priest more remarkable for the graceful fluency of his composition than for the strength and comprehensiveness of his judgment. "Save us from our friends, we know our enemies," is an old and trite aphorism. The Rev. Mr.—, if we remember rightly, compared Dr. Cane to Voltaire, seeking to impregnate the young mind of Ireland with godless ideas. Mr.— in his public letter complained that Dr. Cane had sent his son to a Protestant school; and this comprised, we believe, the head and front of his offending.

Mr. William J. Fitzpatrick considering that the Rev. gentleman's attack was materially calculated to injure the prospects of the Society, lost no time in apprising Dr. Cane of its appearance. Dr. Cane promptly acknowledged Mr. Fitzpatrick's vigilance.

Kilkenny, December 12th. 1853.

MY DEAR SIR—I am glad to see the interest you take in our Union, and to observe how watchful you are of our externals as well as internals. I had seen Mr.—'s letter, to which I attach, and the public will attach, little importance here: and if it affects the Union at all it will be to serve it, by giving it notoriety amongst a class; as yet knowing but little about it, while it must be obvious to all that a deep personal antagonism actuates the writer, against what he calls "the real head," i.e. Duffy and "the Kilkenny head," who sent his children to a Protestant school, i.e. myself. I have been looking out for some such attacks, and wondered they had not come sooner. Such will be necessary to our very existence, and I count Mr.—'s but a breeze to the storms of wrath through which I hope we will yet steer our gallant bark.

It is a question for sound and good council, whether Mr. —

should be yet answered, or waited for until he shews larger fire, which I apprehend he will. Mark you the Editor is *silent* on the subject though he is personally addressed.

Mr.—— has not a college; he has a small seminary at [——] and while he opposes in a school puff the Union five from amongst the very best of the secular clergy round him have joined us—men beside whose names his will look shy indeed.

I will communicate with Duffy about his letter, and not decide my course yet. In truth I hope for higher game, and would fain hold my powder and shot for them.

I am glad you are at work on Cloncurry and Emmet: it would need some family influence to get at Cloncurry's papers, &c., which I hope you have; if not, a new memoir of Emmet written with life and energy would take well, and the materials for that needs but a proper selection, and condensation, and to be written with fire.—I am always glad to hear from you.

Yours faithfully

ROBERT CANE.

P.S. Have you seen the *Carlton Evening Post* of last Saturday? It has an able leader in praise of the Celtic Union—more than a balance of Mr.——'s attack."

Mr. Gavan Duffy took the same view as Dr. Cane of this cruel assault upon a really excellent Institution. "Do not," he characteristically observed to Mr. Fitzpatrick, "do not be uneasy about Mr. S——'s enmity. He is one of these men whom it is pleasant to have upon the other side."

The project had by this time reached America, and was favorably received there by the Irish people. But because the object of the Celtic Union was neither revolutionary or rebellious, the hostility of John Mitchel, to it and to its promoters, knew no bounds, nor chivalrous courtesy. He wildly denounced it as a humbug; and his antagonism had the effect of turning many of the Irish in America from its standard. The Irish saints, including Columbkille, were ridiculed, and the slave system eulogised in the same breath by Mr. Mitchell. Dr. Cane, meanwhile, continued his correspondence with Mr. Cashel Hoey.

"MY DEAR MR. HOEY.—I enclose you the second halves of the £5 sent by Dr. Rourke for himself and nine other Enniscorthy men.

"Duffy's article in to-day's *Nation*, is a good and judicious one, but I am not yet satisfied about the non-publication of names, but a few weeks will shew whether I am in error. One thing is certain, that the *officials'* names ought to be published in the prospectus. Therefore the honorary secretaries and the assistant ought to be named *at once*. I think it would be well to have Duffy's name as Chairman of the committee of suggestion, with mine as that of the committee of

organisation, so as to stamp a living air on the work. The secretaries should be named at once, and let me have the result by to-morrow morning at farthest, that I may forward the draft of the prospectus by to-morrow night's post in time for your committee on Monday.

"Would it not be well to have a brief programme of the "Celtic Union," in the almanac,* with official names also attached?

The next letter is addressed to Mr. William J. Fitzpatrick.

"Kilkenny, December 31, 1853.

"MY DEAR SIR—Thanks for the newspaper and your letter. It is evident your friend of the *Journal* is not quite friendly to the Celtic Union; but after all his paper being non-political, there is some excuse for his caution.

"I hope within a few days to send in some adhesions and some money to the Union.

"In writing the 'Cloncurry,' do not lose sight of the importance of making it brief, and forcible, and applicable to good, by pointing a moral for Irish aristocrats. I have no correspondence bearing upon it, and know no one here who has, else I should gladly aid you.

"ROBERT CANE."

It may here be observed, that Mr. Fitzpatrick found he could not, in justice to the subject of his memoir, comply with Dr. Cane's wish that it should be brief. The manuscript, therefore, when completed, was not offered to the Celtic Union for publication.

Mr. Duffy's prospectus having been approved and printed, it was extensively distributed by the assistant secretary, Mr. Hennessy. The good project met with a more cordial response, generally speaking, in England, than in many parts of this country. As the present seems a good opportunity for faithfully recording the rise and progress of an Irish literary society, which during its short career achieved some highly important bibliographical triumphs, we avail ourselves of it, having the singular advantages of unlimited access to the unpublished papers of the Celtic Union. To give an idea of the class of subscribers which thronged forward and their hearty tone of co-operation, we select at random from the archives of the Society a handfull of its correspondence.

* The Celtic Union Almanack was never published. The MS. was submitted to us at the time, and it certainly deserved to see the light. Every day in the year had its condensed record of an illustrious birth or death, or some stirring incident in Irish History, Literature, or Politics. Not a niche was vacant. The chronology was elaborate, and displayed a remarkable amount of learning and research.

“ London, 26 November, 1853.

“ C. GAVAN DUFFY, Esq.—SIR.—I hail with great pleasure the prospect of the establishment of the ‘ Celtic Union,’ being fully convinced, that under the auspices of those gentlemen named as the prime movers, it must succeed—and do much to teach the Irish people their true mission ; also tend very much to dissipate ‘ English prejudice,’ as regards the true character of the Celtic race.

“ I shall be glad to become an annual subscriber, and remain, &c.

MICHAEL BOWEN.

“ In addition to my own name, be pleased to add Mr. William Ellerker, *of the same address, as an annual subscriber.*”

SIR—I received the circular of the Celtic Union yesterday, and will make every exertion early this week to get in all the subscriptions I can to forward before next Saturday. I was out of town on business for some time ; and since I returned I have been so busy that I had not a moment to look after the interests of the Union. I regret very much to have to say that the apathy and distrust of a great number that I have spoken to, is most discouraging, at the same time a striking proof of the necessity of a confederation such as the Celtic Union is likely to constitute. In the meantime I beg you will accept my earnest sympathy for the success of the under-taking, and remain,

Your most obedient servant,

FRANCIS J. POWER.

James's street

MY DEAR SIR—Will you do me the honor of putting my name on the list as an *annual* subscriber to the Celtic Union. I will also give One Pound to the Guarantee Fund.

JAMES PLUNKETT, T.C.

C. G. Duffy, Esq., M.P.

Springfield, Tullamore.

MY DEAR DUFFY—You have wisely merged the proposal to create the Guarantee Fund, in an immediate subscription, and four hundred Ten Shilling Subscribers, before commencing operations. Inclosed is half a Five pound note, my subscription to the “ Celtic Union.” Should there be any difficulty in making up the Guarantee Fund of course I will cheerfully send a second subscription.

I cannot attend your meeting on Monday, which I regret ; but I am sure, when the *proper time* arises, you will exhibit the length, breadth, and strength of our beginning.

As to obtaining some subscribers, although a general disinclination exists to give money for public purposes, still I hope to be able to enlist a few. Allow me to remain,

J. O'FLANAGAN.

C. G. Duffy, Esq., M.P.

MY DEAR SIR—I send you my subscription to that excellent project, the Celtic Union. It is rightly started as a national object to be worked on business principles and rules, and hope it will not fall asunder by divisions and petty jealousies amongst the managers and contributors.

Do you ever hear from our friend Butler ?

Yours truly,

C. G. Duffy, M.P.

JAMES KIERNAN.

Gazette Office, Longford.

The Editor of the *M. C. Gazette*, will of course insert the Prospectus of the Celtic Union *gratis*.

The Gazette is entirely at the service of the Council of the Union.

If Mr. Hennessy have any reports, &c., he will much oblige by forwarding them to the Gazette Office.

"14, St. James's square, London, 12 Dec. 1853.

My Dear Mr. Duffy—You will oblige me by entering as subscribers of 10s. each to the Celtic Union, Miss E. French; Mrs. Burke; Mrs. Val. French; Miss M. Moore; Miss L. Burke; Baron Anthony French; Valentine French; Major French; making £4, which with a donation of one from myself, the enclosed order will cover. Wishing you every success,

"Believe me, yours sincerely,

"J. T. FRENCH.

Lieut. Colonel.

"C. G. Duffy, Esq., M.P."

"In token of the sincerity of my sympathy I beg to say that I am willing, at any time called upon, to contribute my mite of £5 towards setting the machinery in motion.

WILLIAM J. FITZPATRICK.

"Tuesday Evening.

"My Dear Friend—Enclosed is my subscription as one of the 400.

"When the rules are made out and it is agreed what sum each should pay to the Guarantee Fund my part will be forthcoming.

"I could write on the Natural History of Ireland, because I know it and have every bird and beast in its order, and it could be illustrated with cuts and views of Ireland as Jordan's.

Yours,

"T. A. UNDERWOOD."

"Cork, November 29.

"Dear Sir—A note was forwarded to me from Waterford this day signed I think by Mr. Murphy, stating that the first meeting of the Celtic Union would take place on Monday in Dublin, and requesting my attendance. I regret very much that some pressing matters of business must prevent me from being present at the inauguration of a matter in the success of which I take so deep an interest, I also regret that the lateness of the hour at which I arrived here this evening prevents me from procuring a Post-office order for the amount of my subscription; I will, however, on my return to Waterford, send it as well as my donation towards the Guarantee Fund, either to yourself or anyone else whom you may name.

"I think from 20 to 30 subscribers will be formed then at once, and if things go on well five times that number. Above all things let the books be well written at the beginning, even if you have to employ English writers; you must also have them attractive, as to induce our people to read what we want, we must commence if necessary to teach them childlike, from a painted Alphabet. Sincerely hoping that the meeting will be an auspicious one,

"Yours truly,

"Robert Cane, Esq., M.D."

"JOHN A. BLAKE, M.P."

" 69, *South Mall, Cork.*

" My Dear Mr. Duffy—I have received a note requesting my attendance at Monday's meeting, and directing me, if I could not attend, to forward you or Dr. Cane my subscription.

" I regret that I cannot attend ; but I enclose £1 10s. as my private subscription, and 10s. as President of the Cork Young Men's Society.

" If I can forward your views in any other way which will not involve any great expenditure of time, any considerable notoriety, or any particular capability, I shall be glad to do so, as well for your sake, as that of the good cause.

" JOHN GEORGE M'CARTHY.

" *Wallstown, December 26, 1853.*

" Gentlemen—Being desirous of becoming a member of your society—a society, which I consider to be one of the most important that could be established, to meet our present necessities—I would feel anxious to know if a work on agriculture would be acceptable.

" The work in contemplation would be written almost entirely on a new plan ; its grand object would be to unite theory with practice, and bring to the view of the agriculturist, within as small a compass as possible, the leading and most important principles connected with that invaluable science.

" The work in question would contain clear, yet brief explanations of the sciences of chemistry, geology, animal and vegetable physiology, botany, zoology, entomology, and farm architecture, with their relations to agriculture, the treatment of live stock, both in health and disease, horticulture, domestic economy in general, and hints not only to the effect of reforming the system of husbandry formerly pursued, but also the social and moral condition of the inhabitants. The work would also be interspersed with pieces of original poetry.

" From an extensive study of the most approved works on agricultural subjects, from practical knowledge, and from being a pupil at the agricultural establishment at Glasnevin, I consider I should feel competent as an author for such a work.

" Wishing the society success in its arduous undertaking.

" JAMES BYRNE."

" 30 *Victoria-street, Manchester, Nov. 18th, 1853.*

Dear Sir—Mr. Hennessy has done me the honor to invite me to your meeting on Monday. I regret it is not in my power to be present on an occasion so important and interesting ; but shall be happy to render such assistance to the projected "Union" as may be in my power.

I enclose a Post order for £2 2s., as my first annual subscription. Mr. O'Grady will, I suppose, write you from London. He has been hotly engaged lately in defending the company of which he is secretary. It has been most fiercely attacked by Reynolds and Jones.

THOMAS CLARK

C. G. Duffy, Esq., M.P."

" My dear Mr. Duffy—I enclose you a half-note—my friend Dr. O'Ryan sends you the other half—to pay our subscription to the Celtic Union.

There is no hope for our poor country but in giving a national education to the masses. Individuals must be upon whom it will be unsuccessful, as it is at the present unfortunately among the instructed classes of the present day. But do you suppose, were the people educated, that we would witness an entire community denying in practice that to which they were solemnly pledged by an address or by an unanimously adopted resolution? I should say not. At any rate let it be tried. Educate the masses—the old country is irretrievably lost if mental enlightenment fail.

May God strengthen and abet you I fervently pray.

“P. BYRNE, C.C.,
“Carrick-on-Suir.”

The Lutheran calumny which affixes to Roman Catholic Priests the stigma of being favorable to the principle of mental twilight, has so often been reiterated that it gives us pleasure whenever we find clergymen of the Church of Rome expressing opposite sentiments through the medium of letters never intended for the public eye. The slander, though as old as the Reformation from whence it sprang, and although it has been refuted as often as Lutheranism has given birth to novel sects and conflicting tenets, is nevertheless that above all others, even at the present day, most readily believed by Protestants. They totally lose sight of the historical fact, that successive acts of Parliament forbade, under pain of death, any Catholic parent, priest, tutor, or guardian, to instruct a child in even the rudiments of general knowledge, or the fear and love of God. At last Charter Schools—those undisguised nurseries of Proselytism—were conceded to us; but their foul abuses daily grew, and spread so widely, that a Parliamentary Commission was constrained to inquire into, and report upon them. The Charter School Institution became too loathsome even for the hands which formed it, and like Frankenstein, who fled in disgust from the monster he had himself created, the Government at length utterly denounced and repudiated it. To this the notorious Kildare Place system of education, after a time, gave place; but although pledged to diffuse the benefits of education among all, without interfering with the religious tenets of any, it was eventually convicted before the world of a systematic and organised attempt to proselytise by wholesale. The mask of hypocrisy having been torn from the brow of the Kildare Place Society, by Bishop Doyle and others, it was unanimously resolved by the Catholic parents, pastors, and guardians of youth, that all children under their control should be at once withdrawn from these insidious seminaries of proselytism. They refused all compromise; and at last the National

System of Education was devised, and offered to our acceptance, by Lord Stanley. This was a vast and radical improvement on every former system of public education in Ireland; but nevertheless it is still liable to many weighty objections. Our National teachers do their best to *denationalize* the popular mind. Even their Book of Poetic Extracts shews it. Scott's beautiful lines,

“Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said—
This is my own—my native land!”

escaped the vigilance of the original compiler, but though applying to no particular country it has been expunged from subsequent editions lest the youth of Ireland should imbibe a national thought. A friend of ours, in touring through the South of Ireland was requested by the Teacher, to “examine” the pupils of one of the National Schools. The boys had a “smathering” of Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Humphry Davy, and other English great guns; but the moment the gentleman alluded to some illustrious Irishmen of by-gone days, the master panic-stricken, interposed saying, “Oh, sir, you will get me into a scrape—we are not allowed to allude to those matters.” This fact is a melancholy one. Until we are taught self-respect, and self-reliance we will grow into a grovelling people. Sentiments of adoration for everything English, and Foreign are sedulously inculcated in the National School Books, while every sentence which could by possibility have a tendency to promote national pride, self-respect, or self-reliance, is carefully obliterated. Robert Cane felt this, and projected the Celtic Union accordingly. We resume some of the correspondence of the men who wished it well.

300 Regent street, London.

MY DEAR SIR—I beg you will excuse my troubling you with the enclosed contribution to the Guarantee Fund, 5l., and ten subscribers, one of whom I have not canvassed yet, £5 more. The reason why I don't say £10 to the Guarantee Fund, is that it might seem too forward of me; but if there is any necessity for it I shall send it with equal pleasure.

Clarke will write to you from somewhere in the country, where he is actively engaged against the powers of darkness, led on by G. W. M., I don't like writing his name, Reynolds.

Your efforts at Clonmel were most admirable, and God send they will prove successful. One of our people at Macclesfield gave me a small green neckerchief for you—which was especially worked for you. When “Reynolds” and a clique of low jealous rivals have done gibbetting us before the public as plunderers of the

people's funds, I shall set to with a heart and a half in support of "The Celtic Union," which I am sure will prove eminently useful, successful, and a lasting honor to the founders.

MICHAEL O'GRADY.

C. G. Duffy, Esq., M.P.

Manchester, Dec. 21st, 1853.

SIR—I received the circulars of the Celtic Union last evening; but subsequent to a meeting which I called by circular containing on one side the address which I got from the *Nation* of Saturday.

I regret to say that out of fifty of the most likely persons to whom I addressed the circulars only eight attended. We however formed ourselves into a working committee with a highly respected clergyman (Rev. Mr. M'Cann) as chairman. We intend waiting personally on the parties most likely to subscribe to the Union. One thing I think I may safely promise, that the subscriptions of the committee and their immediate friends will not be far short of £30.

FRANCIS J. POWER.

Nation Office.

I have just called to say that I am willing to give a subscription, not very large of course, to the Guarantee Fund of the Celtic Union. I shall also become a subscriber. I will not cumber you with suggestions, for I have none original; I might, however, do a little *work* hereafter. I have come to say this, because I know that the certainty of help, no matter how small, is encouraging. As I regard the Celtic Union, it is a necessity I would labour for its success.

C. NOWLAN, C.C.

Donnybrook.

Subscriptions from Leeds to the "Celtic Union."

Rev. M. O'Donnell, 10s.; Rev. John Leavy, 10s.; Edward Hayes, Esq., 10s.; John Quinn, Esq., 10s.; William Long, Esq., 10s.; an Irishman in England (Wm. Kenealy) anonymous, 10s. 6d. Total, £3 0s. 6d.

Grenagh, Killarney, Kerry Co.

DEAR SIR—I regret that it will not be in my power to attend the meeting of the committee of the Celtic Union, to be held to-morrow in Dublin, and have the pleasure of enclosing you £1 my subscription. I am sorry that I have nothing additional to send from this neighbourhood; and that so far as I have influence or inquiry, I have not been able better to advance the work; but this is nothing otherwise than I had at all times expected in this district. As it would appear that you are likely to-morrow fully to inaugurate the plans of the Celtic Union, and place it in a position to commence its work, and as I don't see any means of supervision or assistance which I can be at this distance; I would trouble you, in your new arrangements, to withdraw my name from any permanent position, such as Treasurer or the like; but at the same time I am quite ready, to promote its objects in this locality, as far as lies within my reach.

DENIS SHINE LAWLOR.

C. G. Duffy, Esq., M.P.

" 15, Charles-street, London.

"DEAR SIR.—My absence from town for the last five or six weeks has prevented me paying that attention to the affairs of the *Celtic Union*, which I should wish; however I hope for the future I shall be able to assist in advancing its objects more materially, you may rely it shall not be for the want of industry on my part. I have instructed a friend, Mr. Smith, to forward my subscriptions which I hope have come to hand.

" J. C. LINDSEY."

" Arva, February 7, 1854.

"DEAR SIR.—I am delighted to find the good work of the "*Celtic Union*," about being commenced in earnest. Not being able to attend at your meeting of to-morrow to learn of your wise and patriotic instructors, the many benevolent views, which will be propounded, I beg you will hand in the enclosed one pound, the annual subscription of two of as worthy sons of the soil, as the 'sea girt isle' has yet produced in their sphere, viz., Mr. Patrick Motham of Granard, and Mr. John Lynch, of Arva.

" This, though a backward locality, having produced four already, will when the '*Union*,' commences to work with vigour produce many more adherents. Wishing you and it every success, I am, with best regards, yours faithfully,

" FRANCIS O'BRIEN.

P.S. I'd thank you sincerely for the earliest news of your meeting with its results.

" C. G. Duffy, Esq., M.P."

" Leeds, 4th February, 1854.

"DEAR SIR.—I have received your circular of yesterday and note that there is to be a meeting of the "*Celtic Union*," on Tuesday next, which I am sorry I cannot attend.

" I promised to subscribe £5 to the guarantee fund, and I have now the pleasure to enclose it, which please acknowledge.

" EDWARD HAYES."

" Borrisokane, 5th January, 1854."

" MY DEAR SIR.—Have the goodness to put down my name as a member of the *Celtic Union*; I send my subscription with best wishes,

" J. BERMINGHAM, P. P.

" C. G. Duffy, Esq., M. P."

" Examiner Office, Limerick, 13th December, 1853.

" DEAR SIR.—I beg to say that I shall insert the prospectus of the Celtic Union, three posts in the *Examiner* as my year's subscription to the society, to which I wish every success.

" JAMES R. BROWNE."

" Wexford Guardian Office.

" SIR—I hereby enclose you £5 as my portion of the Guarantee Fund of the Celtic Union. I hope the efforts of that body to procure a proper literature for the people will meet with the success which so necessary and so great an undertaking eminently deserves.

" I also enclose ten shillings as my annual subscription.

" MARK A. PITT.

" C. G. Duffy, Esq., M.P."

" Carrick, Nov. 19, 1853.

" MY DEAR SIR—I did intend to be at the first meeting of the Celtic Society on Monday next, but I regret exceedingly to find, that it will not be in my power to attend, owing to professional engagements. I will send you on Monday my own subscription and those of a few others, who have already declared their intention of becoming members, viz. Rev. Patrick Byrne, C.C., Rev. Patrick Power, C.C., James M. Rivers, Esq., Thomas Daly, merchant.

" It is to be hoped that the society will be so constituted and directed as to win from all true Irishmen at home and abroad (without religious distinction) approbation and active support. Indeed of this there can be little doubt, seeing that the project already comprises the names of so many able and faithful men engaged to carry out the good work.

" Of course we will here in Carrick co-operate to the best of our ability with the committee in Dublin, and I think I may safely promise that twelve members in this locality will be enrolled within a month.

" ANTH. O'RYAN."

" Holymount (Mayo,) Feb. 6th, 1854.

DEAR SIR—I beg you will do me the favor to propose me a member of the 'Celtic Union,' at your meeting to-morrow. Enclosed is a Post-office order for my subscription.

" My position, that of Government Engineer and Valuator, though not acquired by, nor depending on any political services or influence, yet makes me delicate in giving you any *very prominent* help, but it affords me almost every day opportunities of forwarding the objects of the Society by a *quiet* earnest propagandism. Such help I have given the principles of the Nation (of which I am one of the oldest

subscribers) and such help I promise the 'Celtic Union,' the necessity for which I have long felt.

I am, dear Sir, &c.

"P. F. C———, Civil Engineer."

Robert Cane, Esq., M.D.

When Keogh and Sadlier, and the other members of the so-called brigade, forgot their pledges and their principles, and accepted office under the Government of Lord Aberdeen, no one felt their political apostacy with more poignancy or humiliation than Robert Cane.

John Potter, Esq., Mayor, and nine other civic fathers of Kilkenny, having ascertained that the Viceroy, Lord St. Germans, would pass through their city on November 15th, 1854, *en route* homeward from a private visit to a personal friend, composed and presented an address to his Excellency, while the hissing engine was taking deep draughts of "the water without mud," for which the "faire cittie" is famed.

There was no necessity, strictly speaking, for addressing the Lord Lieutenant, as he did not think well of visiting Kilkenny in his official capacity: but the corporation thought otherwise, and in company with Smith O'Brien's old foe, General Macdonald, they bowed down in their robes before His Excellency, and presented him with an exceedingly fawning address, to which the Viceroy, according to the *Nation* of the day, "returned a cold and formal answer."

Dr. Cane pronounced a dignified protest against this unnecessary ebullition of affection towards Lord St. Germans.

"Dear Mr. Mayor" he wrote—"I find by a communication just received from your secretary, that you require me to attend a meeting of the Corporation at seven o'clock this evening, to consider the propriety of presenting an address to the Lord Lieutenant, when passing through on Tuesday next.

"I have not been very well for the past week, and have not for several days ventured out in the evening, therefore I cannot be present this evening; but were I present I certainly would not vote for an address to the Irish head of the Aberdeen government.

"I would object to such an address upon public grounds. Lord St. Germans is, I believe, an amiable man, but he represents in Ireland that Government, which, without referring to its intolerance of everything truly Irish, has inflicted, and continues to inflict, by the improper exercise of its patronage, the deepest curses upon Ireland that she has encountered since British ministers bought up her representatives in 1800.

"It is a government which has tolerated Irish Catholics only where it could purchase, debauch, or steal them away from the old

country ; and I cannot, directly or indirectly, compliment such a government.

“ I cannot compromise principle and veracity by uttering false compliments to the corruptors of my countrymen.”

The following letter addressed to the author of the “ Life and Times of Cloncurry,” though unimportant, is interesting as evincing Dr. Cane’s literary taste, and his anxiety to see the Celtic Union work earnestly and energetically.

Kilkenny, February 28th, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR—I remember Dr. Madden sending me the letter you allude to. It was one from Lord Cloncurry describing a seal of Lord Edward Fitzgerald’s. It would give you no fact for the life of Cloncurry, and could be useful only as a note for a memoir of Lord Edward. But at all events my impression up to the receipt of your letter was, that I had returned it to Dr. Madden. If I have not done so it was a sad omission on my part, and only excusable in one who has vastly more to do than he has time for. I will, however, search over my letters, and if I have it I will return it to Dr. Madden, or to you if he desires you to get it. At all events I will write to tell you if I get it, and send you a copy of it, which the manner of Dr. Madden’s sending it to me will authorise me to do.

I regretted greatly to hear that you have been suffering from illness, but trust for the country’s sake, and all our sakes, you will overcome it. I hope to see you at the Celtic Union meeting some day next week, as I think our committee should soon assemble again, and get to work heartily and at once.

Yours faithfully,

ROBERT CANE.

P.S.—I could indeed have wished to have been with you on the day that Duffy dined with you.

The member’s card designed with true Celtic and national taste was now issued. Dr. Cane writing to the Assistant Secretary on July 23d, 1854, says :— “ Mr. Campion procured some adhesions by merely showing the members’ card you sent him.” Our author had now begun to prepare for the Press his *History of the Williamite Wars*, as a support to the Celtic Union. To render it peculiarly attractive he spared no expense in obtaining the illustrative aid of the best Irish artists of the day. His anxious letters to the Assistant Secretary at this period in relation to the progress of the engravings, and wood-cuts run in this wise : “ is Ginckle nearly done ? Has Grey Mr. Fitzpatrick’s drawing engraved ? I want wood for Grey and Oldham. I have drawings on the two pieces I hold. Are they to go to Hanlon ? Does Mr. Hoey know what is to be paid Watson for his design ? I am

glad," he adds "that O'Keeffe is on the History of the Celts; he ought to illustrate it." The Assistant Secretary, Mr. Hennessy, had expressed a desire to commence as a publisher by bringing the books of the Celtic Union before the public. Dr. Cane amiably writes to him—"Mr. Fitzpatrick is about to publish his life of Cloncurry. I think he does not mean it to come in actual Celtic dress, but in aid of the Union as literary support. I write to you as it might be worth *your* while to publish it. It would be work to begin with as a publisher. Feel your way in it, if you think fit, but without mentioning me."

On August 6th, 1854, Dr. Cane writes to the same party.

MY DEAR SIR—I return you the engraving for Mr. Grey, with Mr. Fitzpatrick's note, which will explain to Mr. Grey the changes needed to be made according to Mr. Fitzpatrick's opinion.

Thanks for the coin—an Elizabeth Irish farthing, quite common, and struck to economize money being quite good enough for Ireland in days when there was no Swift to terrify our Saxon masters with "a Draper's letter."

I shall be glad to hear more fully from you about your publishing scheme. When do you commence? Where do you commence? Will you print yourself, or employ some man such as Gill, and who? Will your fount of type be Irish? Upon what terms would you undertake the Celtic Union books?

The next letter is to the author of the "*Life and Times of Lord Cloncurry*," who, in consequence of the sadly notorious fact that hardly one book published in Dublin pays, was constrained to follow the example of Mr. D'Alton, Mr. Gilbert, and other able historical writers, and to secure in advance as many subscribers to the work as possible. The "*Life of Cloncurry*" it may be observed, formed Mr. Fitzpatrick's *debut* in literature.

Kilkenny, August 15th, 1854.

MY DEAR MR. FITZPATRICK—I am glad to find you have been so energetically at work, and trust your book will be creditably brought out, and not only in a national spirit, but calculated to feed into fuller flame the feeble light of Irish nationality.

Did it strike you that it would be well to have a print of Cloncurry prefixed to your book, and perhaps a vignette of Hogan's fine piece of statuary? Hanlon or Grey would execute it.

Doyle's book, his letters, essays, and a good life would tell well. It would be sure of a large sale amongst the clerics, as well as some amongst the laymen.

I do not think you can calculate upon a large list of subscribers; but I should hope your book will merit, and have a large sale. But

you must be older, and better known to command subscribers to an unknown book by an unknown author. Pardon the freedom of this remark, but I know the spirit of our friendship, though yet a young one, will permit me the observation ; but this will occur, I trust, only with your first book, which once successful paves the way, and makes smooth the road to after success. Will you please honor my name by putting it down for four copies. I do not expect or care for more subscribers to the Celtic Union. We have enough to begin, and I think we will then speedily grow. Indeed I am not anxious to have much done until Gavan Duffy is back, yet I feel satisfied that the fair promises with which we opened the year will display some good autumn fruit, palatable to Irish taste, and suited to nourish nationality, and give strength to young liberty.

Participating in your anxiety, and earnestly wishing you every success,

I remain your's truly,
ROBERT CANE.

Mr. Fitzpatrick, knowing that Dr. Cane was engaged upon "a History of the Williamite Wars," communicated to him an assertion of the Duke of Berwick's, not generally known, that the bravery attributed to William was rather fiction than fact, and that in the height of one of the battles between his army and that of James, he retired from his position as a Commander, and secreted his person in a ditch or some such undignified entrenchment. Mr. Fitzpatrick mentioned the allegation to Dr. Cane for "what it was worth." His reply displays the impartiality of an expansive and well-informed mind ; and it is worth subjoining because it quite upsets the belief, general among many, that Dr. Cane was a bigoted Partisan on the side which opposes "the Glorious, Pious, and Immortal Memory."

Kilkenny, Dec. 3rd, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR—"Not very well" must be my excuse for not sooner replying.

Thanks for the extract which you so kindly sent to me ; but I cannot credit William's having acted cowardly on Berwick's or any authority.

I am glad your book is near to hand. I promise myself a treat with it.

One of my copies is to be an ornamented one for my drawingroom ; the others plain to give to some book societies."

Cane's anxiety to see the books of the Celtic Union launched continued unabated, although his mind was full of important engagements at home, and he had not a minute to call his own. Writing to the Assistant Secretary, on January 19th, 1855, he says :—

"I have had no answer from you touching my last letter, and the final publishing arrangements which Mr. Duffy was to talk over with you. I have written to Mr. Duffy too and had no answer. Pray write, and stir him up. I send two drawings on wood, the head of Sarsfield, to go to Mr. Oldham, and the tail piece to Mr. Hanlon. I want impressions of the Tyrconnell.

A writer in the number of the IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, for June, 1854, expressed himself somewhat ungenerously towards the Celtic Union of which the prospectus had just appeared. Misled by a stupid calumny which had found its way into a portion of the Provincial Press, the writer in question regarded this young organization as "*a seed plot of sedition*," and denounced it in unmeasured terms. Mitchel's *Citizen* on the other hand, speaking of the Irish People, on June 3, 1854, declared:—

"In God's name let them come out from amongst Celtic Unions, and such like pretentious quackeries, and do something worthy of their manhood. It is not night for owls to whoop in, but broad day, and the sun is in the zenith."

Dr. Cane, under the signature of "Celt," thus replied, through the medium of the *Nation* to the double assault which had been made upon his favorite scheme.

It is obvious that the Celtic Union, like too many other Irish projects, is to encounter that Irish antagonism which delights in fratricide, and that before a death-blow be aimed at it, it is to be tortured by a dilemma-dance between horns, one of which pokes at it from Grafton-street, at home, and the other from Spruce-street in the capital of New York. Poked in Dublin for being, by anticipation, "*a seed plot of sedition and treason*"—and poked at in the New World for being "*a pretentious quackery*," and far, very far from being capable of either sedition or treason enough.

Perhaps this results, in the present instance, very much from the circumstance that neither of the critics either sees or understands it aright—that both of them are premature in their pronouncements, and that, as an eclipsed planet is coloured by the medium glass used looking at it, the Celtic Union has been viewed in the one instance through a glass somewhat orange in its hue, and in the other through a glass far greener than is suited to the atmosphere now surrounding everything Irish.

That the Union is something more than a myth is deducible from the fact that even before it appears in proper person, its very shadow is struck at with an energy sufficient for the encounter of a giant.

Surely it is not a little strange that the Anglo-Irishman writing at home should consider the "Union" as a Young Ireland or treasonable society, while the Nationalist in America writes of it as a puerile and contemptible "quackery." For the one, it promises to be too national, while for the other, it falls far short of the amount of nationality he would stamp standard.

We would call attention to this difference of opinion in its regard, not for the purpose of an angry collision with either the Saxon or the Celt—neither with a view to out-argue either opponent. The first were unwise, because we cannot afford to quarrel further in Ireland than we have done—for Heaven knows we have already quarrelled over much and over bitterly; and, as to argument on the subject, it would be at either side but matter of opinion and statement, worth just the value of so many words until the period arrives when the execution of some of the work, which the Committee of the Celtic Union has mapped out for public view, shall be fairly seen and understood by all Irishmen whose love for the old land gives them interest in the inquiry; but that we think the inference plain: two views of so opposite a nature cannot be both right, and time, and work, or no work, will ere long show whether both or one, and which one, was singularly in error; while the members of the Celtic Union, who know their own business best, whose common heart and energies are devotedly given to the undertaking, will gather from this most contradictory antagonism how little they are or can be understood as yet, and how necessary it is to put on their armour and gird themselves for the work in hands—and thus show how earnestly, honestly, and heartfully, they have entered upon this new road, through the desert of Irish politics and a nationality almost dead! It is, indeed, a work of sorrow to struggle at all for Ireland; and that it is not a perfectly hopeless work, we best gather from the truth and honesty of the men who now rally under the Celtic Union banner, who will speedily be called upon to give evidence more than promise that they thought deeply and aimed well, achieving results far beyond their promises, but not higher than had been their earnest and silent aspirations—aspirations breathed to Heaven in the spirit of liberty, and with deep and earnest love for Ireland's true prosperity; tempered with caution, wisdom, and common sense: learning this lesson from the past, to talk little and labour much; to boast no more, and scarcely breathe hope over loudly, lest the enemy come in the night time and quench its young life; above all, feeling in the depths of their souls that the cause "should be baptised in the old holy well," and that literature, union, association, confederation, anything and everything henceforward to be done for Ireland, to win God's blessing and to win success, must have the cross of our fathers inscribed on its banner.

CELT.

This temperate and pleasingly written reply, having been pretty generally copied by the press, silenced further antagonism; and the little bark of the Celtic Union glided on calmly. Its progress was slow, but Cane did his best to stimulate it. Writing to the secretary on January 26, 1855, he says: "Would not April be a good month to begin publishing? Mr. Duffy's 'name of Essays,' and this adjustment of the publishing matter, is all that is now wanted to enable us to get the sanction of a committee and go to work. Were these two things settled, the publishing list might appear early in

February ; and two or three essays out in April would set the machine going, and I have not a doubt of our then getting on fast." In a postscript he adds: " I see ample work before us, and both writers and subjects for a year's work at least."

From the first promulgation of the project, Dr. Cane devoted every leisure moment at his disposal to endeavouring to establish it on a firm basis. He wisely considered that one of the most indispensable steps in furtherance of this object was the immediate publication of some original work, of sufficient calibre and importance as to make a lasting name for itself, and the Society which gave it birth. Accordingly the close of each hard day's work of professional and civic labor found Cane in the midst of his books studying, collating, investigating, and inditing. And instead of gathering strength in refreshing sleep to enable him to resume with vigour the next day's toil, he spent his own stamina and substance with the midnight oil which gradually burned out before him.

In February, 1855, Dr. Cane enclosed to Mr. Hennessy, the assistant secretary and subsequent publisher to the Union, the manuscript of the first part of the " Williamite and Jacobite Wars in Ireland"—a work of great eloquence, research, and power.

The following letter speaks for itself. It may be premised that like Gibbon he quite miscalculated the actual extent of his manuscript :—

" William-street, Kilkenny, Feb. 28th, 1855.

My Dear Mr. Hennessy—No doubt I have acted very much as the traveller who gave a brick as the specimen of a piece of architecture, when I sent you the few pages you have got. But I cannot at present send you more. The fact is, the whole book is arranged as far as authorities, notes, and plan of work, and numerous passages written ; but just like the monthly novels, published in numbers, it must come out in numbers, and the second will be writing and polishing off while the first is printing. In this way the book will be completed with the summer, if the first number appears on the 1st of May.

Look at it thus. First number first of May—to consist of as many pages as you think ought to be given for one shilling ; do you decide the number of pages. I will supply the additional manuscript up to that mark. Remember in estimating a first *number* in sheet cover, that it will have a likeness of Tyrconnel, medallion heads of William and James, and two plans of Derry. The preface and introduction *must* accompany the first number. The preface is explanatory, and the introduction is virtually the first chapter, and *essentially* the first, say the virtual key, to the *true* history of that period. Tyrconnel

being now first described as what he really was—a nationalist and a separatist.

I would use Fitzpatrick's design as cover, Watson's as title-page ; the letterpress to be suitable size ; and the selection of type I would feel inclined to leave to you, satisfied that you would, for society's, author's, and publisher's sake, select the most suitable type and paper.

You will, therefore, make up your mind as to size of page, and number of words for that page, the number of such pages to be given with each number at 1s ; then cast off what number of pages you have, and what you want for first number, and I will send it.

I think about five or six numbers will complete it. If it takes I would re-issue it bound as a volume, with some extra plates and plans, and at a cheaper rate. In so arranging it, say whether the edition is to be one or two or more thousand copies. I know this is not the business way—but Mr. Hennessy the secretary must arrange the difficulties with Mr. Hennessy the publisher, and make some allowance for all embarrassments.

Let me hear at once, for whatever we do, ought to be speedily notified to the public.

Yours faithfully,
ROBERT CANE."

Printers' whims and printers' blunders are amongst the plagues of a literary life ; and Cane, on the threshold of his literary career, was doomed to encounter some of these vexations.

" *Kilkenny, March 15th, 1855.*

My dear Mr. Hennessy—You are an able and dexterous arguer, but in some things I am a positive man, and so must adhere to the cover size for the numbers of my present book. *In this I am fixed.* My reasons, some of them at least, are, I like the size, I like the cover, and *I won't listen to printers' objections*, as you must do. Besides, it is little over, if not exactly the size of the *Boyne, Water by Wilde*, while it is rather under the size of *O'Callaghan's Brigade*, as well as that of the '*Tribes of Ireland*' and the '*Ossianic Transactions*,' both thin and neat books published by O'Daly. Besides, it will not be a thin book like a *Bishop's Charge* (I wish I were a Bishop to charge my own) but a thick book—for if the manuscript you have makes thirty-two pages, we must have either more than six numbers, or fifty or sixty pages in each number. Here again your printer may whisper you, '*It won't pay*'—'and no publisher gives so much for a shilling of a new book.'" But you, as a young publisher anxious to spread your name, and make sales and extend business—and all of us as a new society, must give good value, and positively, in our first books at least, win the name of doing much for the public, and for the objects we have in view. Nay, I am satisfied that it is only by doing so you and we can succeed at the start. I would therefore say sixty-four pages for a shilling, of good clear type.

Morrison will not be able to keep the stone, I apprehend, after the 2000 copies of the maps. I have to get them drawn on transfer paper here, and then forwarded to him for lithographing.

Now as regards you and my bargain. I only want to have a definite arrangement between us, with a view to others more than to myself.

I am anxious, most anxious, the project should succeed—next to it I am anxious our publisher should succeed, and in no case suffer by us—indeed his suffering would be ours. For if he cannot make the books tell for himself, they will not tell for the authors or for the country. I want you therefore to say to me of that first edition, which is to be 2000, how much will be necessary to bear you harmless—what the residue will be beyond that mark, and then of that residue what proportion you will allocate to me, to re-imburse me for drawings, engravings, &c.

You see as far as I look, I am as anxious as if I were your partner that your share should be secure and the risk mine. In any case I think you will be safe, and I may lose if the book fails—but I have hopes it may tell, and do us both some credit.

Will you be specific on these points, like a good fellow, and let us have no more delays, and the book will be out on the day you name, namely, the first of May.

Please send me down the ten last pages, being the commencement of the first chapter. I will want them to string the first chapter carefully together.

You can return the introduction and notes until I write again, and I will take your hint about the French note, beneath which I will affix a translation in *small type*. But the French is indispensable as a sort of key-stone to the whole spirit of the book.

Your's truly,
ROBERT CANE."

Incessantly occupied as Cane was in professional practice outside, and in poring over and collating the musty tomes of his library within, he contrived to keep himself not only *au courant* with recent literature, but to be able to criticize and judge it. In a letter to Mr. W. J. Fitzpatrick, author of the *Life, Times, and Contemporaries of Cloncurry*, he writes, on July 2, 1855—"I like your book much. It has many merits, and some few faults. Some time I will take it up, and cruelly dot its few imperfections, and risk them nakedly to your own eyes.

"I am glad you met Banim. He likes you and your book; and so does C——, the poet, who writes under the soubriquets of "Kilkenny man" and *Urbs Marmoin*."

In April, 1855, the first part of Dr. Cane's *Williamite and Jacobite Wars in Ireland*, was published by Mr. Hennessey at No. 2 Crow Street. Men conversant with Irish Literature at once felt that this admirable work, would fill a great void in the history of this country. It treats of an era of which little authentic is known, save that the war in which Protestant Ire-

land and Catholic Ireland were engaged, resulted in the triumph of the former, and the defeat and discomfiture of the latter, at Derry, Aughrim, and the Boyne. This is not too much for Irishmen to know; yet how few know anything about the men or the means by which the freedom of a people was gained. How few know anything of Schomberg, DeGinckle, Tyrconnell, Hamilton, and the other chief generals and Statesmen of the time, save what tradition records to their praise or disadvantage. The histories which persons engaged in the transactions of the time left us are out of print, or bring so fabulous a price that they may be said to be inaccessible save to the wealthy. Story, Mackenzie, Clarke, and Walker fill gaps in private libraries or moulder on dusty shelves, while the mass of the people have no means of knowing the exact history of that remarkable struggle which ended by the third William ascending the British Throne. The labours of Dr. Cane are directed with marked success to this latter object. Eloquently and impartially written, the first part is illustrated with well executed wood cuts including maps of the principal scenes of action, medallion likenesses of the contending monarchs, and a finely executed portrait of Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnell. Thirty-six pages of this number consist of an elaborate attempt to place the character of Tyrconnell in a different light from that in which it has lain for eight score years. There is also a chapter descriptive of the muster of the North, in which some very fine passages occur. The first part concludes shortly after the description of the closing of the gates of Derry, by the "Prentice boys," and reveals all the stirring incident and adventure of an agreeable romance. Among some new facts and documents produced are extracts from original proclamations in the author's possession, published by Tyrconnell for the disarmament of the Protestants before the arrival of James in Ireland. The only critical objection to which the work is, in our mind, liable consists in the title, for surely a narrative of the Williamite Wars in Ireland, would be sufficiently intelligible without adding the word "Jacobite".

The second part, which appeared some weeks later, creditably sustained the reputation of the first. It very effectively described in its fourth chapter, "how the Jacobite and Williamite armies met in the North," while the fifth was devoted to an exciting and singularly impartial narrative of "the Siege of Derry." Among its illustrations is a conspicuous portrait of George Walker, Rector of Donoughmore, Colonel of a regiment, and

Governor and subsequently Bishop of Derry, while an accurate copy of Neville's map of the Siege of Londonderry in 1689 rendered the ease of sauntering through the narrative if possible more luxurious.

The portraits of Schonberg and Colonel Richard Grace, with their rich flowing hair and glittering armour, are executed in a style of finish which would do credit to the *Art Journal*, and proved that Dublin merely wanted the opportunity to compete with, and probably in some instances surpass, those brilliant efforts and specimens of the art which weekly emanate from the London press. The description of Schonberg's disastrous campaign, and the decimating plague which ravaged his army; King James's Parliament in Dublin, dignified by the wealth and strength of the land; the stern "No Surrender" of Crom Castle, the siege of Enniskillen, the deadly struggle to force the pass at Dunnough, the landing of William at Carrickfergus, the Battle of the Boyne, the siege of Athlone, the capture of Drogheda, and other important incidents, are all narrated in a graphic, eloquent, and exciting manner; while faithful copies from the ordnance maps prepared by Philips for Charles II. add materially to the general effect. Though instinct with the truest spirit of nationality, the work is quite free from all undue sectarian or political prejudice. The author treated parties and measures in an able and impartial manner; and that he possessed this as well as other essential qualifications for the historian, has been borne evidence to by even the critics of the Conservative press at home, and the Anglican and anti-Irish reviewers, including the *Athenæum*, abroad. We had hoped to have been able to quote some of the more memorable passages in Dr. Cane's work; but our limits warn us that the remainder of the materials in our hands must be used economically. A faithful narrative of the Jacobite and Williamite Wars in Ireland, was a book long and urgently wanted; for with the exception of the incomparable labors and achievements of John Cornelius O'Callaghan, no Irishman has undertaken to clear away the vast heap of misrepresentation and calumny which has so long obscured that important and interesting epoch in our history.

Meanwhile, Cane's anxiety to see the Celtic Union work without a pause, continued as freshly as when the first gush of his enthusiasm gave the project birth. In the Autumn of 1855 we find him stirring up those literary men of national

tendencies who were qualified to render material assistance to the good work. He not only sought to enrol new recruits but to infuse ardour and activity into those who had already given their adhesion. In this spirit we find him requesting literary aid from Mr. MacMahon, M. P. Mr. O'Keefe, Mr. Supple, Mr. T. Irwin, Mr. Fitzpatrick, Mr. Cashel Hoey, and otherwise labouring to organize the little band, who professed to follow his colours. The Hon. Member for Wexford, placed in Dr. Cane's hands, the manuscript of an able Brochure entitled, "A Shilling's Worth of Common Sense about Ireland." Writing to Mr. W. J. Fitzpatrick, (Nov. 6, 1855,) he asks "what is your pen doing now? you ought to give us something for the Union." Mr. Fitzpatrick in reply, offered to write a series of memoirs of the Lord Lieutenants, and Lords Deputy of Ireland, with an account of the policy and administration of each. This obliging offer Dr. Cane thus acknowledged:—

MY DEAR MR. FITZPATRICK.—I should be very glad to see some of the traces of your able pen among our Celtic Union works; but I do not feel fully confident that the book you contemplate could be brought within the limits of the sized and priced books we must publish for a while at least. Indeed to bring it within such limits would cramp your powers of description, and the necessary details too much. I therefore greatly fear *that* subject would be too enlarged for us. However of this, we would be all better judges, when you elaborate your plan, and form some idea of what will be its compass.

The second annual subscription of ten shillings to the Celtic Union will be collected in forthwith to enable us to work another year.

Apropos I presume we may continue your name as Metropolitan Honorary Secretary?

If you conceive that the "Lord Lieutenants" would be too large for us, think of some subject that would make a nice volume like Supple's.

I was very glad to see your handwriting again; as not meeting you at our Dublin Meetings, I knew not what had become of you.

In a subsequent letter to the same party Dr. Cane observes:—

"I see you have worked for the Celtic Union, and procured some adhesions. You will continue, I hope, for I think the Union will have better claims on the country, than in past years. I read your "Irish Memories" with much pleasure. The tone of it is kind and healthful, and rebukes the public want of taste and feeling. I fear I am not only tedious in reply, but sometimes illigible, as racing against time, I truly write *Currente Calamo*.

With regard to the omission of the name and mark of the "Celtic Union" from the cover of my Williamite wars, it was left off by the Publisher, because Booksellers who dreaded the name, refused to sell the book if it was on—at least that was the reason assigned to me.

I am aware of the existence of the Williamite Document you refer to ; but it does not properly belong to the History of the three years in Ireland. You will see by the Cover of the W. wars, that the Celtic Union brings out three new books by January.

P.S.—Surely when “down South” you did not visit Kilkenny or you would have come to me.”

The work by Mr. Gerald Supple, to which Dr. Cane refers in the foregoing letter as one constituting quite a model of literary and national composition, was “*The Anglo Norman Conquest of Ireland.*” Its style is vigorous ; the language eloquent—in some parts perhaps too florid. The materials are selected and arranged with the judgment of an artist ; a skill is exhibited in revealing the historic picturesque which Thierry or Barante never surpassed ; while the erudition, and research displayed in the work proves the author to have been a laborious historical student. This book was followed by Mr. J. T. Campion’s “*Traces of the Crusades in Ireland*”—a pleasant *multum in Parvo* of learning, poetry and sound thought. But the incomparable *Versicles* of Thomas Irwin (T. I.) which formed the fourth volume of the series issued under the auspices of the Celtic Union being non-political, and totally free from all allusion to the by-gone triumphs, or oppressions of the Irish People, had a wider circulation than the other volumes, and was, without a doubt, more generally popular.

The four books to which we have referred were all forwarded by post, free, to each member of the Celtic Union as the equivalent for one year’s subscription. In fact when one adds the cost of delivery to the published price, the amount absolutely exceeded that of an annual subscription. “A fact,” wrote Dr. Cane, “which however satisfactory to Members, falls yet short of that satisfaction which Irishmen devoted to the country, its literature and advancement, must feel in the consciousness of having aided in an issue of books, which but for their efforts had never thus appeared, and which are in themselves so many evidences of Irish capacity, talent and truth, while the style in which they have been printed and illustrated, is highly creditable alike to publishers, printers, designers, drawers and engravers, all of whom are Irishmen ; shewing that if there was but an encouraging public, any book could be produced and any subject elucidated in this our too long neglected country.”

In March, 1856, Dr. Cane appealed to the country for aid to continue the good work so effectively commenced. He declared that the Council not only held some valuable MSS.

ready for the Press, but that several more were offered, and in preparation.

"They but await," he wrote, "a warm response to this call upon their Countrymen. A response such as they feel their past labours have merited, and which they desire solely with a view to be able to extend still further the sphere of their usefulness. That they may spread a sound and wholesome Irish Literature into Irish homes; elevating the tone of the national mind; filling it with the knowledge of home history, and fixing the Irish heart in deep love to the old land, and earnest watchfulness over everything that should be great and good within it. And while doing all this, to expel from the Irish fireside the foreign and other puerilities and immoralities which have been swarming over the land, and threatening to debase the manhood, weaken the morality, and antagonise the religion of the country. If there be yet a National heart remaining in Ireland; if Irishmen really desire that their countrymen shall have Irish taste; truthful Irish history; knowledge suited to the circumstances of the country—they will rally round the Celtic Union."

Charles Gavan Duffy had been engaged upon a *History of the Popish Rebellion of 1641* with a view to its publication by the Celtic Union, when circumstances induced him to arrive at the sudden determination of emigrating to Australia. In a letter to W. J. Fitzpatrick at this period Dr. Cane says—"Duffy is a sad loss to Irish literature, and an irreparable one to Ireland, and to the circle of his friends, of which I believe you were one." He adds, "What think you of a cheap Irish periodical under the guidance of the Celtic Union? We contemplate it."

Mr. Fitzpatrick's reply was not encouraging. He reminded Dr. Cane of the grim fact, that of the three *Irish Penny Magazines* published within the last twenty years not one paid, though the last left off with a goodly circulation. Two of these publications are said to have ruined their publishers. Few are aware of the expense attending the publication of a periodical in Ireland. Mr. Marinus Kennedy, brother of the late Thomas Kennedy, who owned and edited the *Irish Metropolitan Magazine*, informs us that although it only reached twelve numbers £1800 was lost by the speculation. Dr. Gray, Mr. Torrens M'Culloch, and others, who established the *Citizen* in 1840, found themselves eventually out of pocket one thousand pounds by it. It is melancholy to look back upon the mass of brilliant but unsuccessful periodicals which rose and fell in Ireland like meteor lights.

How Dr. Cane contrived to make time to visit the poor daily, and prescribe for them at his own house, surprised and edified many. He not only declined to accept any pecuniary offering from the indigent, but frequently followed up his Samaritan kindness and attention towards them with presents of food and money. To literary men he also gave his professional services gratuitously, unless (what was rarely the case) the suffering scribe enjoyed affluent circumstances. Michael Banim, the accomplished collaborator in the *O'Hara Tales*, informs us that throughout a protracted illness under which he labored a few years since, Dr. Cane's attention to him night and day, was such that even if the Doctor had accepted recompense, Mr. Banim would, to the last hour of his life, remember him with the liveliest feelings of affection and gratitude. But although the unremitting attention he bestowed upon Banim, both as a surgical operator and as a kind friend smoothing the pillow of affliction, consumed very many of the minutes which were worth guineas to Cane, he resolutely refused to accept the smallest fee from Mr. Banim. This was no isolated case. Similar instances of disinterested generosity might abundantly be cited. The following trait has just been communicated to us in an interesting letter from Mr. N——

"A little anecdote of the late Dr. Cane, illustrative of his goodness of heart, was related to me yesterday by the party who had benefited by it. The Doctor had visited him professionally during a tedious illness, sometimes three times in one day, and frequently after midnight. Owing to this unremitting attention the patient at length recovered; and his trouble now was—how he was to pay the Doctor. So he managed to scrape together the sum of £3, and forthwith waited on Dr. Cane, introducing the subject with many fears as to his reception, owing to the manifest inadequacy of his offering: he at length ventured to lay it on the table—but the noble-minded man pushed it back, saying 'Put it in your pocket, Mr. O'Daly, I shall not charge anything for my services. Your thanks and good will have more than recompensed me.'"

The accomplished poet, "T. I.," has obligingly placed in our hands any correspondence which passed between him and Dr. Cane. The following letter is chronologically in place here :—

"Kilkenny, November 27th, 1855.

Dear Sir—I have received your letter enquiring on the subject of five pounds to be stopped or allowed in sale of 180 copies of your poems, between Publisher and Council of the Celtic Union.

The five pounds are to be so stopped, being the only way in which the Council could meet the expenditure to be incurred by those arrangements *made at Dublin between author and publisher*, and not contemplated in the original decision of the council. I mean the arrangement that the book should not be a one shilling volume, but should be a three and sixpenny volume, whereby a treble expenditure is entailed on the council in making their purchase for members.

Permit me to add, moreover, that the Council, though assenting to your, and the publisher's, arrangement to do this, do not feel quite satisfied that it is a wise move as regards popularising and cheapening books in Ireland ; but there is no use now in re-considering the matter, as the thing is done, and cannot be remedied ; but if the Celtic Union takes so large a number of a three-and-sixpenny book for its members, it is entitled to the consideration that in doing so it largely aids the work.

The pure literary merits of your book will, no doubt, secure its sale in the wealthier ranks ; but 3s. 6d. a-piece will prevent it being largely amongst the classes for which the Celtic Union is working ; and moreover makes it heavy on the funds of the Union, for though possessing high literary merit, and evincing true poetic genius, it is yet not strictly within the range of those teachings promised by the Celtic Union, whose business was rather to encourage national work, and education, and to do it cheaply.

I shall be happy to write when you require it, and hope I may one day have the honour of knowing you personally. Meanwhile believe me, yours truly,

ROBERT CANE.

Thomas Irwin, Esq."

Apathy on the part of some of the officials of the Union was not without effect in promoting the growth of vexatious difficulties which now beset it on more than one point. These *Contre-temps* afflicted Dr Cane at the time; he remembered them with pain, but he forgave the cause. Among the serious annoyances to which we have referred, the seizure of the Books of the Celtic Union, for some debt of the Publishers, was perhaps the most disheartening. On June 15th, 1856, Dr. Cane writes to a leading official of the Union.

"MY DEAR MR [——]—If I have not sooner answered your letter the delay arises neither from irritation, or desire to slight you ; for, whatever may have been the annoyances I have experienced, I am quite willing to view the whole affair as the result of inevitable misfortune rather than of fault, and to let bygones be bygones. The delay in this reply has arisen solely from professional pressure, creating want of time to write.

As regards the 1,000 parts of 1, 2, 3, 4, of the Williamite Wars, I doubt if I should make the 3d. a piece of them ; and I have already lost enough in the matter, and would rather feel inclined when publishing the remainder to limit myself to the number of what has been sold. I

certainly would not *speculate* on these 1,000 unless I could get them under the mark you indicate.

Upon what terms could Mr. Campion get his "*Crusades*?"

I would be glad if you could make me out a list of the men you think likely, either in Dublin or elsewhere, to aid the Union."

In another letter written at this period, he says:—"Guide me with advice as to a Publisher for the Celtic Union. One likely to press the sale of the books, and deal honestly with us. Send me back the manuscript of the dedication, and preface to the *Williamite Wars*."

This valuable work never reached the fifth part. Ireland is proverbially apathetic in encouraging any native literary effort; and the reception Dr. Cane's work has met with at its hands sustains the not very enviable reputation to which we have alluded. A subscription should be at once raised to complete a book of which the Empire might be proud. The manuscript is ready for the compositor; and money to pay him should be also forthcoming. It proved an expensive book to the poor author, as the following letter shews.

"Kilkenny, June 26th, 1856.

MY DEAR MR. [———]—I could not write to you sooner, having not one leisure moment.

I know it will be a rash venture for me to become the purchaser of these 1,000 copies of each of the four parts of the *Williamite Wars*; but nevertheless I do not like to have them scattered. I will therefore enter into an arrangement to purchase them back at Three pence per part, passing you my bill at six months for thirty-pounds; and not being required to pay the other twenty-pounds until I have brought out the book in its entirety, and received proceeds for its sale, equivalent to that sum over cost of printing latter parts. Indeed I would feel inclined to *publish* only as much as would be equivalent to numbers already sold, and reserve the 1,000 for a sort of second edition; but on this I am not quite made up. One thing I do see, *I will lose well by my part of the Celtic Union work*. But *n'importe*, I still feel that good will come of it, to the project, if not to me.

P.S.—Irwin is well reviewed in the *IRISH QUARTERLY*, and the *Athenæum*. His character as a Poet is now stamped."

Misfortunes never come single; and the difficulties of the Celtic Union multiplied. On August 21st, 1856, we find Dr. Cane addressing the Publisher in the following letter. His uniform equanimity of temper pervades it.

"MY DEAR SIR—I regret to find you in these difficulties. I would fain see you out of them, and to shew you my desire to that effect, and my full confidence in you, despite all the ill-natured things some of your Dublin friends say of you, I enclose you the second bill for

£15 accepted ; and thus entrusted to you before I get the other half of the value, and will you be surprised when I tell you, before I have had time to examine the half sent—taking your word for it that all the material for 1,000 parts of the Williamite Wars are in it—though you admit a deviation in them not being made up in parts : for I purchased them in parts.

You will please now send the 1,000 parts of 1 and 2 ; and so I can make the one job of examining all, at the earliest leisure day.

You will now write me a letter, assigning to me all your rights over those 1,000 parts ; and resigning all right to interfere with my mode of disposing of them as I please. as well as all control over first and all subsequent editions.

You will also see that Mr. O'Toole sends to me the wood cuts of Grace, Walker, and Schomberg, still in his custody ; and the wood-cut of Cover, the property of the Celtic Union, which I wish to take custody of.

On January 21st, 1857, writing to the same party he says : “ Thanks for your several letters which I had not until now a moment to answer. Where are my two bills for £15 ? They will be both due early next month. Are the copies at Webb's of Supple's *Anglo Norman Invasion*, all bound ? Will Webb take my bill at six months if I venture to buy them ? If I pass this bill to you will the remnant of the Williamite Wars, come to me in sheets or stitched, and when ? Please answer all this at once, ‘ and without mental reservation,’ as the witness oath saith.”

The books of the Celtic Union which Dr. Cane recovered, came to him in a bewildering mass of unfolded sheets. Here was a new vexation to a man who had hardly a minute to call his own ! On January 25, he writes to the late Publisher of the Celtic Union, “ What will be the cost, per 100 copies, for getting Supple, Irwin and Champion stitched and bound, and can I have the print or plate of the cover ? Could you send me any hints about a publisher for the Celtic Union ?”

Difficulties and vexations which would have utterly disgusted and disheartened any other man threw no chill upon the ardour of Dr. Cane's hopes and patriotism. He had long felt the want of a cheap periodic *home* literature—a literature whose price would not embarrass its circulation, and whose aim should be to have its pages suited to all classes, and its contents redolent of Nationality. A letter to Mr. Hennessy in January, 1856, discloses this new idea. “ I have written to James Duffy,” Cane writes, “ but no answer as yet. I feel satisfied a regular Publisher can still make money by us, and I feel satis-

fied that our penny periodical will tell. I have already great promises both of contributors and subscribers for it, and hope to make it a thing to be deserved."

In June 1856 the Prospectus of *the Celt* appeared. Dr. Cane promised that it would be, Irish, Celtic, Catholic, and Progressive. "Every Irishman," he exclaimed, "holding a fit pen shall be welcomed to its aid, but neither favor, affection, or fear, shall win a place in its columns for loose, mediocre, or valueless writing."

The "CELT" will have a wide field for its labours. In its pages will be found matter relating to the antiquities and traditions of the country, repeopling its old castles, stirring up the ashes of its raths and cairns, popularising its olden history, and making trite its past memories, wherever they are found worthy of record as deeds of virtue or examples for other times.

The "CELT" will labour to display the massive capabilities of the country for happiness, wealth, and independence, its vast mineral wealth, its fitness for extensive trade and great commerce. It shall contain information and statistics having reference to all those matters, and will take in philosophy, art, or science, wherever these have relation to the country, either as what it is or what it should be.

The "CELT" will have pages of a more light and graceful character—fiction, poetry, and verse will adorn its pages wherever they can be made subservient to virtue, patriotism and nationality. Gleamings from the writings of other men, the books of other lands, the deeds of other nations or races, will form some of its material—when suitable as subjects for imitation or reflection.

We have said it shall be "Irish, Celtic, Catholic, and Progressive." It shall be Irish in all its tendencies; Celtic in its proud memories of the past; Catholic in its deep respect and attachment to the old faith; Progressive as a guide into the future. Yet while pledged to be all these, Irish will not imply abuse of its antagonism, Celtic shall not mean attack on other races or countries, Catholic must not convey collision or controversy with other bodies of dissenting Irishmen, and progression is not to be vain boast or idle threat.

Its teaching shall be without wrath or anger, but nevertheless with an undeviating onward aim, which, if it succeeds, will have an important national result.

To do all this, the "CELT" must have a large support. The committee appeal for that support solely as Irishmen and Nationalists, for they have no pecuniary interest in the undertaking.

Dr. Cane had some correspondence with the inimitable Poet "T.I." at this period. He regretted that Irwin seemed fonder of depicting old St. James' Park, with its beaux and belles, or the "purpling clusters" of a Rhenish vineyard, than in tracing with a pen which dripped with molten gold, a rich Irish landscape, or thrilling Celtic incident.

"Kilkenny, February 5th, 1857.

Dear Mr. Irwin—I have received your letter. I should be most happy both for the Union's sake and for yours, to advance your views; but I think our hands are full for the present.

I could greatly wish that talent such as yours was tried on something Irish.

What would you think of looking over bye-gone Irish History, and impressed by some of its impassioned passages, immortalizing them in verse?

I would gladly press the Celtic Union, even under difficulties, to publish such a volume from your pen.

Now a small shilling volume of ballads, descriptive of the times and scenes when the North men came up in arms to plunder and prey upon the *ceaths* of the country.

Or the parting scene in some one of our old cloistered abbeys, when the youth of England were returning home full of the coming war in Ireland.

Or prince John, the "Dominus Hiberniæ," surrounded by the native princes, and insulting them in their own land.

Thousands of suggestive ideas would come upon you from a perusal of the 'Annals,' or some such book.

Pray forgive the familiar liberty of this letter. I would know you intimately enough to make such suggestions, were I near enough to know you intimately, but as I am not I can only sorrow that your muse turns eastward—anywhere but homeward.

I shall be glad to hear from you again and always."

On August, 1st 1857, the first number of the *Celt*, price one Penny, appeared. It opened with a leader from Cane, signed Tyrconnell, and headed "The Map of our Journey." Cane's style was his own. It reminds one of Thomas Carlyle, but although Cane always held an enthusiastic admiration for that author. he was no servile copyist.

"A committee of the Celtic Union," he writes, "have this day entered upon a seriously responsible mission, and taken upon their shoulders a truly onerous duty. And though that mission and its duties be to some of them a 'labour of love,' with others a pleasurable pastime; yet all feel the seriousness of their position in relation to the work before them, the country for whom that work has been undertaken, and the chances which may bring failure to annihilate, or success to crown their ardent and honest hopes. * * * The intention of its editors is, that every page, every article, every extract, shall all tend to a definite end, the common good of our common country, to make Irishmen love Ireland better, cling to their old faith closer, value truth, virtue, honor, more and more venerating the past, acquiring knowledge and power into the future, burying old feuds and animosities in oblivion, and substituting in their place brotherly love and manly union.

animated was the manly form that, even in its physical construction, won admiration from those who knew not the warm generous heart that throbbed beneath it. And as we talked of the future, and discussed a scheme of organization (all but developed through his instrumentality) by which Irishmen would be again invoked to struggle for their country, we felt that no more fitting pioneer could lead the way in such a movement than Robert Cane."

His funeral was a public one, and attended by thousands. A universal gloom overspread the the city of St. Canice. Every shop was closed and all business suspended. All classes were represented on the sad occasion ; and even the aristocracy and gentry of the county assembled in large numbers to manifest their respect for the unsullied honour, the unblemished integrity, and the distinguished abilities of the deceased.

While the crowds were assembling in High street and William street, the members of the Corporation and Trades' Societies, held a meeting in the Assembly Rooms to make preparations for marching in procession at the funeral. The Trades' Societies wished that the procession should take a longer line of *route* than was intended ; but after considerable discussion, the Trades' Societies yielded, on its being stated to them that the wish of Dr. Cane was, that his body should be borne to the grave without any show or ostentation, and by the shortest *route*. At half past one o'clock, the black plumes of the hearse of the Leinster Union, were seen waving above the crowd in William street, and shortly afterwards all that was mortal of Robert Cane, enclosed in an oaken coffin, was placed upon it. The Reverend Edward Walsh, Adm., who had attended the deceased, as Spiritual Director, during his last illness, having recited the prayers for the dead, the multitude, Catholic and Protestant, priest and parson, remaining uncovered during the solemn ceremony, the hearse of the Trades' Society was raised on the shoulders of eight persons, who were relieved at intervals during its progress to the grave. Immediately after the coffin followed two sons of the deceased, Richard and James, Robert, the eldest, being in China with his regiment ; and then followed the other friends of the family. The funeral was headed by the Trades' Societies (of which Dr. Cane was the Patron and President) wearing white scarfs and hat-bands ; after them the members of the medical profession ; and next in succession, and immediately in front of the coffin, came the Catho-

lic clergy; next the members of the Corporation, in deep mourning; and then followed the myriads who had come from far and near to pay this last tribute to the worth and memory of a patriotic and distinguished Irishman. At half past two, the coffin entered the grave-yard of St. John's Catholic Church, Maudlin-street, where it was received by the clergy of that parish, who, with the other priests present, chaunted the office for the dead, and the remains of Dr. Cane were soon after consigned to their mother earth, amidst the prayers and blessings of the Catholic Church, and the supplications and sorrows of the poor.

On the following Thursday, an Office and High Mass was celebrated in St. Mary's Cathedral, for the eternal repose of his soul. A large concourse of priests were in attendance.

"To-day," said the *Kilkenny Journal*, "we shall not attempt to write his epitaph—we have neither time, nor spirit, for the dreary task. And, were we to write it properly, we should search out the many acts of his overflowing charity, in this city; for his truest and best epitaph is written on the hearts of the poor. Dr. Cane has now passed from amongst us, and Kilkenny may well feel proud of his memory, for never was there a purer soul than his—never a nobler nature. Far away from this ancient city his lamented death will bring gloom and sadness to many a heart. Far away by the Lee and Shannon, by the Foyle and the Liffey, true hearts will mourn the death of Dr. Cane. Far away, in the busy towns of England and Scotland, where Irishmen still live who have hope in a glorious destiny for the poor old country, there will be warm tears to the memory, and a prayer for the soul, of another of Ireland's lost patriots. Far away beyond the Atlantic, when the shadow of his death reaches the Western Continents, deep gloom will spread like a pall over the exiled Celtic heart, for another great Irishman is gone.

The *Dundalk Democrat* said:—

"Another calamity has befallen Ireland. A great and good man is no more. . . . May his spirit enjoy eternal bliss, and may his great virtues be long remembered. As we can no more expect his assistance to regenerate our outraged country, let us at least endeavour to profit by his example. Let our intentions be pure as his were; and no matter what may be the difficulties in our way, let us resolve, as he did, to surmount them—having faith in the ultimate triumph of justice and in the success of the cause of our native land.

The *Tipperary Free Press* observed:—

"It is a sad duty we have to-day to discharge—a task approached with sorrow deep and sincere. We have to announce the death, in the prime of life, of Dr. Robert Cane, who, as a patriot, citizen, husband and father, maintained a reputation *sans peur et sans reproche*. He died as became a Christian, fortified with the sacraments of the church."

Four weeks after the demise of Robert Cane, his friend Mr. Kenealy wrote :—

“ On yesterday evening a visitor to Maudlin street churchyard might have observed a newly-made grave. It was considerably longer than the tombs around ; and, were it not for the fresh traces of the gravedigger’s hand, it might be regarded as the last resting place of some great chieftain of the shadowy past. Two beech trees drooped over it, and sighed in the evening winds—softly as the Spirit of Death. Beautiful trees ; they will sigh in summer, and weep in winter, over the brave heart that moulders in that sad and silent supulchre. ‘ I love the drop of the wetted trees,’ said Thomas Davis, in anticipation of his death ; and he who of all Irishmen most resembled Thomas Davis in his heart and soul—in his nobility of nature, and liberality of sentiment—in the gentleness of his disposition, and the frankness of his manners—in his statesman-like wisdom, his genius, and deathless devotion to Ireland ; he who most resembled him sleeps under the drip of the wetted trees, in the ideal grave of the poet.

“ It was so silent you would think the dead was already forgotten. The churchyard looked lone and deserted : and no voice of mourning broke the stillness of the scene, or paid a tribute to the memory of Ireland’s lost patriot. The beechen trees still swayed and sighed in the evening winds ; and it would seem as if nature alone were the only mourner above the grave of Robert Cane. But, as you approach a little nearer, you discover traces of a recent visitor. Up through the red clay of that newly made grave shines a bunch of beautiful flowers, crowning the cold pillow of the dead. The air around was sweet with fragrance, as if the virtues of the deceased were giving forth their balm upon the breath of Heaven. And there were footprints upon the soft clay—the footprints of the recent visitor who had laid this pure and simple offering upon the grave of Robert Cane. Who could it be ? Who was this angel of the sepulchre ? Alas ! it was a faithful heart ; a disconsolate mourner ; a fair, young, gentle girl—the angel daughter of the Dead ! It was poor Annie !

“ Hard by, was the grave of Ireland’s greatest novelist ; and there, side by side, in that silent churchyard, lie the two great Kilkenny men of our generation—John Banim and Robert Cane.”

APPENDIX.

MR. SMITH O'BRIEN'S LETTER TO MR. A. M. SULLIVAN.

Sept. 4, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR—I have learnt with much concern that the family of Dr. Cane have, by his premature death, been left in circumstances of great difficulty. The extract which I inclose from a private letter written by a gentleman who lives at Kilkenny, will prove to you that they must suffer extreme privation, unless something be done to secure for them a provision. It appears that several of his personal friends, with whom he was connected by professional and social relations rather than by political sympathies, have set on foot a subscription, and have shown their anxiety for its success by liberal donations.

There is reason to believe that the circumstances of Dr. Cane's family would have been very different if he had applied for their benefit the money which he expended in endeavouring to promote the welfare of his country. It is, therefore, peculiarly incumbent on those who shared his sentiments in regard of political questions, to co-operate in an effort to shield his family from misfortune.

As no one could appreciate more fully than you the high qualities of our departed friend, it is unnecessary for me to enlarge upon his exalted patriotism, his generosity of heart, his intellectual power, his social virtues. We have only to consider what is the best mode of evoking and giving effect to the desire which will be felt by his political friends to offer a tribute to his memory in the form which will be most useful to his children. I feel assured that this desire will not be confined to Ireland, but that in America and Australia many will gladly participate in this good work, provided a satisfactory mode of co-operation be organised. I am reluctant to offer any suggestions on the subject; but as every proposal must have a commencement, I will venture to ask you to recommend, through the columns of *The Nation*, that a central committee should be formed in Dublin for the purpose of collecting subscriptions, and that local committees should be formed, not only in the provincial towns of Ireland, but also in the principal cities of England, of the United States, of Canada, and of the Australian provinces.

Immediately on the appearance of Mr. O'Brien's touching letter, steps were taken to carry out the object for which it was written. It was found that it was not easy to discover how to achieve this, without trenching upon feelings which Dr. Cane was known to have held so determinedly as to render it almost sacrilege towards his memory to violate them. Although he was ever found amongst the generous who responded to calls for aid for the families of public men; although his was amongst the first of the subscriptions raised in Kilkenny for John O'Connell's children—he was known to entertain views the most opposite to public appeals for subscriptions on the ground of political feeling. The embarrassment of those who felt it incumbent upon them to guard with scrupulous reverence and affectionate fidelity the wishes and the principles of the dead, yet were necessitated to face the resourceless

position of the living—has happily been set at rest by an act which while it will respect the one will relieve the other, and supply in itself a prouder testimony to the worth, the purity, and the unsectional patriotism of Dr. Cane, than an overflowing treasury raised by subscription on party or political appeals. The admirers of his genius as a scholar, his goodness as a citizen, his benevolence to his native city as a Chief Magistrate and a Corporator—though owning, most of them, no alliance with him in politics, yet, all of them, admiring his pure and self-sacrificing devotion to his country's cause—have felt themselves free to inaugurate, as a testimony to his worth and their sorrow for his loss, a movement in aid of the young and helpless members of his family. This, without any treason to his principles, can be, and will be, cordially joined in by those who, to all those grounds of attachment to him, add the bonds of political faith. “We are not going,” adds the *Nation*, “to make an appeal to our readers what it is desirable that it should not be—a call for subscriptions on sectional grounds; but we do call for aid—instant, earnest, and liberal—for a movement so enlarged in its basis, and so honourable to the memory of Dr. Cane. The subscription list opened at Kilkenny already amounts to nearly six hundred pounds; trustees have been appointed, and in our next issue we will be able to report the appointments for Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, &c. The young children of a man who through life was of large means, yet was of a larger heart—a man of noble soul, of lofty genius, of gallant patriotism—a man who, had he but been more circumscribed in his generosity, would have left those children proudly independent of such help to-day—call upon Irishmen for aid.”

THE CANE SUBSCRIPTION.

(From the *Cork Examiner*.)

“Few men, who entertain any attachment to Ireland as the country of their birth, could have heard without emotion of the death of Dr. Robert Cane, of Kilkenny. His name has been so long identified with every movement that would tend to raise her dignity amongst the nations, whether it were in the freedom of her people, in the preservation of her historic records, in the loving study of her antiquities, or in the jealous guardianship of her treasures of archæology, that his loss must be looked upon as a serious blow to the very nationality of Ireland. The sorrow felt for the untimely end of a man such as he, cut off at the age of fifty-five years, at the moment when his hopes for his country were most ardent, and his exertions most energetic, will receive additional poignancy from the fact, which we now learn for the first time, that he has left his family in circumstances of pecuniary embarrassment. Generosity such as his, patriotism such as that associated with his name, caused him to sacrifice his own interests to the succour of his fellows and the cause of his country; and the ab-

ruptness with which he was hurried from the sphere of his mortal labours, forbade him the opportunity of making an adequate provision for those most dear to him. We are sure it will be heard with extreme sorrow that the circumstances of his wife and children are such as to threaten the necessity of parting with his library, the accumulation of years of literary labour and study ; his paintings, the numismatic and archaeological collections, which he toiled to amass, in order to illustrate Irish history, and that even the honourable testimony to his worth and talents—the service of plate presented to him by his fellow-citizens of all creeds and classes, at the conclusion of his year of office of Mayor of his native city, runs the risk of being brought under the hammer of the auctioneer. An effort has been made, however, to arrest a spoliation, which for the honour of our country, we hope would be looked upon with shame. Some generous men have come forward—many of them widely separated in religion and politics from Dr. Cane, but admirers simply of his high character and the genuineness of his national feelings—and inaugurated a subscription intended to prevent the sacrifice. Men of true hearts and honest love of fatherland are not so numerous amongst us that we can afford to slight the memory of one who was emphatically a true and an able patriot. Let us in the case of Dr. Cane, at least, not have to bear the reproach of ingratitude, which so often dims the lustre that the country ought, but for its own neglect, derive from the memory of its great men. Let all who desire to show that Irish patriotism is not a dead thing, but a spirit which can wake a sympathetic chord in Irish bosoms, co-operate with those who have commenced a national tribute to the fame and the virtues of Robert Cane of Kilkenny.

The subscription, unfortunately, was not organized in time to save Dr. Cane's splendid library. Three weeks ago it was dispersed by the auctioneer's hammer through the length and breadth of the land.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CORPORATION OF KILKENNY.

“ Resolved that it is our duty, our painful duty, to take this early opportunity, to express our heartfelt sorrow, as one unanimous body, for the untimely death of Dr. Robert Cane.

“ We regret him as one as the dearest and best-beloved of our council, pure, straightforward, and honorable in his advocacy of every measure calculated to reflect credit upon us as a liberal corporate community, and possessed of a rare and zealous talent which he always used with the greatest modesty and best effect.

“ That we regret him and will ever preserve his memory with warm regard, because he ever and always exhibited the most anxious jealousy to protect and defend the honour of this Corporation both civilly and politically, and because of his own great personal worth as a Councillor and a citizen.

“ That we regret him because he always aimed to sway our deliberations and differences with gentleness and wisdom, and because his friendship was a boon that any of his fellow-citizens and every member of this corporation must ever feel proud of having once possessed.

“ That we regret him, because that in and out of this council, though he may have had some who differed from him in politics or religion, no man was his actual foe—no man was his private enemy.

“ That we regret him because rich and poor regret him, and because that both ardently join with us in this expression of condolence,

firstly, on our own parts, then on the part of Ireland, on the part of his native city which his bright genius adorned, and on the part of his afflicted family whose irreparable loss nothing can supply."

Mr. Potter rose to second the adoption of the resolution, and paid a handsome tribute to the memory of the deceased. Passed unanimously.

The Mayor—It is unnecessary for me to say that I also fully agree with it.

Even the poet's pen has been at work in praise of poor Cane. Mr. John O'Donnell, of Limerick, has published a monody, from which we select a stanza or two :—

THE GRAVE OF DR. CANE.

Pace we along the brown old road
To the fair city of the south,
While freshly mist the pleasant airs
From morning's mouth,
Take down thine olden elder stave,
Bind asphodels around thy head,
To-day we hold communion high
Even with the dead.

And while we journey slowly on
Let our still hearts rich utterance give
That tho' thou keep'st their dust, Oh ! Earth,
Still, still, they live.

Live ! and for aye the blast and storm
Which shake earth's battlements sublime
Is but the trumpet voice which tells
Their names to time.
Holy it is to sleep beneath
The cloister's melancholy walls,
Where teems the spiritual dew
And sunshine falls.
Emblems of resurrection they,
One from the wells of ether driven
To fountain up the wastes of earth,
Then soar to Heaven.

Most musical the beechen trees
Wail for the dead in voiceless sighs,
Like death-bells mellowed by the breeze
Of Paradise.
Ever they move in measured sway
Swooning the dusk with their low toll,
Uplifting an "Excelsior"
Even to his soul !

From another Dirge, signed Conaciensis, we cull a few verses :—

'Tis the third season of the rounded year,
Autumn, so bland, so golden, and so mild,
Yet doth it seem dead Winter even now
To me. Alas ! alas ! this scalding tear,

And worst of griefs, and bitter, bitter woe,
 For a bright flower of chivalry laid low
 In charnel gloom, had made my poor heart wild;
 Yet one dear joy remains—'twas not the frown
 Of English foes had power to strike our chieftain down!

Oh destiny! thine is indeed a might
 O'ershadowing all. To-day our glory lies
 Voiceless and cold in death's unlovely night,
 Whilst Echos bear our wailings to the skies,
 And hills and caves repeat our gloomy sighs;
 Yet one dear joy remains—'twas not the frown
 Of English foes had power to strike him down!

He must not sleep unsung
 In the cold grave, oh no! oh no!
 Justice would murmur long if this were so.
 Let him be throned among
 Our wisest and our bravest.

As the admirers of Dr. Cane will ever regard any of his unpublished letters, as so many interesting relics, we place in the appendix one which has just reached us—not of importance certainly, but interesting as exhibiting his anxiety for the welfare of the Celtic Union, at an incipient stage of its progress.

“Kilkenny, April 24th, 1854.

MY DEAR MR. HENNESSY—I return the design for a member's card. It is chaste and beautiful, and of course the committee will adopt it. I send a plan with it, which if the committee approve of, would make it a receipt as well as card, and so save trouble.

I should like the blocks to be about the size of the paper on which I have suggested the alteration of the card, and get Mr. Hanlon to send me three of them. I will have one speedily drawn for my book, and send it up for his estimate that it may be engraved; and if the price be fair and reasonable, I will want some eight or ten of them.

With reference to Mr. Duffy's desire to have one of the covers smaller than the other, so as to suit small octavoes or twelves, I have no argument to urge against such a plan—save that I fear either may be damaged in bringing it down to a smaller size, and perhaps Mr. Watson, who draws minutely with great elegance, could reduce, without injuring his chaste design. I do not think Mr. Fitzpatrick could do so with his: but Mr. Duffy, who is on the spot, will use his judgment in the matter, and decide and direct it before he goes to London.

When sending me down the block for Fitzpatrick to draw his sketch on, send me Mr. Duffy's hints, and also Mr. O'Keefe's for changes of figures of Irish soldiers at top of it.

THE SEPT OF CANE, KANE, OR O'CANE.

(See p. 1009 *ante*.)

A document preserved in the State paper office, dated Sept.

23rd, 1612, enumerates the names of certain prisoners unfavourable to the Protestant regime of James the First, who were then detained in the Tower of London. SIR DONAL O'CANE appears in "good companie," viz:—The lady Arabella Stuart, Sir Cormack O'Neile, brother to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, Sir Neal Garvey, Nectan O'Donnell, William Baldwin Jesuite, Lord Sobhame, Sir Walter Raleigh, Earl of Northumberland, Countess of Shrewsbury, and Lord Grey.

The Canes are repeatedly mentioned in the *Rotuli Hundredorum* drawn up so far back as the Reign of Henry II.

THE JACOBITE AND WILLIAMITE WARS.

(p. 1076, *ante*)

We cull one passage from the critique of the *Athenæum*.

Dr. Cane is more liberal and less insular in his appreciation of the English politics of that time than the Young Irelanders, while his sympathies as a Catholic are also more active. He wishes to tell the truth; and he has the generosity to appreciate the heroism and virtue in the cause to which his traditional prejudices are opposed. In his style he is clear and eloquent.

Dr. Cane's literary labours seem to have been very cordially appreciated in England. The clever Editor of the *Hull Advertiser* writing to Willian J. Fitzpatrick on June 25, 1856, observes—

Is there no man in Ireland to edit a popular edition of the works of Sir Jonah Barrington, including his history of the Irish Union? We are yet without a standard history of Ireland with the names of all the old chiefs and kings translated, and a key to the proper pronunciation of them. A series of the old divines of Ireland after the form of the Parker Society, would be most useful. Try and put life into some Irish publisher. As to Irish subjects not being popular—that is all mere moonshine. Let the man of genius and of enterprise appear, and all the world will attend to him. Dr. Cane of Kilkenny is the only person I can refer to whom, judging from his history of the Williamite Wars in Ireland, I regard as gifted with the requisite ability to produce a really good history of Ireland. My bookseller here sent me four numbers, and I am highly charmed and delighted with them. I only wish that he would write a comprehensive history of Ireland in ten or twelve monthly volumes. We want also a series of good county histories of Ireland, such as abound in this country. Let me suggest a grand subject—the history of the Established Church in Ireland, with all the suffering which it inflicted upon the plundered priesthood and people.

FAMILY INTERESTS.

To the Editor of the Irish Quarterly Review.

Dear Sir,

I believe the simple history of my experience will best effect the object I have in view in writing you this letter.

I gave you in my former letters proof of the necessity of having some certain employment secured for the girls who should be ready to leave reformatories. I cannot cease to impress this all-important point, as otherwise the hope of perseverance must be faint indeed.

It is true all agree as to this being essential; but yet it is discouraging to find that many seem to think the industrial part an after thought that can wait its time: this I believe a fatal error, as it will be no longer time to begin to establish what can only succeed after a long trial and unwearied labour. Above all, the secret of the reformed girl must be kept, and yet how do so, if the period of commencing Industrial Establishments be deferred until the children now about to be adopted for reform be ready to leave their blessed homes of shelter.

We have been so long aware of this want, and so sure that it would be recognised, that in spite of difficulty and debt, we have kept on our industrial school; and now it has taken a new phase.

While our laundry was in operation I had occasion to ask a benevolent Guardian of the South Dublin Union for an introduction to the Matron in order to take out some girls to work. His answer is still ringing in my ear: "I will give you one certainly, but I would not advise you to take any of the inmates, *as they are all bad.*" He did not say it unkindly—but he thought it only fair to warn me, as he knew I had innocent girls at work in St. Joseph's, and feared to spoil them, and expose me to lose property which should be confided to their charge, if I received them into the

Institution. I accepted his letter, but instead of going to the South Dublin Union, I drove to the North, as I was acquainted with the Roman Catholic Chaplain, and thought he would only be too glad to select some good girls for me. On my arrival, I told him why I came to him, at the same time expressed my horror at what I had then learned, for the first time, that all poor girls entering the Union might give up the hope of bearing a respectable character afterwards. He said, "I am not surprised at what has been said to you, although I think it a harsh judgment to spread abroad; but when you remember that these girls are in daily contact with the most depraved, can you be surprised that suspicion and distrust will attach itself to their own characters; however, come with me and I will shew you a number of children whose innocence I can vouch for. As children, they are as yet safe from the contamination that awaits them in the women's ward." I accompanied him: several girls from 11 to 16 years of age were at once called out; all looked eager and anxious when told I had come to select a few workers; but how sad it was to be obliged to refuse all, as none were strong enough for the work then to be done. I went to the women's ward, and there got one girl whom he said he could recommend. I was afraid to take more from that unclassified division.

Having given up the laundry for the reasons stated in a former letter, and provided places for our reformatory girls and other interns, we removed our extern industrial children to a house convenient to the principal patronesses, and could not resist making an effort to save some of these poor children of the Union. We have brought out seven of them, and have engaged a matron; they are now ten weeks with us, and are beginning to earn something towards their support by making shirts for a house of business. They are, as you will perceive by our report in your advertising columns, taught household work, and trained to earn their bread.

For the means of carrying on this work, we are entirely dependent on the charity of the public, and as the institution is not sufficiently known, we are now in debt nearly sixty pounds to the treasurer. Surely some benefactors will come to our aid.

Now I believe that we belong to the Reformatory associates, and to claim partnership with them, is to declare a right to

companionship with all that is good and noble. It behoves us therefore to make our title clear, for we deeply value the glorious connection. There are no drones in Reformatory Societies: all are helpers; no mere good wishes and good will is accepted; acts are the only title deeds recognised; no honorary sleeping partners are admitted; the spirit of devotedness in which the work was founded has stamped itself on all who cooperate, and each in his own measure has given thought or pen or act to the work, and this is why it has suddenly startled the world by the catholicity of the sympathy it has called forth.

And yet there are a few amongst the "esprits forts" who ridicule the work and its missionaries: flat jokes, and sallies of attempted wit, are said to have been repeated as coming from those whose hearts are kind and whose talents are acknowledged. How can reflecting and enlightened gentlemen forget the weight attached to their opinion. Nay, incredible as it may seem, the really good and kind have so far forgotten their nature as to sneer at those who have reached a hand to the penitent! How unaccountable is the world in its inconsistency!

Let us make one bargain with those who are so ready to condemn and sneer at the efforts to reclaim the criminals; let no one dissent, unless he or she has given proof of being engaged in helping and saving the innocent. It will be generally found that those who thus find fault, are not foremost in any charitable undertaking; for how could charity act in contradiction to itself by speaking so directly contrary to the spirit of the teachings of the Author of all charity.

But I am wandering from my object, which is to show how essential it is to support the Industrial schools. Some time since, we got a large order for work, too large for our own institution, as want of means has forced us to part with a number of our good workers. Refuse the order, I could not, as I well knew how many would be served by it. So I got help in various quarters, and engaged many other Industrial Establishments in the south of Ireland to take part of my order; holding myself responsible for the whole. I did not wish to leave the prisoners out in the good work, but went to Newgate, and engaged some very good workers. The matron very kindly did all she could to promote my wishes. She had but five inmates who were capable, as it

was very nice plain work that I wanted to get done. The time approached for the completion of the whole order, and when I went to hasten the Newgate branch, the matron said all would have been ready sooner, had not the best worker sulked, and consequently caused a delay, but she eventually finished her task. After having paid for the work, I found that the prisoners would not get any remuneration; I then asked to be permitted to see the girl who had finished my work so nicely, and perceiving she had little pictures in her cell, I asked and obtained permission to present her with a few, and also with a prayer book. Soon after, I gave a second more hurried order, and to my agreeable surprise, it was at once finished by the girl, who is most difficult to manage, she having been several times condemned to the worst punishment, viz., solitary confinement.

I asked to see her again to thank her, and when I expressed surprise at her finishing her work so quickly, she said she wished to please me in doing so, and had worked until two o'clock in the morning to have it done sooner. It was some very fine knitting, and when I asked her how she had light, she shewed me that a gas lamp was near her barred door, and that by thrusting her arms through the bars she was able to have light on the knitting, and so worked away! This poor girl was one of the very worst tempers in Newgate; a few weeks after when I enquired for her, I was told she had become utterly unmanageable, and was several times since in the dark cell. Surely had reformatories been in her day she would never have continued so long unreclaimed!

I also visited two others who had worked for me, and whom I had rewarded in like manner. They told me their history. They had come from the South Union, and were confined for attempting to burn it. One said she had been years in the Union, and had first been confined to prison for a month for having cut down a line in the union to make a skipping rope! The other was also sent to prison for a like period. She had broken the leg of a stool, and said that she was with others for insubordination, and since then had gradually become hardened. Were not these two cases for Reformatories, had they been in operation?

Thank God, though many have been lost, no time will now be permitted to elapse before the saving remedy is ap-

plied to our poor young defaulters. I visited some others in the prison the same day, and promised them if they became really good and penitent, I would be ready to give them work when the time came for their leaving the prison.

Now then, I do ask all and each of the Patrons and Benefactresses of Reformatories to help St. Joseph's Industrial Institute. It is the hope of the prisoner, and the salvation of the Union orphan. Those we now have were nearly all from nine to fourteen years in the Union. There they should have died or come out to cause death or infamy to many perhaps ; for we know that the sad fate offered them cannot be confined to themselves :—they are sent out to scourge those that will not help. Surely I have made my case clear?

I will not distrust your kindness by apologizing for the length of this letter. It was impossible to abridge the facts. The fate of Industrial training in Dublin is now in the hands of your readers, who will, I hope, help us. A few years of support will enable such establishments to become valuable even in the eyes of traders, and keep us at least in existence until Ragged and Industrial Schools are aided by government grants as they are in Scotland, and as I have no doubt they will soon be here. You will then hear no more from
E. W.

Richmond, December, 1857.

THE
IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XXXII.—JANUARY, 1859.

ART. I.—EATING AND FEEDING—LIVING AND
EXISTING.

1. *Comments on Corpulency, Lineaments of Leanness, Memoirs on Dietetics.* By William Wadd, Esq., F.L.S., Surgeon Extraordinary to the King. London: Ebers and Co., 1829.
2. *The Original.* By Thomas Walker, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, Barrister at Law; and one of the Police Magistrates of the Metropolis. Third Edition. London: Renshaw, 1836.
3. *The Cook's Oracle, Containing Receipts for Plain Cookery, on the Most Economical Plan, for Private Families: Containing also a Complete System of Cookery for Catholic Families. Being the Result of Actual Experiments Instituted in the Kitchen of William Kitchiner, M.D.* A New Edition. Edinburgh: Cadell, 1843.

Many years ago, years when short-waisted coats, and flower-pot hats were in vogue, we read a book, then popular, upon the good things and the bad things of the table. We bought the book, and it lies before us now, with many a mark of hurried thumbing, and of rough and ready reference, about its old familiar covers and pages.

This volume consists of a short Latin poem, which is little more than a very elegant versification of a common French bill of fare, and a copious body of notes, in which the antiquities of most of the dishes commended in the text are fully and satisfactorily explained. The quantity of information conveyed in this last part of the work is really quite astonishing; and we are sure Gourmand, Gourmet, and Glutton, must be equally grateful to the author. The first note, or rather dissertation, is occupied with some sketches of the Roman luxury

of the kitchen ; after which the writer passes into the following judicious remarks :—

“ However extravagant and foolish the whims of those rich personages of ancient Rome may appear to a sober and sensible mind, we must, in justice to their taste, cursorily observe, that there exists a material difference between a *gormand* and a *glutton*. The first seeks for peculiar delicacy and distinct flavour in the various dishes presented to the judgment and enjoyment of his discerning palate ; while the other lays aside nearly all that relates to the rational pleasure of creating or stimulating an appetite by the excellent quality of the cates, and looks merely to quantity. This has his stomach in view, and tries how heavily it may be laden without endangering his health. The *gormand* never loses sight of the exquisite organs of taste so admirably disposed by Providence in the crimson chamber where sits the discriminating judge, the human tongue. The *glutton* is anathematized in the scripture with those brutes *quorum deus venter est*. The other appears guilty of no other sin than of too great and too minute an attention to refinement in commensal sensuality.

“ We find besides a curious shade between the French appellations *gourmand* and *gourmet*. In the idiom of that nation, so famous for indulging in the worship of Comus, the word *gourmand* means, as we stated above, a man who, by having accidentally been able to study the different tastes of eatables, does accordingly select the best food, and the most pleasing to his palate. His character is that of a practitioner, and answers to the appellation of an *epicure* in the full sense of the word, as we use it in English. The *gourmet* on the other hand considers the theoretical part of Gastronomy ; he speculates more than he practices ; and eminently prides himself in discerning the nicest degrees and most evanescent shades of goodness and perfection in the different subjects proposed to him. In fact, the word *gourmet* has long been used to designate a man who, by sipping a few drops out of the silver cup of the vintner, can instantly tell from what country the wine comes, and its age. This denomination has lately acquired a greater latitude of signification, and not improperly, since it expresses what the two other words could not mean.

“ From the foregoing observations we must conclude that the *glutton* practices without any regard to theory ; and we call him *Gastrophile*. The *gourmand* unites theory with practice, and may be denominated *Gastronomer*. The *gourmet* is merely theoretical, cares little about practising, and deserves the higher appellation of *Gastrologer*.”

He then descends to the cook, whose history through Egypt, Greece, and Rome, down to the Palais Royal, and other celebrated eating places of modern day, is very accurately described. After listening to the high and judicious praises he bestows on the expert practitioner of the cooking art, it is melancholy to find, that according to the authority of a certain great French author, “ Cooks, half-stewed, and half-roasted

when unable to work any longer, generally retire to some unknown corner and die in forlornness and want." But it is added most emphatically, that "Corneille, *le grand Corneille*, had no better fate, since he also died in obscurity and distress, a similarity which ought to contribute to their consolation." Among other curious particulars relative to the history of the cook, we find, that in the time of the first Roman emperors, his salary was very commonly about £1,000 per annum—that Mark Anthony once presented a cook with the unexpected gift of a whole corporate town, or municipium, solely because he had dressed a pudding to the satisfaction of Cleopatra—and lastly, that the French, in all things ungrateful, have derived from this profession their names for a rascallion, *Coquin*.

As for the dishes themselves, the soups are of course first of the first. *Sorbilla*, the Latin name, means nothing more than *that which may be swallowed*; but that which may be *most easily* swallowed, came not unnaturally to be always understood by it. The author's definition is complete *secundum regulas*. "A secretion or dissolution of the various juices contained in the muscles and fat of animals, as bullocks, calves, sheep, chickens, &c. in a menstruum of boiling water." "The soup," says a gastronomic author, "may be called the portal of the edifice of a French dinner, whether plain or sumptuous." It is indeed the *sine quâ non* with that ingenious people. Upon it the whole fabric of the repast reposes, as earth does on the bosom of ocean. It is the great substratum destined to support, with the association of the natural gastric acids, the whole mysterious work of digestion. "*C'est la soupe*," says one of the best of proverbs, "*qui fait le soldat*." It is the soup that makes the soldier." Excellent as our troops are in the field, there cannot be a more unquestionable fact, than their immense inferiority to the French in the business of cooking. The English soldier lays his piece of ration beef at once on the coals, by which means the one and the better half is lost, and the other burnt to a cinder. Whereas six French troopers fling their messes into the same pot, and extract a delicious soup ten times more nutritious than the simple *roti* could ever be. It would seem, by the way, as if anciently *leeks* had been the principal ingredient in soups, for *porridge* is evidently derived from *porrum*. The love of the Romans for that vegetable is well known—hence Nero's nickname of the *leek-eater*, or *Porrophagus*.

Under this head of leek soups, our author says,

“ Rabelais, the humorous vicar of Meudon, distinguishes, in his jocose way, two sorts of soups. *Soupe de Prime*, Prime-soup ; and *soupe de levriers*, soup good for hounds, the meaning of which stands as follows : The first designates that premature delibation of broth, which the young monks in the convent used to steal when they could from the hour of “ Prime,” a service performed at about seven or eight in the morning, when the porridge-pot, with all its ingredients had been boiling for the space of one or two hours, (the dinner was served at eleven) and when the broth, full of eyes swimming gently on the golden surface, had already obtained an interesting appearance and taste. It was a sort of beef tea, the lusciousness of which was enhanced by the pleasing idea of its being stolen—*nitimur in vititum semper*. On the contrary, *Soupe de levriers*, greyhound's soup, means that portion of the porridge which was served to the novices after an ample *presumption* in favour of the *Magnates* of the monastery. This was good for nothing, and monks of inferior ranks were ready to throw it to the dogs. The French call *rain* “ soupe de chien.” The egg-broth of the miser, who fed his valet with the water in which eggs had been boiled, comes under the denomination of the said “ soupe de chien,” harrier's broth.”

From leeks he proceeds to cabbages—of which he says—

“ Cabbages of all species, playing a principal part in the porridge and other dishes, and holding eminent situations among the *Dramatis Personæ*, from the first act to the catastrophe, in the interesting entertainment of a good dinner, deserve to be particularly mentioned.

“ The Romans are said to have brought into Gallia the use of the green and red ones which they had received from Egypt. But, upon looking more intimately into the case, it appears that the white *brassica* migrated from the northern region to Italy. Indeed the horticultural art of obtaining that round and close form, which distinguishes some species of this useful plant, does not seem to date farther than the age of Charlemagne. The bigness and rotundity of that head gave origin to the name. *Cabus* from *Caput* and *Cabbage* evidently from *Cabus*, with the Italian augmentative, *accio* or *aggio*—*cabbaggio*.

“ Chrysippus, a famous physician of Cnidos, wrote upon the multifarious qualities of this *Olus*, not a single chapter, but a large volume. Galenus and Matthiolus have been very loud in its praise. Pliny, in reckoning the various kinds of *cabbage*, gives a long account of its virtues, but says little upon its use in cookery, as a noted plant among the esculent ones. Cato is very lavish in his encomiums upon this cruciferous vegetable ; and, with Pythagoras, holds it as a general remedy for all diseases.

“ The red cabbage stewed in veal broth is accounted, upon the continent, a specific cure against pulmonary complaints, and what is called here consumption. Pistachios and calf's lights are added to it. For this purpose red cabbage is especially cultivated in French kitchen-gardens. This reminds us of an anecdote which passed current at the time we heard it :—A young clergyman, rector of a

country parish, was called upon to preach a sermon upon a grand solemnity, at which the bishop of the diocese, who was a cardinal, appeared in the Roman purple, surrounded by his clergy in their white surplices. The preacher performed his task to the approbation of every one. After the ceremony, his eminence, meeting him, seemed to wonder at his not having been abashed when in the presence of a cardinal in the full blaze of his red paraphernalia. The simple and honest clergyman replied: "Yoar eminence will cease to wonder, when you know that I learnt my discourse by heart in my garden, and used to practice declamation before a plot of *white* cabbages, in the centre of which stood a *red* one."—A preferment was the reward of this answer.

"Were we to attend scrupulously to the Greek adage often quoted and never rightly understood, *Δίς κράμβη θάνατος* "Twice cabbage brings death," we might be afraid of using it freely in soups and other dishes; but after hunting most strenuously the sense of this saying through the intricate meanders of the *Delphini* and *variorum* notes, and other commentators, concerning the following line of Juvenal, Sat. vii. 154.

"Occidit miseros *crambe repetita* magistros," we must confess that we see no harm in it, and would boldly advise the whole fraternity of snips to go on, undauntedly as they do in their daily and furious onset upon this, their most favourite, mess.

"The signification of the adage remains still unennuciated. Our opinion is that, in the numerous Greek schools erected at Rome the first declension of substantives was *κράμβη, ης, η*; *crambe, crambes rambé*, as we have here *musa, musæ, musæ*, a song, of a song, to a song, as a specimen. The daily repetition of this noun by the hesitating, stammering, simpering schoolboys, must have been exceedingly tiresome, and enough to kill the disgusted masters—*experto credo Roberto*. Gifford, in his translation of Juvenal, eludes, or rather misunderstands the sense; for he says:

'Like hashed cabbage served for each repast,

The repetition kills the wretch at last;'

however, Juvenal, who points at the Greek proverb, does not explain it."

Innumerable varieties of the soup species are subsequently introduced, amongst which the turtle is not forgotten.

Callipash hinc gustum languentem provocat; indé
Novum ministrat appetitum *Callipee*.

Potages à la Reine, à l'Ecossaise, à la Xavier, à l'œil de perdrix, &c. &c. &c. all follow in due order, but on these we must not enter. Of all these, beef is, or ought to be, the ground-work—and so no wonder that our author should favour us with a dozen pages all about BEEF. He hints that the ox was worshipped in the proud temples of Memphis, under the name of Apis, solely or chiefly on account of the excellence of the

dishes which are formed at his expense—and exhibits a great deal more learning of the same sort. He also appears to have some feelings of regret, in observing how many animals, not unworthy of sharing in those bovine honours, are altogether excluded, in consequence of the foolish prejudices of John Bull. Young ASSES,* he informs us, were served upon the table of Mæcenas himself, when he entertained Augustus and Horace. The Roman epicures, however, certainly delighted, according to the testimony of Pliny, (book 29, chap. 24.) in the flavour of young and well-fattened puppies—which dainty, by the way, still continues to be in vogue among the Chinese and the Esquimaux. Plump and well roasted bats are, at this day, laid on a bed of olives, and served up, to the joy of the Gourmands of the Levant; and Scaliger remarks, that their flavour is sweeter than that of the finest chickens. Frenchmen, we all know, say the same thing of frogs. Hedgehogs *were* fricasseed in Greece. Hamster rats *are* fricasseed in Brandenburg; and Laplanders feed on fried squirrels. We ourselves once betted five shillings, that a certain dear friend of ours† would *not* eat a mouse-pie—and lost. In short, *chacun a son gout*.

It is a sad mistake in the arrangement of British dinners, that certain of the most precious dishes are invariably introduced at a period when no gastrologer, who does not unite something of the practical powers of the Gourmand with his own theoretical skill, can do them anything like justice. Among these, game of all sorts may be mentioned—and with reverence be it spoken—a roasted goose, although his claim may be dubious to be classed among *game*. They manage these things better in France. There the goose after his kind, and the partridge after his kind, are sure to make their appearance at a more early stage of the procession—but there the roasted goose, amidst his flood of apple sauce, never appears. The thighs and liver of the goose, however, are learnedly made into pies, and properly truffled, “*patés a foies*”

* Quere—Whether, had they lived in these days, they would not have been satisfied with cutting up young Whigs or Tories?

† He got through the the task with great ease, and offered, when the pie was done, to eat a mouse roasted in the fur with butter, and oat cake-crumbs, for the same sum—but we declined indulging in any more such experiments.

gras," are reckoned a most delicate article, well worthy of entering almost at the threshold of the feast. Shocking stories are told of the means resorted to by the French gourmets, for the production of that enormous size of liver in which the chief charm of this dish is supposed to consist. But indeed, we need not go so far from home—for we were very well acquainted, not long ago, with a humane gentleman in the west of Scotland, whose kitchen constantly exhibited a shelf of geese, nailed to the wood by the webs of their feet—quite close to the fire. In that situation, there is no doubt they had almost as fair a chance for the liver complaint as the master of the house himself. Spallanzani, as we all know, made a series of experiments to discover how many pins and bullets, &c., a *hen* could swallow. We think he and our west-country friend ought to have been both of them subjected to some little touches of the *LEX TALIONIS*. Had Dante known of them, there can be no doubt he would have lodged them together by the side of the main oven of the infernals—the one nailed to a shelf, that his liver might swell—the other devouring corkscrews and metal tooth-picks, *ad infinitum*.

We have no intention of going regularly through the long string of topics embraced by the annotatory plan of our author. Let our readers be satisfied with a few of the crumbs that fall from his table, such as the following. Talking of pheasants, he says,

"The beauty of the bird when alive, the flavour and quality of his flesh when properly dressed, are too well known to claim a long description in this note. Gastronomers, who have any sort of aversion to a peculiar taste in game properly kept, had better abstain from this bird—since it is worse than a common fowl, if not waited for till it acquires the 'fumet' it ought to have. Whole republics of maggots have often been found rioting under the wings of pheasants; but being *radically* dispersed, and the birds properly washed with vinegar, every thing went right, and every guest, unconscious of the culinary ablutions, enjoyed the excellent flavour of the Phasian birds."

Of the *Tetrax*, *Tetras*, or *Cocq de bruyère*.

"Heath-cock, is the real name of the *moor-cock*, and the rest of the black game so well known in the hyperborean parts of Great Britain. Several naturalists of easy credulity have believed and propagated as probable, if not indisputable, that the great Tetrao, or Tetras, the monarch of the wood, perched on the branch of a tree, calls to him his wandering hens; and that, after having dropped

some mysterious liquid from his beak, he sends them away properly fit to propagate his royal breed. This bird is also called Gor-cock, red or black game. The following lines allude to the fable hinted in the poem :

Where smooth, unruffled by the northern blast,
The crystal lakes, in Alpine rocks enshrin'd,
Reflect the verdant scene, and gently bathe
With silver waves around the grass-grown feet
Of woody hills : there to his cackling dames,
On blooming heaths and secret lawns dispers'd,
The *Gor-cock* calls, the sultan of the grove—
On eager wings they fly——

Of herrings he remarks, that when *fresh*, the French always serve them up with melted butter and plenty of *mustard* in it—a hint worth attending to.

He then goes on thus about mustard.

“The etymology of mustard ought to be recorded here. In 1382, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, going to march against his revolted neighbours, and Dijon having furnished for that expedition its *quantum* of 1000 armed men, the duke, in kind acknowledgment, granted to the town, among other privileges, the permission of bearing his armorial ensigns with this motto, *moult me tarde*, ‘I long, I wish ardently.’ In consequence of this mark of princely condescension, the Dijonese municipality ordered the arms and motto to be beautifully sculptured over the principal gate of the city, which was done accordingly. But time, *tempus edax*, and that incessant drop of water which causes the destruction of the hardest stone, *non vi sed sæpe cadendo*, or some particular accident, having obliterated the middle word *me*, the remaining ones, *moult, tarde*, gave occasion to the name in the following manner. For a long lapse of time, the merchants of Dijon have been, and still are, great dealers in *sénévé*, or, *sinapi*, (mustard seed) ; and have a method of grinding it with salt, vinegar, and other ingredients, in order to preserve it, and send it to all parts of the world. On their *sénévé* pots they used to paste a label, ensigned with the Duke of Burgundy’s arms and the motto as it accidentally remained then over the gate of the city, *moult-tarde* ; hence the name which the *sinapi* composition has preserved to this day. It might be observed, that the natural pungency of this little seed, expressed in Latin by *multum ardet*, and in old French by *moulte arde*, ‘it burns much,’ might be taken as the real *thema* of the word. But it does not appear that the Dijonese were ever scholars enough as to borrow from the tongue of Cicero a denomination for the object of their trade. However, in latter times, an eminent mustard-manufacturer of that place proved himself somewhat acquainted with Latin, since he wrote jocosely over his shop door, *Multum tardat, Divio rixam* ; that is, *Moult-tarde. Dijonnoise* ; ‘Dijon-mustard.’ Pliny pretends that mustard is an antidote against venomous mushrooms. B. xix. ch. 8. & 22.”

Of oysters he says—

"The Athenians held oysters in great esteem. They were not common at Rome, and consequently fetched there a very high price ; yet Macrobius assures us, that the Roman Pontiffs never missed to have them every day on their tables. From the fourth century to the reign of Louis XIV. they were nearly forgotten ; but they soon came again into vogue, and from that time have kept up their reputation. Gastronomers, we know, can swallow three or four dozen before dinner, and then sit down to eat heartily and perhaps better than if they had abstained from them. They clear the stomach of accidental phlegm, increase the gastric juices, and, by their natural coolness, condense the air which may be fixed in the organs of digestion. When good, they are wholesome, but poisonous when bad."

Of lobsters.—

"This crustaceous fish, which, when in season, is delightful for the taste, purity, and firmness of its flesh, grows to a large size, if concealed in the rocky caverns of the deep, it can avoid the rapacity of its enemies, among whom the fisherman is not the least dangerous. Lobsters sometimes measure two feet and upwards ; but Olaus Magnus, Hist. L. 21, c. 34, and Gesner *de Piscibus*, L. 4, pretend, that in the Indian seas, and on the shores of Norway, lobsters have been found twelve feet long, and six broad, seizing mariners with their gigantic claws, and dragging them along into the deep to devour them ! ! The French proverb says, 'a beau mentir qui vient de loin.'"

The pike he styles "the tyrant, the terror, the destroyer of the fish-pond," and then proceeds :

"The poet represents him dressed, as the French style it, 'au bleu.' Boiled in wine, with onions, carrots, parsley, pepper, and salt, he is allowed to get cold ; and then, laid on a napkin in stateliness, supported by a tray, he takes his situation on the table. It is deservedly reckoned by all Gastronomers very excellent eating. The flesh is white, firm, and tasteful, and the bones (which the French, in all fishes, properly call *arrête*, from 'arreter,' to stop, because they stop the voracity of the eater) are, in a large subject, so slender, so pliant, that they can easily be put aside, or if accidentally swallowed do no harm. Pikes grow to an astonishing size. The skeleton of one, which weighed 350 pounds, has long been preserved at Mannheim. Thrown in a pond by the Emperor Barbarossa, with a brass elastic collar, he was taken up in 1497, at the surprising age of 267 years. On the collar was engraved the following inscription in Greek :

'I am the first fish which was put into this lake by the hands of the governor of the universe, Frederic II. the 5th of October, 1280.'

Lacépède (*Hist des Poissons*) pretends that the existence and bulk of fishes and amphibious animals may increase to an incalculable extent."

Next comes *asparagus*, or *sparrow-grass*, or, as it is sometimes called for brevity's sake, *grass*.

“ This vegetable possesses great volatility of parts, and peculiar diuretic powers. The name is of Greek origin, and alludes to its sprouting entirely naked from the ground; that is without cotyledons or leaves.

“ It reminds us of a curious trick which a wag played once upon a countryman, who had no knowledge whatsoever of the existence of such a production as asparagus. They were travelling together, and arrived, on a Friday, at an inn in a small town near Arras, in France, intending to sup and sleep there. The wag asked the landlord what he had to give them? There was nothing in the house but plenty of asparagus and eggs. ‘ Well, then, let us have first an omelet, and whilst we are eating it, boil us some of your best asparagus.’ It was done accordingly: the omelet was served up in a few minutes.—‘ If I cut it in two,’ said the knowing one, ‘ you will draw your share to your plate, and I the other half to mine.’ The countryman bowed assent, the omelet was divided, and declared exceedingly good. Then comes the asparagus. ‘ I do not remember to have ever seen these sorts of things before,’ said the countryman, ‘ how curious they look—are they peculiar to this part of the world?’—Without answering this preliminary question, ‘ We will do,’ said the wag, ‘ as we did before ;’ and he severed the whole bunch in two. By an unperceived whirling of the dish, the white part became the lot of the peasant, who, beginning to tear and chew and masticate to no purpose, declared, with a solemn oath, that as this was the first, it should be also the last time he would attempt to make a meal of asparagus. The wag, of course, enjoyed the whole of the verdant and tender heads of the vegetable.”

From a whole treatise about eggs, we extract a few hints which, we think, may be useful.

“ Sometimes eggs are positively roasted. In countries where wood-fire is constantly used, the cottager half buries his eggs in an upright position in hot ashes upon the hearth; and when a clear dew-drop oozes on the top of the shell, the eggs are fit to be eaten. Ovid was not ignorant of this practice, for he says, *Met.* viii. 667.

Ovaque, non acri leviter versata favilla.

—New-laid eggs, with Baucis' busy care,
Turn'd by a gentle fire and roasted rare.

DAYDEN.

Gastrologers are of opinion, that, done in this way, eggs have a much better flavour than when boiled. Fancy goes far in matters of taste.

“ After all, the most extraordinary manner of cooking eggs is, as it stands recorded, to turn them round in a sling till they appear slightly boiled. This was, we are told, an Egyptian custom. A more credible assertion is, that long eggs contain a male sperm, but this we also doubt; although Horace declares that the same opinion was indisputably held by the epicurean ‘ bon-vivants’ in his time. However, the *Schola Salernitana* gives a good precept as to the choice of eggs:—

Si sumas ovum molle sit atque novum.

If thou takest an egg, let it be soft and new.

"The surest mode of trying an egg is to apply the tip of the tongue to the blunt end ; if it feels warm, and the acute end cold, it is a proof that no fermentation has yet taken place."

There is a very entertaining little appendix on the subject of wine, which sets out with observing, that the words, *wine*, English, *wein*, German, *vin*, French, *vinum*, Latin, and *οἶνος*, Greek, are all sprung from the Hebrew *יין*. He says—

"Before, and even since the introduction of 'Gascoygne' wine into this island, vineyards were well cultivated and thriving in several parts of the kingdom ; for we find, that a certain quantity of wine is ordered to be paid instead of rent to the chief lord of a vineyard—*Vinagæium*, i. e. *Tributum a vino*. Mon. Angl. 2 Tom. 980. But, in course of time, Bacchus courteously gave room for the pursuits of Ceres, and the golden harvest of corn superseded the purple produce of the vintage.

"It is an erroneous idea to suppose that white wine is exclusively the produce of white grapes. Fermentation alone determines the colour. The juice contained in both the white and red grape is nearly as colourless as water ; except in one peculiar species, which is called the dyer, 'raisin teinturier,' the liquor of which is of a purple hue, as deep as that of the mulberry. It is used as an auxiliary to deepen the tint of red wine. If the juice of the grapes, which have been gently pressed by the feet of men in the tub at the vineyard, is drawn off in casks, and allowed to ferment without the skin, the seeds, and the stalks, which contain the colouring elements, the wine will certainly be white. On the contrary, if the liquor is left to ferment with them, the wine must be red. If the fermentation of the white liquid is stopt in proper time, the wine becomes brisk and sparkling, on account of the quantity of fixed air which is confined within it : if this air, a sort of gas, is permitted to evaporate, the wine becomes still and quiet ; in this with a few practical exceptions, consists the whole mystery. Wines require more or less time to ripen in the casks, in order to let the lees settle at the bottom ; and the art principally lies in the knowledge of the proper time to bottle the wine. A thick crust does not always show that the wine is good, but often that it has been bottled too soon. White wines produce no crust ; a proof that the grossest parts are lodged in the skin, seeds, and stalks of the grapes.

"The practice of clarifying wine before it is bottled off by means of whites of eggs, was known to the ancients. But Horace, though a practical *gourmet*, was not well acquainted with the theory of the art, for he mistakes, Sat. 2. 4. the yolk for the white as used for this purpose.

"Several authors of tried knowledge have, in other countries as well as in this, written scientific and interesting dissertations upon

the wines of the ancients, to which we refer the Gastronomer reader, confining ourselves to the names of some of those which are particularly esteemed in our days.

“As to the product of the grapes, it can not be denied, that France has long borne the palm in the contest; and the wines of that fruitful kingdom may be classed under three principal heads, Burgundy, Champagne, and Languedoc, or Meridional wines, which may be also subdivided into three species, *mousseux*, *tranquille*, and *sucre* ;* brisk, still, and sweet.

CHAMPAGNE.

Ai
Arbois
Epernay
Haut-villiers
Langres
Montagne de Rheims †
Ricey
Sillery
Tonnerre
Versenay

BOURGOGNE.

Avalons
Beaune
Chablis
Chambertin
Clos de Vougeot
Coulanges
La Romanee
Macon
Migrenne
Nuits ‡
Pomard

GASCOGNE, &c.

Bergerae
Bordeaux
Cateau-Margot
Claret §
Condrieux
Grave ||
Hermitage
Lafitte
Pontac
St Peray
Sautern

“So great was the repute of some of these wines, that in 1652 a public *Thesis* was held at the Faculty of Medicine, to decide the mighty question, which of the two was best, ‘Bourgogne, or Champagne.’ As for the ‘Vins de Gascogne, Bordeaux, Provence,’ &c., the quantity which is exported has always been so considerable, that according to Froissart, as early as 1372, upwards of 200 ships were annually and exclusively freighted with this commodity.

“Besides these, several ‘vins de liqueurs’ are imported from France; as *Ciotat*, *St. Laurent*, *Lunel*, *Frontignac*, &c. Spain, Portugal, and the island of Madeira, offer us a considerable supply; and the banks of the Rhine and the Moselle enliven, with their produce, the tables of the Gastronomers of all polite nations.”

So much for this very clever little work, which the extracts we have made cannot fail to recommend in particular to our classical and travelled readers. We have seldom met a greater display of elegance and ingenuity than the versification of the poem itself exhibits, nor with a more easy vein of amusement

* “*Languidiora vina.*—HOR.

† “Part of the produce of this famous hill was exclusively kept for the table of the king of France.

‡ “The celebrity of this wine dates from the illness of Louis XIV. in 1680.

§ “This denomination originates from *Claretum*, a liquor made anciently of wine and honey, clarified by decoction, which the Germans, French, and English, call *Hippocras*; and it is for this reason that the red wines of France were called Claret.” Cowel’s Interp.

|| “This name is generally applied to the white wines of Gascony.”

than in the notes. The book appears to have been written a long while ago, and is anonymous. But we dare say the author must be well known at one or other of the universities.

Of all the sensitive beings that people this earth, man, unquestionably, experiences most suffering.

Nature originally doomed him to suffer by the nakedness and delicacy of his skin, the form of his feet, and by the instinct of war and destruction, which accompanies the human race wherever it has been found.

The brute creation has not been visited by this malediction ; and but for a few exceptions, arising from the instinct of reproduction, pain in the state of nature would be absolutely unknown to the greater part of the species, whereas man, who can only experience a temporary pleasure, and that by a very few organs, is liable, at all times, and in every part of his body, to suffer the most excruciating torture.

This decree of fate is still aggravated by a number of diseases which have sprung from the habits of the people, so that the most exquisite pleasure can never, either in intensity, or duration, compensate for the great suffering which accompanies some disorders, such as gout, tooth-ache and rheumatic pains, strangury, and that which is caused by the severe system of punishment in use amongst some nations.

It is this very dread of pain that causes man, without his perceiving it, to throw himself blindly into the opposite extreme, and makes him passionately cling to the few pleasures which nature has placed within his reach.

It is for this same reason that he wishes to increase them, that he forms them and indulges in them—in a word, that he adores them, since during the reign of idolatry, and for many centuries, all pleasures were looked upon as minor deities, presided over by superior gods.

The severity of new forms of religion did away with this patronage ; Bacchus, Cupid, Comus and Diana are no longer but poetical souvenirs ; yet the custom still prevails, for under the most serious forms of our belief we see marriages, baptisms, and even funerals made the scenes of festivity.

Repasts, according to our interpretation of the word, commenced with the second age of the human race, that is when it discontinued to live on fruit. The preparation and distribution of food obliged the family to assemble ; the father distributed to his children the produce of the chase, and the children rendered the same service to the father when old.

Those meetings, at first confined to members of the same family, were extended by degrees to neighbours and friends.

Afterwards, when the human race had extended, the weary traveller was entertained at these primitive repasts, and related what he knew of distant countries. Thus originated hospitality with its rites, which are reputed sacred by all nations; for there is no people, no matter how barbarous, or uncivilised, who do not consider themselves bound to protect the stranger with whom they consent to share their bread and salt.

It was the repast that must have originated or perfected language, either because it is an opportunity for assembling, constantly occurring; or because the leisure which accompanies and follows the repast begets confidence, and disposes us to talk.

Such, by the nature of things, must have been the elements of the pleasures of the table, so that we should carefully distinguish them from the pleasure of eating which necessarily preceded them.

The pleasure of eating is that direct and actual sensation of a want which is being satisfied.

The pleasure of the table is a reflected sensation, which is produced by the different circumstances of occurrences, places, things and persons connected with the repast.

The pleasure of eating is common to us with the brute; it merely implies hunger, and what is necessary to appease it.

The pleasure of the table is peculiar to the human species: it implies a certain amount of care and attention in the preparation of the repast, in the selection of the place, and the assembling of the guests.

The pleasure of eating requires, if not to be hungry, at least to have an appetite; and the pleasure of the table is often independent of both one and the other.

These two states may be observed at our repasts.

At the first course everybody eats greedily, without speaking, or paying any attention to what may be said; and whatever rank in society the individual may occupy, he forgets everything but to take part in the great work of the moment. But when hunger begins to be satisfied, reflection dawns, conversation is commenced, a new order of things takes place; and he who before did nothing but eat, becomes more or less an agreeable guest, according as the great Dispenser of all things has given him the means.

The pleasure of the table does not permit rapturous transports of joy and ecstasy, but it gains in duration what it loses in intensity, and it is particularly remarkable for the privilege it enjoys of disposing us for all the others, or at least consoling us for their loss.

For we observe that after a good and well-regulated repast, both mind and body are particularly at ease.

Physically, for as soon as the brain is refreshed, the whole countenance brightens up, the colour is heightened, the eyes become brighter, and a gentle warmth is diffused through the entire body.

Morally, wit is sharpened by it, the imagination is kindled, and good things are said and circulated; and if *La Fare* and *Saint Aulaire*, are transmitted to posterity with the reputation of clever writers, they owe it to the fact of their being agreeable guests.

Besides, we often see united at the same table every variety which hospitality, in its broadest sense, has introduced amongst us,—love, friendship, business, speculation, power, solicitation, patronage, ambition, intrigues: this is why the festive board comprises everything, and that it produces fruit of every flavor.

Industrial accessories.—It is a necessary consequence of these antecedents, that all human industry has been brought to bear on increasing the intensity and duration of the pleasure of the table.

Poets complained that the neck being too short was an obstacle to the pleasure of eating and drinking; others regretted that the stomach was too small; and man has succeeded in delivering this organ from the duty of digesting the first repast, to have the pleasure of enjoying a second.

This was the final experiment to perfect the pleasure of taste; but if, on the one hand, we have not been able to pass the bounds placed by nature, we have had recourse to accessories which, at least, admitted of more latitude.

Vases and cups were ornamented with flowers; the guests were even crowned with them. Banquets were held under the canopy of heaven, in gardens and groves, in presence of the wonders of nature.

To the pleasures of the table were added the charms of music and the sounds of instruments. Thus, while the court of the King of Phœnice were at table, *Pheonius* sang the praises and the achievements of the warriors of past ages.

Frequently, too, dancers, jugglers, and mimics, of both sexes, and of every costume, amused the eye without diminishing the enjoyments of taste; the most exquisite perfumes filled the air; they even went so far as to have unveiled beauty introduced at those banquets, so that the whole of the senses were invited to take part in an enjoyment which had become universal.

We have adopted, more or less, according to circumstances, those various ways of contributing to our pleasures, and we have also added those supplied us by new discoveries.

No doubt, our refined manners could not tolerate the custom of vomiting, practised by the Romans; but we have done better, and we have arrived at the same end by a system sanctioned by good taste.

Dishes have been invented, so delicate and enticing, that they constantly create an appetite; they are, at the same time, so light that they are most agreeable to the taste, without overloading the stomach. Seneca would have said, *Nubes esculentas*.

Such is the extent to which we now carry our social enjoyments that if the necessity of business did not compel us to rise from table, or if the want of sleep did not interpose, there would be almost no end to our repasts, and we should have no fixed rule by which to determine the time that might elapse between the first glass of Madeira and the last glass of punch.

However, we must not believe that all those accessories are indispensable to constitute the pleasures of the table. We enjoy those pleasures in almost their entire extent, whenever we are able to unite the four following conditions:—meat, at least passable, good wine, agreeable guests, and sufficient time.

It is thus that we have often wished we had been able to assist at the repast which Horace intended for his neighbour whom he had invited, or for the traveller, who might have been compelled by bad weather to take shelter in his house, namely, a good fowl, a kid (very fat, no doubt), and, for dessert, grapes, figs, and nuts, with some of the wine made under the consulship of Manlius, (*nata mecum consule Manlio*), with these, and the conversation of this genuine poet, we think our supper would be a most agreeable one:—

“ At mihi cum longum post tempus veneret hospes,
Sive operum vacuo, longum conviva per imbrem
Vicius, benè erat, non piscibus urbe petitis,

Sed pullo atque hædo, tum pensilis uva secundas
Et nux ornabat mensas, cum duplice ficu."*

It is even thus that six friends would regale themselves at the present day, on a boiled leg of mutton and a kidney, washed down with good clear orleans or madoc wine, in France, or genuine port, in England, or glorious whiskey in Ireland; and after spending the evening in free and pleasing conversation, they would forget that there were rarer dishes or better cooks in the world.

On the contrary, no matter how exquisite the meats may be, or how sumptuous the accessories, there is no real pleasure if the drink be bad, the guests indiscriminately selected, with melancholy faces, and the dinner eaten in a hurry.

Next to eating, that prince of eaters, Sancho, thought SLEEP the best of human goods, as witness his "*God bless the man that first invented sleep.*"

Although there are some men so constituted that we might say they never sleep, it is, however, certain that sleep is as necessary as it is to gratify hunger or thirst. The sentinels on the advanced posts of an army have been known to fall asleep while throwing snuff in their eyes to keep awake; and Pichegru, when pursued by the detectives of Buonaparte, gave 80,000 francs for one night's sleep, during which, however, he was betrayed and arrested.

Sleep is that state of torpor or supineness, in which man, when removed from exterior objects by the forced inactivity of the senses, lives but mechanically.

Sleep, like night, is preceded and followed by two twilights; the first of which leads to absolute inertia, the second brings us back again to active life.

We shall endeavour to account for those two phenomena.

At the moment when we are attacked by sleep, the organs of the senses, by degrees, cease to act; first the taste; then sight and smell; the sense of hearing is still awake, and the touch always; for it serves to warn us, by the sensation of pain, of the danger to which the body may be exposed.

Sleep is always preceded by a sensation more or less pleasing; the body yields to it readily with the certainty of being soon

* The dessert is accurately denominated and alluded to by the adverb tum, and by the words, secundas mensas.

refreshed, and the soul abandons itself to it with confidence, in the hope of being relieved from toil and activity.

It is from not having properly understood this sensation, that the most learned men have compared sleep to death, which all living creatures resist by every means in their power, and which is accompanied by such peculiar symptoms as to terrify even the brute creation.

Like all pleasures, sleep becomes a passion, for some are known to sleep the three-fourths of their lives; and then, like all other passions, it produces but fatal effects, such as laziness, indolence, debility, stupidity, and even death.

The school of St. Salerno only allowed seven hours' sleep, without distinction of age or sex; this is too severe, for allowance should be made for children, as a matter of necessity, and for females, from a consideration of what is due to their sex; but it may be taken as granted that to spend more than ten hours in bed is to indulge in sleep to excess.

In the first moments of sleep our will is still free—we might awake—and thought has not yet lost all its power. *Non omnibus dormio*, said Mæcenas, a state of which many a husband has had unpleasant experience. Some ideas still occur to us, but they are of an incoherent nature; we experience uncertain glimmerings, and we see floating around ill-formed objects. But this state does not last long, all soon disappears, all confusion is at an end, and we fall into a sound sleep.

What is the soul doing all this time? It lives within itself; it is like the pilot during a calm, like a mirror in the dark, like a lute which is not being played on,—it is ready for fresh excitement,

However, some physiologists, and, amongst others, the count de Redern, assert that the soul is never inactive, and the latter gives as a proof that a man who is suddenly roused from his first sleep feels the sensation of a person who is interrupted in an operation in which he was seriously occupied.

This observation is well founded, and deserves our serious attention.

However, this state of absolute prostration does not last long (it rarely exceeds five or six hours); the body gradually recovers its strength, an undefined sensation of existence begins to dawn, and the sleeper passes into the region of dreams.

Dreams are those impressions which the soul experiences without the assistance of exterior objects.

These phenomena, which are so common, and at the same time so extraordinary, are, however, but little understood.

The fault lies at the door of the learned, who have not sufficiently explained them. This, no doubt, will be done in the course of time, and the two-fold nature of man shall be better understood.

In the actual state of science it is admitted that there exists a fluid as insinuating as it is powerful, which imparts to the brain the impressions received by the senses, and that it is from the excitement produced by these impressions that we have our ideas.

Absolute sleep is caused by the deperdition and inertia of this fluid.

We may suppose that the operation of digestion and assimilation, which continues during our sleep, provides against this loss, so that there is a time when man, though he have all that is necessary for action, is not yet influenced by exterior objects.

Then the nervous fluid, insinuating by its nature, is transmitted to the brain by means of the nervous tubes; it flows into the same place, and by the same tracks, since it arrives by the same way; it must, therefore, produce the same effects, but with, however, less intensity.

The cause of this difference seems to us easily accounted for. When man awake is affected by an exterior object, the sensation is clear, sudden, and necessary; the entire organ is in motion. On the contrary, when the same impression is transmitted to him during sleep, it is only the exterior portion of the nerves that is affected; the sensation must, therefore, be less intense, less determined.

In plainer words, while man is awake the entire organ is affected, but when asleep, it is only that part which is next the brain that is acted upon.

When the nervous fluid is thus carried to the brain, it flows to it through those channels destined for the exercise of some of our senses; this is the reason why it produces there certain sensations, or a series of ideas, sooner than others. Thus we fancy that we see, when the optic nerve is affected, that we hear when it is the auditory nerve, &c.; and it may be noticed as a singular fact, that it is at least very rare that the sensations we experience when dreaming have any relation to either taste or smell; for instance, when we dream about a parterre, or a meadow, we see the flowers without perceiving the per-

fume ; and if we imagine ourselves assisting at a banquet, we see the meats, but we do not enjoy the taste.

It would be a study worthy of the most learned to examine why it is that there are two of our senses which do not affect the soul during sleep, whilst the others act nearly as when awake. We know of no physiological work on this subject.

It may also be remarked that the more those sensations which we experience in sleep affect us internally, the stronger they are. Thus the most sensual ideas are nothing when compared with the grief we feel when we dream of having lost a favourite child, or that we are going to be hanged. In such cases we awake either covered with sweat, or bathed in tears.

However extravagant or capricious be those ideas which occur to us in sleep, we shall see, on examining them closely, that they are but remembrances, or a combination of remembrances. We are inclined to say that dreams are but the memory of the senses.

The strangeness of dreams, then, merely consists in the unnatural association of ideas, which has no regard to dates, time, or place ; we never dream of anything of which we have not some previous knowledge.

We would not be so much surprised at the strange nature of our dreams if we reflected that when man is awake he has four senses reciprocally watching over, and directing each other, the sight, hearing, the touch, and memory ; whereas, when he is asleep, each of the senses is left to its own resources.

We might compare these two states of the brain to a piano, at which a musician is seated, who, throwing his fingers carelessly along the notes, plays an air from memory, which he could render perfectly harmonious if he used all his efforts. This comparison might be further extended by adding, that reflection is to the ideas what harmony is to sound, and some ideas produce others, just as one principal sound contains others of minor importance.

In allowing ourselves to be thus imperceptibly carried away by a subject interesting in itself, we find ourselves touching on the system of Gall, who taught and maintained that the organs of the brain are of a multiform nature.

We must not go any farther with this subject, or transgress our limits ; but we may here note two observations, given to us by a very learned French savant, now no more :—

About the year 1790, there lived in a village called Gevrin, in the district of Belley, a trader, a remarkably sharp fellow, named Landot, who had acquired a considerable fortune. He was suddenly attacked by such a fit of paralysis that he appeared to be dead. The faculty took him in hands, and he recovered, but not entirely, for he had lost nearly all his intellectual faculties, particularly his memory.

However, he was able to crawl along, and as he had recovered his appetite, he continued to manage his own affairs.

As soon as he was known to be in this state those who formerly had dealings with him thought the time had arrived to be avenged; and with the pretext of coming to keep him company, they came from all directions, to propose bargains by purchasing, selling or exchanging, and such other matters as had been up to that time the subject of their usual trade. But those besiegers soon found themselves mistaken, and that it was necessary to reduce their terms.

The cunning old man had lost none of his commercial skill, and the same man who did not recognise his servants, and sometimes, even forgot his own name, knew the current prices of the day, and the value of every perch of meadow, vineyard or forest, within three leagues round.

On those subjects his judgment was unimpaired, which, as it was but little suspected, the greater number of those who were endeavouring to entrap the feeble old merchant, were themselves taken in the snares they had prepared for him.

Second Case.

There lived at Belley a M. Chirol, who had served a long time in the life guards, both under Louis xv. and Louis xvi.

His intelligence was equal to the services he had had to perform all his life; but he was particularly remarkable for his skill in gambling, to which he was passionately addicted, so that he was not only master of all the old games, such as ombre, piquet, and whist, but when a new one was introduced, he thoroughly understood it after the third round.

This M. Chirol was also attacked by a fit of paralysis, and in such a manner that he fell into a state of almost complete insensibility; however, two of his faculties were spared, for he could both eat and play.

He regularly visited every day a house in which he had been accustomed to play for twenty years, and seating himself in a corner, remained motionless, and apparently half asleep, without noticing what was passing around him.

As soon as the game was introduced he was invited to form one of the party, which he invariably did, as he struggled towards the table, and then it might be seen that though he was deprived, by paralysis, of nearly all his faculties, he never on that account lost one point of the game. Shortly before his death M. Chirol gave a convincing proof of his skill at play.

When at Belley, I received a visit from a M. Delins, if I remember well, a banker from Paris. He was the bearer of several letters of introduction, and being a stranger and from Paris, was

more than sufficient, in a small village, to make everyone most anxious to be as agreeable to him as possible,

M. Delins was both a gambler and fond of the pleasures of the table. With regard to the latter he had nothing to complain of, for he was entertained regularly for five or six hours at table ; but it was more difficult to amuse him at play. He was passionately fond of piquet, and proposed playing for five or six francs a fish, which was considerably higher than what we were accustomed to play for.

To surmount this difficulty, a society was formed, in which each took an interest according as he expected to win or lose ; some asserted that the Parisians were more skilful players than the provincials ; others on the contrary maintained that the inhabitants of Paris were simple stupid fellows. However, the society was formed ; and who was charged to organise it, and watch over the common interest ? M. Chirol.

When the Parisian banker saw the tall, pale and sickly figure approach, walking on one side, and taking his seat opposite him, he first considered it a joke, but when he observed the masterly way in which the spectre handled and shuffled the cards, he began to think that he might formerly have been an adversary worthy of him

He did not long remain under this mistake, for, not only in this game but in several others which followed, M. Delins was beaten, overpowered and fleeced, in such a manner, that before he left, he had to pay down more than six hundred francs, which were carefully divided amongst the members of the society.

Before leaving M. Delins came to thank me for the kind reception he had met with, but he frequently alluded to the decrepid state of his opponent, and he assured me he could never forgive himself for having been so shamefully beaten by a dead man.

The consequence of those two observations may be easily deduced : It appears to me quite evident that the paralytic stroke, which in those two instances, had affected or deranged the brain, left unimpaired the portion of that organ which had been so long devoted to the combination of business and gambling ; and no doubt that portion had resisted only because it had derived more strength from constant exercise, or still more, because it was more powerfully affected by the same impressions having been so frequently repeated.

Age has a decided effect on the nature of dreams.

In our childhood we dream of toys, gardens, flowers, verdure, and other pleasing objects ; later, of pleasures, love intrigues, battles, marriages ; later, of settling ourselves, travels, favours from princes or their representatives ; and later still, we dream of business, difficulties, wealth, past pleasures, and long-deceased friends.

Sleep and dreams are sometimes accompanied by strange phenomena, the examination of which may tend to advance the study of anthroponomy ; and it is on this account that I will insert here the result of three observations, which I have selected from many others, which I have had occasion to make on myself, during a long life, in the silence of night.

I dreamt, one night, that I had the secret of freeing myself from the laws of gravitation, so that I could either ascend or descend at pleasure.

It was a delightful sensation ; and perhaps many persons have had similar dreams. But what I think most remarkable is, that I remember to have perfectly understood (so it appeared to me at least), the means by which I arrived at this result, which seemed to me so simple, that I was only surprised they were not sooner discovered.

On awaking, I had quite forgotten the solution, but the conclusion remained ; and from that time I found it impossible to dissuade myself that sooner or later, some more enlightened genius will make the discovery ; at all hazard I have taken a note of the circumstance.

Second Observation—It is only a month since I experienced, while asleep, a most peculiar sensation of pleasure. It consisted of a delicious tremor in every part of my body. It was a kind of delightful stinging sensation, which, beginning in the epidermis, from the feet to the head, affected me even in the marrow of my bones.

I fancied I saw a violet flame playing round my head.

‘ Lambere flamma, comas, et circum tempora pasci. ’

I am of opinion that this condition, which I very sensibly felt, lasted about thirty seconds, and I awoke in a state of astonishment, bordering on terror.

From this sensation, which is yet quite fresh in my memory, coupled with other observations which have been made on ecstasies and nervous people, I have come to the conclusion, that the limits of pleasure are neither known, or fixed, and that we do not yet know to what a degree the human body may be beatified. I hope that, some centuries hence, physiologists will take up these extraordinary sensations, and will procure them at pleasure, in the same manner as we invite sleep by opium, and that by these means our posterity will be compensated for the frightful sufferings we are sometimes subject to.

The proposition which I have just put forward, is somewhat supported by analogy ; for I have already observed that the power of harmony, which affords such intense pleasure, so pure, and evidently so much sought after, was entirely unknown to the Romans ; it is a discovery which is not more than five hundred years old.

Having gone to bed, one night, in the year 1800, without having experienced anything remarkable during the day, I awoke about one o'clock in the morning, the usual time for my first sleep ; I found myself in a state of cerebral excitement, altogether extraordinary. My conceptions were strong, and my ideas profound ; the sphere of my intelligence seemed to have been extended. I sat up in the bed, and my eyes were affected by the sensation of a pale, hazy and undefined light, which in no way assisted in distinguishing the surrounding objects.

From the number of ideas which rapidly succeeded each other, I should think that this state lasted several hours, but, according to my time-piece, I am certain it only continued for half an hour, or a little longer. I was rescued from it by an incident, exterior, and independent of my will ; my attention was drawn to the things of this earth.

Immediately, the luminous sensation disappeared, I felt myself sinking, the limits of my intelligence became contracted, in a word,

I was myself again. But as I was quite awake, my memory, although feebly, retained a portion of the ideas which crossed my mind.

The first related to time. It seemed to me that the past, present, and future were one, and met at the same point, so that it could be just as easy to foresee the future, as to remember the past. This is all that I retained of this first vision, which was partly effaced by what followed.

My attention was afterwards directed to the senses, which I classified in the order of their perfection; and having come to the conclusion, that we should have as many internally as externally, I set about finding them.

I had already found three, and almost four, when I fell on the earth, namely,

1st. *Compassion*, which is a sensation we experience when we witness the sufferings of another.

2nd. *Predilection*, which is a preference, not only for a particular object, but for everything belonging to that object, or which reminds us of it.

3rd. *Sympathy*, which is also a feeling of preference which draws two objects together.

It may be said, on a first consideration, that those two sentiments are but one and the same thing; but what does not admit of their being confounded is, that *predilection* is not always reciprocal, whereas sympathy is necessarily so.

Finally, when considering *compassion*, I was led to an induction, which I believe to be very correct, and which, at another time, I should not have thought of, which is, that it is from *compassion* we derive this fine theorem, the principal basis of all our laws.

‘Ne fais pas aux autres ce que tu ne voudrais pas qu'on te fit.’

Do as you would be done by.

Alteri ne facias quod tibi fieri non vis.

Such is the idea I retained of the state I was in, and of the sensation I experienced on the occasion, that I would willingly give, if it were possible, all the time I have to live, for one month of such existence.

I will be more easily understood by the learned than by others; for there are few who have not more or less, experienced something similar.

When warm in bed, in a horizontal position, the head well covered, we are thinking of the work we have in hands, the imagination becomes heated, ideas abound, expressions follow, and as we must get up to write, we dress, throw aside our night-cap, and place ourselves at the desk.

But suddenly we are no longer the same, the imagination gets cold again, the thread of our ideas is broken, language fails us, and we have difficulty in finding what before appeared so easy, and it very often happens that we are obliged to put off the work for a more propitious moment.

All this admits of an easy explanation, considering the effect the change of position and temperature has on the brain; and here we have again a proof of the influence the state of the body has on the mind.

Man, whether he is reposing, sleeping, or dreaming, is constantly under the influence of the laws of nutrition, and never leaves the dominion of gastronomy.

Theory and experience combine in proving that the quantity and the quality of food have a powerful effect on labour, repose, sleep, and dreams.

The man who is badly fed cannot long endure the fatigue of constant labour; his body is saturated with sweat, his strength soon forsakes him; and for him repose is merely an incapacity for labour.

In the case of mental labour, the ideas present themselves without vigour or precision, and we want both reflection and judgment to analyse them: the brain is exhausted by vain efforts, and we fall asleep in the struggle.

We have been always of opinion that the suppers of Auteuil, as well as those of the Hotels de Rambouillet and Soissons, must have been of great service to the writers of the age of Louis XIV.; and the clever Geoffroy, (if it were true) was not so much mistaken when he ridiculed the poets of the end of the eighteenth century, on their sugar and water, which he considered to be their favorite drink.

On those principles we have examined the works of some authors whom we have known to be poor and in want, and we certainly never found their works to possess any energy, except when they appeared to be stimulated by the consciousness of their habitual suffering, or by want, often but ill-disguised.

On the contrary, he who lives well, and who renews his lost strength with prudence and discretion, can endure an amount of fatigue which no other living creature can bear.

Napoleon, the evening before his departure for Boulogne, had laboured for thirty hours, both with his council of state, or his minister, without any other refreshment, but two short repasts and a few cups of coffee.

Browne makes mention of a clerk in the English Admiralty who, having lost by accident some state papers at which he alone could be employed, spent fifty-two consecutive hours in re-drawing them out. He could never, without an appropriate system, have been able to resist such fatigue. The following is the system he adopted:—first he drank water, then he took some light food, then wine, jellies, and soup, and finally opium.

We one day met a courier whom we had known in Algeria, and who had just returned from Spain, when

he had been sent with a despatch by the Government (*curreo ganando horas*). He had accomplished the journey in ten days, having only remained in Madrid for four hours, and all he had taken during this continued jolting, and want of sleep, was a few glasses of wine, and some soup: he added, that if he taken more substantial food he could not possibly get to the end of his journey.

Diet has not a less influence on sleep and dreams.

He who is hungry cannot sleep; the pangs of the stomach keep him in a painful waking state, and if, through weakness or exhaustion, he falls asleep, it is light, disturbed and interrupted.

He, on the contrary, who in his repast, has indulged immoderately, immediately falls into a sound sleep; if he dreams he has no recollection of it, because the nervous fluid meets in every point in the sensitive organs. For the same reason, he awakes suddenly, and with difficulty returns to social life; and long after sleep is gone, he still suffers from indigestion.

It may then be laid down as a general maxim, that coffee dissipates sleep. Custom lessens, and even entirely does away with this inconvenience. But this is always the case with Europeans when first they begin to take it. Some kinds of food, on the other hand, are mild incentives to sleep, such as those in which milk is the principal ingredient, the entire family of lettuces, fowl, puerolian, orange flower, and especially apples when eaten just before going to bed.

Experience, founded on thousands of observations, teaches that diet determines our dreams.

In general all kinds of food that are in any way stimulant cause us to dream; such are dark coloured meats, as pigeons, ducks, wild fowl, and particularly hare.

Asparagus, celery, truffles, perfumed sweetmeats, and especially vanilla, are known to possess this quality.

It would be a great error to suppose that we should banish from our table all those somniferous substances; for the dreams which they produce are in general of a light and agreeable nature, and they prolong our existence, even when it appears to be interrupted.

There are some persons for whom sleep is a kind of other existence, a sort of protracted romance; that is to say, their dreams have a continuation, and they finish in the second night what they commenced the night before, and they see in

their sleep certain faces which they remember to have seen before, and which, however, they never met.

To the genuine gourmet, sugar, coffee, and chocolate, are indispensable.

By the progress which science has made up to the present day, we understand sugar to be a sweet substance, capable of being crystallized, and which, by the process of fermentation, becomes an alcohol, and a carbonic acid.

Formerly sugar meant only that thick, crystallized substance produced by the cane (*arundo saccharifera*).

This plant is a native of India; however, it is certain that sugar was not in common use among Romans; nor did they know anything of its crystallized nature.

We are led to infer from some works of the ancients, that certain plants were known to produce a sweet extractive matter. We read in Lucan—

Quique bibunt tenera dulces ab arundine succos.

But there is great difference between water sweetened by sugar and the cane, and sugar such as we now produce it.

It is in the colonies of the New World that sugar was first discovered, and there it thrives. The sweet juice which was observed to flow from the cane was soon turned to account, and, after various experiments, we have succeeded in extracting from it wine, syrup, brown sugar, molasses, and white sugar of different qualities.

The cultivation of the sugar cane has become an object of the greatest importance; for it is a source of wealth for those who grow it, as well as those who trade in its produce; to the refiner, and even to the government, which derives vast revenue from the duty imposed upon it.

It was the opinion for a long time that sugar could only be produced in tropical climates: but in the year 1740, Margraff discovered it in some plants of the temperate zones, amongst others, the beetroot; and this was afterwards demonstrated by the experiments which Professor Achard made at Berlin.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, owing to peculiar circumstances, sugar having become scarce, and consequently dear, in France, government instituted an inquiry into its nature and qualities.

The result was complete success: it was found that sugar existed in abundance in the entire vegetable kingdom; it was

discovered in the grape, in the chestnut, in the potatoe, and especially in the beetroot.

This last plant soon became extensively cultivated, and the object of numerous experiments, which proved that, in this respect, the old world could dispense with the new. France was soon covered with manufactories which worked with different success, and the art of producing sugar soon became natural to the soil ; a new science which circumstances may one day revive more fully.

Amongst those manufactories, the most remarkable was one which M. Benjamin Delessert established at Passy, near Paris, a respectable citizen whose name was always associated with everything good and useful.

After various skilful operations, he succeeded in overcoming all difficulties, made no mystery of his discoveries, even to those who might be induced to become his rivals ; he was visited by the head of the government, and got an order to supply the Palace of the Tuileries.

Strange circumstances, the restoration and the establishment of peace, having considerably reduced the price of sugar in the colonies, the manufacture of sugar from the beetroot lost a good deal of its importance. However, there were several establishments still doing a good trade ; and M. Benjamin Delessert some years manufactured some thousand tons without loss, which gave him the means of adhering to a system that it might be one day necessary to have recourse to.*

When beetroot sugar was an article of commerce, interested parties, the vulgar and uneducated, found that it had a disagreeable taste, not good for sweetening ; some even went so far as to say that it was unwholesome.

But observations and experiments have proved the contrary ; and the Count Chaptal has given us the result in his valuable work, *Chemistry applied to Agriculture*, tom 11, p. 13, 1st ed.

“The sugar which we obtain from those different plants,” says this distinguished chemist, “are exactly the same, and

* We may here remark that, at its general meeting, the society for promoting national industry presented a gold medal to M. Respel, a manufacturer of Arras, who manufactures upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand kilogrammes of beetroot sugar yearly, in which he carries on a successful trade, even when the price of cane sugar is as low as 2f., 20c. the kilogramme ; the husks which remain after the spirit has been extracted, are used to feed cattle.

differ in no respect when they are brought by the process of refining to the same degree of purity. The taste, the crystallization, the colour, and weight, are altogether identical, and we might defy the most experienced to distinguish one from the other."

We will have a striking example of the effect of prejudice, and of the difficulty we always experience in establishing a truth, when we are told that out of a hundred persons in Great Britain, taken indiscriminately, there are not ten who believe that sugar is produced from beetroot.

Sugar has been introduced into the world by apothecaries. It was destined to play an important part there. It was customary, when speaking of a person who wanted something very essential, to say, "He is an *apothecary without sugar*."

This was sufficient to make its use popular; some pretended that it excited; others, that it attacked the chest; some, that it predisposed us for apoplexy. But calumny was soon obliged to give way to truth, and it is not more than eighty years since this memorable maxim was given:—*Sugar does no harm but to the purse*.

Under this impenetrable ægis sugar became daily more in use, and there is no alimentary substance which has undergone so many changes and transformations.

Many persons like to eat raw sugar, and in some cases, the greater part hopeless, the Faculty recommend it in this form, as a remedy which at least has nothing in it repulsive.

Mixed with water it makes a refreshing, wholesome, and agreeable drink, and oftentimes useful as a cure.

When mixed in greater proportion with water, and concentrated by fire, it forms a syrup which admits of all perfumes, and produces in us a cooling effect, always pleasing from its variety.

Mixed with water from which, by the aid of science, we extract the caloric, an Italian discovery, it forms ice, for the introduction of which we are indebted to Catherine de Médicis.

Mixed with wine it gives a cordial, a restorative so prized that in some countries they pour it over the roast joints intended for the table of a new married couple on the wedding day, the same as in Persia they serve up, on like occasions, sheep's trotters in vinegar.

Mixed with eggs and flour it makes biscuits, macaroons, fillips, and that variety of light pastry which constitutes the comparatively new science of the pastry cook.

Mixed with milk it makes creams, blancmanges, and other delicacies which so agreeably terminate the second course, in substituting for the desire of substantial food a fine and sweet perfume.

Mixed with coffee it draws out its aromatic qualities.

Mixed with milk and coffee it affords us a light and agreeable nourishment, easy to be procured. It is admirably adapted to those who are obliged to study immediately after breakfast. Milk and coffee, *café au lait*, is also much in vogue with the ladies; but the far-seeing eye of science has discovered that its too frequent use would be injurious to them in what they hold most dear.

Mixed with fruit and flowers it produces sweetmeats, marmalade, preserves, patés and candy, a method for preserving, by which we are enabled to enjoy the perfume of those flowers and fruits long after the time nature intended them to last.

Viewed in this last light, perhaps it might be used with advantage in embalming, a practice but yet little known amongst us.

In fine, sugar mixed with alcohol produces spirituous liquors, invented, as we know, to comfort Louis XIV. in his old age; and which, flattering the palate by their strength, and the scent by their fragrance, constitute at this moment the *ne plus ultra* of the pleasures of taste.

But this is not all. Sugar may be used as a seasoning for everything; it spoils nothing. Some persons use it with meats, sometimes with vegetables, and often with fruit. It is indispensable in those drinks which are most fashionable (*à la mode*), such as punch, negus, syllabub, and others of exotic origin. It is infinite in its applications, which are modified to suit the taste of nations and individuals.

Such is this substance of which the French of the time of Louis XIII. scarcely knew the name, and which for those of the nineteenth century is become a matter of first necessity; for there is no woman, particularly if she be in easy circumstances, that does not expend more money on her sugar than on her bread.

M. Delacroix, a writer as amiable as he was learned, once complained at Versailles of the high price of sugar, which was then more than 5f. a pound. "Ah!" said he, in a soft and pitiful accent, "if ever sugar is sold again for 30 sous, I shall never drink water without its being sweetened." His prayer was heard; he lived till lately, and we hope he kept his word.

Coffee was first discovered in Arabia, and notwithstanding, the various transplantations which this plant has undergone, it is still from that country the best coffee is procured.

An old tradition says that coffee was first discovered by a shepherd, who observed his flocks to be unusually excited and playful whenever they browsed on the coffee berry.

Whatever credit we may be disposed to give this old story, it is certain the observing shepherd is entitled to but half the honour of the discovery; the other half undoubtedly belongs to the man who first thought of roasting the berry.

A decoction of raw coffee is, in point of fact, an insignificant drink, but carbonization develops in it an aromatic quality, and produces an oil which distinguishes the coffee such as we have it, and which would never be known but for the intervention of heat.

The Turks, who are our masters in this respect, never use the mill to bruise coffee; they pound it in mortars with pestles made of wood, and when these instruments have been long in use, they become precious and are sold at a high price.

We once had several reasons for ascertaining, if in reality there was any difference between those two methods, and which was preferable.

We therefore toasted with the greatest care a pound of the best mocha.

We divided it into two equal parts, one of which we ground, and the other we bruised after the manner of the Turks.

We made coffee of both those powders. We took an equal weight of each, and poured over it an equal weight of boiling water, treating both portions alike in every respect.

We tasted this coffee, and had it tried by the greatest connoisseurs. The unanimous opinion was that the result of the bruised powder was far superior to the other.

Any one may satisfy himself by the experiment. In the meantime we may give a remarkable example of the effect which either of those methods is likely to produce.

“Sir,” said Napoleon, one day to the Senator Laplace, “how is it that a glass of water, in which I put a bit of sugar, appears to me much more agreeable than one in which I put an equal quantity of bruised sugar?” “Sire,” replied the philosopher, “there are three substances whose principles are exactly the same; namely, sugar, gum and starch; they only differ on some conditions which nature has yet kept secret: and I believe it is

possible that by means of the collision produced by the pestle some portions of the sugar pass from the state of gum or starch, which causes the difference you have observed."

This circumstance obtained considerable notoriety, and subsequent observations have pronounced in favour of the first method.

Some years ago the best method of making coffee seemed to be an object of general study in France; and this is accounted for by the fact, which was not then generally known, that the head of the state indulged in it to excess.

It was proposed first to make a cold infusion without either toasting, or reducing it to powder, to boil it for three quarters of an hour and then strain it, &c.

We tried all those methods, and even those that have been proposed up to the present time, and from experience we have come to the conclusion that that which is called *à la Dubelloy*, is the best, which consists in pouring boiling water over the coffee, which we have put into a china or silver vase, perforated with very small holes. We take the first decoction, heat it to boiling point, strain it a second time, and we have as clear and good coffee as we need desire.

Amongst other methods of making coffee we tried that of putting it into a boiling kettle under high pressure; but we were able to obtain a little extract, only fit to scrape the throat of a Cossack.

Doctors have given different opinions concerning the sanitary qualities of coffee, and have not always agreed amongst themselves. We will pass over this difference of opinion, and will only occupy ourselves with what is of more importance, namely, its influence on the organs of thought.

There is no doubt but coffee has a powerful effect on the cerebral organs; and a man who drinks it for the first time, is sure to be deprived of his sleep.

Sometimes this effect is lessened and modified by habit; but there are many who are thus excited by it, and consequently obliged to discontinue its use.

We have stated that this effect was modified by habit, but this does not prevent its affecting us in another way; for we have observed that those who sleep well at night after coffee, required it to keep them awake during the day, and are sure to fall asleep during the evening, if they have not taken coffee after dinner.

There are also many others who are drowsy during the day if they have not taken their cup of coffee since morning.

Voltaire and Buffon were very fond of coffee, and it is possible they are indebted to it, the former for that admirable clearness and perspicuity which characterize his works; the latter for that exalted harmony which we find in his style. It is plain that many pages of the essays on Man, on the Dog, on the Tiger, the Lion, and the Horse, were written in a state of great cerebral excitement.

The want of sleep caused by coffee is not an unpleasant sensation; our ideas are very clear, and we have no desire for sleep. We do not feel so restless or unhappy as when it is produced by some other cause; but it is very probable that this unseasonable and unnatural excitement will be fatal in the long run.

Formerly none but adults took coffee, now every body takes it; and perhaps it is the injurious effect which it has on the mind which hurries on that immense crowd which every day fills the avenues leading to Olympus and the temple of memory.

The shoemaker who was the author of the tragedy, the *Queen of Palmyra*, and which all Paris was running after, was passionately fond of coffee; he raised himself far above the carpenter of Nevers, who never took exciting drinks.

Coffee is a much stronger drink than is generally believed. A healthy man might live to a good age, drinking two bottles of wine daily, the same man would not live near so long by taking an equal amount of coffee; he would become a lunatic, or would die of consumption.

We saw lately at Leicester square in London, a man who by using coffee to excess, became a cripple; he did not appear to suffer, and was resigned to his condition, having limited himself to five or six cups a day.

It is the imperative duty of all parents strictly to prohibit the use of coffee to their children, if they do not wish to have them become mere withered little machines, stunted in their growth, and old men at twenty.

This advice is particularly applicable to the people of Dublin, whose children are not always as strong and healthy as if they were born in the country, in Tipperary for instance.

We are of those who have been obliged to renounce the use of coffee: and we shall conclude this paragraph in relating a circumstance which particularly brought us under its influence.

Having been required by the head of a department to prepare a certain document, which we wished to do with the greatest care; and having got but very short notice, for he should have it the next day; we determined to sit up all night. In order to provide ourselves against sleep we strengthened our dinner with two large cups of strong and fragrant coffee.

We returned home about seven o'clock to receive the necessary instructions, and instead of the papers we expected we received a letter informing us that in consequence of some, we know not what, red-tape formality, we could not receive them before the following day.

Thus disappointed in the fullest sense of the word, we returned to the house where we had dined, and played a game of piquet without perceiving any of that inattention or absence of mind for which we were remarkable. We were indebted to the strong coffee for this, but in deriving this temporary advantage from it we could not but feel uneasy as to how we were to spend the night.

However, we went to bed at the usual hour, thinking that if we had not a good night's rest at least we might have four or five hours' sleep, which would bring us comfortably enough to the next day. We were much deceived—we were already two hours in bed, and were farther from sleep than ever, in a state of very strong mental excitement, and we compared our brain to a mill whose machinery is in motion, but having nothing to grind.

We felt that we ought to turn this disposition to some account by doing something to invite sleep; and we immediately set about putting into verse a short tale which we had lately read in a French work.

We soon concluded it, and as we were not yet more disposed to sleep than before, we commenced a second tale, but in vain. A dozen lines exhausted our poetical fancy, and we were obliged to give it up.

We therefore passed the night without sleep, not even dozing for a moment. We rose, and spent the day in the same state, without deriving the least relief either from meals or occupation. In a word, when we went to bed again at the usual time we found that we had been forty hours without sleep.

Those who first landed in America were driven there by their thirst for gold. At that time nothing was thought of

any value but what was produced from the mines ; agriculture and commerce were in their infancy, and political economy was a thing not yet born.

The discovery of precious metals was of little use then to the Spaniards, since they are depreciated as they multiply, and we have within our reach better resources and surer means of increasing our wealth.

But America, where every variety of climate renders the soil extremely fertile, has been found peculiarly well adapted for the cultivation of the sugar cane, coffee, potatoes, indigo, vanilla, cocoa, &c., and these are the only treasures.

If those discoveries have taken place in spite of the opposition of jealous nations, we may reasonably suppose that they will be increased tenfold in succeeding ages, and that the researches of the learned men of Europe in all unexplored countries, will enrich the three kingdoms with a variety of substances, capable of producing in us sensations like the vanilla, or will increase our elementary resources as cocoa.

Scientific men have agreed to call a mixture produced by the kernal of the cocoa tree roasted, with sugar and cinnamon, chocolate : such is the classical definition of chocolate. Sugar is an indispensable component part of chocolate ; for with cocoa alone we could only produce cocoa-paste and not chocolate. When we add the delicious odour of the aroma to the sugar, cocoa and cinnamon, we have the *ne plus ultra* of perfection to which this preparation can be brought.

Such are the few substances which taste and experience have substituted for the numerous ingredients which formerly composed chocolate, such as pepper, all-spice, aniseed, ginger, and many others which were often mixed with cocoa.

The cocoa-tree is a native of South America ; but it is also found in the islands and on the continent ; but it is now agreed that the trees which produce the best fruit grow on the banks of the Maracaibo, in the valleys of the Caracas, and in the fertile province of Sokomusco. The kernel is much larger there, the sugar less tart, and the aroma most exquisite.

Since we became more familiar with those countries, we are enabled to make daily experiments, and experienced judges can no longer be deceived.

The Spanish ladies of the New World are passionately fond of chocolate, to such a degree that, not content with taking it several times in the day, they sometimes have themselves

supplied with it in church. This love of indulgence has often brought upon them the censure of the Bishops, but they never paid it the slightest attention, and a Theologian, whose metaphysics were as refined as his morality, was an obliging sort of man, and formally declared that chocolate might be taken while fasting, provided it were made on water; thus applying in favour of his fair penitents the old adage, *Liquidum non frangit jejunium*.

Chocolate was introduced into Spain about the seventeenth century, and soon became very popular in consequence of the decided preference given this agreeable beverage by the ladies, and also by the monks. The habits of the people have not changed in that respect; and even now throughout the Peninsula, it is customary to introduce chocolate, whenever the occasion presents itself and that politeness require, the offer of refreshments.

Chocolate crossed the mountains with Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip II., and wife of Louis XIII. The monks also contributed to introduce it by the presents which they made to their brothers in France. The ambassadors of Spain also assisted in making it popular; and at the beginning of the Regency, it was more generally used than coffee, because then it was taken as an agreeable nourishment, whereas coffee was taken as a drink of luxury, and through a spirit of curiosity.

We are aware that Linnæus calls the cocoa-nut tree *theobroma*, (the drink of the gods). That he should find this extraordinary quality in chocolate, is a question that was often asked; some attributed it to the fact that the Doctor was passionately fond of it himself; others again attributed it to his gallantry, because it was a queen who first introduced it.

Chocolate has been the subject of many learned discussions, the object of which was to determine its nature and properties, and to place it in the list of our warm, cold, or frugal daily food; and we must confess, however, that those learned researches have done but little for the advancement of science.

But it remains for time and experience, these two great masters, to prove that chocolate, prepared with care, constitutes an element of food as wholesome as it is agreeable; that it is nourishing, and easily digested; that it is not so injurious to beauty as coffee, on the contrary, it improves it; that it is admirably suited to those whose minds are occupied with intense

application in the study of the pulpit or the bar, and particularly to travellers; that, in a word, it agrees with the most delicate stomachs; that it has been used with success in chronic diseases; and that it is prescribed as a last resource in diseases of the pylorus.

For these different qualities chocolate is indebted to the fact of its being nothing but an *eleosaccharum* (an essential oil); there are few substances that contain in equal portions more alimentary particles, which accounts for its being so strengthening.

During the war cocoa was very scarce, and, consequently, dear: it was then it was thought to substitute something else for it, but to no purpose, and one of the blessings of peace was to rid us of all those different mixtures, of which we were obliged to partake to avoid giving pain, and which were no more chocolate than an infusion of chicory is Mocha coffee.

Some complain of not being able to digest chocolate; others, on the contrary, that there is no nourishment in it, and is too soon digested.

It is very possible that the former have only to blame themselves, and that the chocolate which they use is of an inferior quality, and badly manufactured; for good and well made chocolate will always be digested, even by the most delicate stomach.

As to the latter, the remedy is an easy one; let them take at breakfast a small savoury pie, a cutlet, or a kidney à la *brochette*; let them pour over this a bowl of Sokomusco, and let them thank God for having given them a stomach with such digestive powers.

This gives us an opportunity of offering a suggestion which will be found most useful, and may be received with confidence.

If, when we have well and copiously breakfasted, we immediately take a large cup of chocolate, we are sure to digest perfectly in three hours' time, and we could even dine. We induced several ladies to try this experiment, they having assured us that they suffered much from indigestion. They always found the greatest relief, and were lavish in their praise of our prescription.

Those who use chocolate are found to enjoy the most perfect and constant good health, and are less subject to those diseases which, though trifling, often interfere with our happiness. Their *embonpoint* is also more stationary, which any one may

prove in the society of those with whose habits of living he is familiar. And here we may note the properties of amber chocolate, properties which we have verified by a great number of experiments, the results of which enable us to say:—Let those who have drunk too deep the cup of luxury; let those who may have passed in study a considerable portion of the time which should be given to sleep; let the man of genius, who feels his intellect impaired; let him who finds the air moist, time weigh heavily upon him, and the atmosphere difficult to support; let him who may be suffering from some fixed idea, which prevents his directing his thoughts to any other subject: let all those, we repeat, take about half-a-quart of amber chocolate, with from sixty to seventy-two grains of amber to a pound of chocolate, and then, they may depend upon it, they shall see all but a miracle performed.

Very good chocolate is made in Spain; but its importation into England and France had soon to be discontinued, because as those who were employed in preparing it for use were not all equally skilled, whenever the chocolate was of inferior quality it had to be consumed as it was received.

The Italian chocolate is not adapted to the French; in general they roast the cocoa too much, which makes the chocolate bitter and weak, because a portion of the shell is reduced to a state of charcoal.

Chocolate being much used in France, everybody set about making it, but few were able to bring it to perfection, owing to the difficulty of manufacturing it.

We must first be able to distinguish good cocoa, and use it in all its purity, for in every box, no matter how carefully selected, there is always some of inferior quality, and not properly understanding our own interest, we receive inferior cocoa, which, in all honesty, we should reject.

The toasting of cocoa is a very delicate operation; it requires an amount of tact approaching almost inspiration. There are some who have it by nature, and are rarely deceived.

There is also a particular talent required to determine the quantity of sugar necessary; it should not be invariable, or uniform, but regulated in proportion to the amount of aroma intended to be used in the manufacture of chocolate, and the degree of toasting to which it is intended to subject it.

The pounding and mixing require also equal care and attention, inasmuch as the chocolate will be more or less digestible, according as this operation is perfectly or imperfectly performed.

Other considerations should guide us in the selection and quantity of aromatics, which should not be the same in chocolate intended for food as in that which is to be used as sweetmeats and dainties.

This selection and quantity of aromatics should be also regulated according to the amount of vanilla necessary.

For some time machines have been used in the manufacture of chocolate: we are not of opinion that it is better on that account, but it lessens considerably manual labour, and those who manufacture chocolate by machinery can afford to sell it cheapest. Nevertheless, they sell it sometimes dearer, which goes to prove that the true commercial spirit has not yet taken root in France; for certainly the advantage gained by machinery should be equally profitable to the merchant and the public.

Being an amateur of chocolate, we have gone the round of all the manufactories, and have selected that sold as Chocolate Masson, at 28 Rue de Richelieu.

We must not be surprised at this, for Mr. Masson has brought to his aid, in the manufacture of chocolate, vast information.

The chocolate manufactured by Mr. Masson owes its superiority to a good selection of materials, and a fixed resolution to permit nothing inferior to leave his establishment; while he himself superintends with a masterly eye all the details of the work.

Adhering to a wise doctrine, and by a judicious system, he has also succeeded in producing agreeable remedies for those of his numerous customers who may have a tendency to disease.

Thus, for those who are thin and delicate he has provided a strengthening chocolate, *au salep*; for those suffering from nervous disease, an antispasmodic chocolate, *à la fleur d'orange*; for those of an irritable temper, a chocolate of the oil of almonds; to which he will, no doubt, add *the chocolate of the afflicted*, perfumed and portioned, *secundum artem*.

But his chief merit is, that he has given us, at a low price, an excellent chocolate for daily use, which affords us a substantial breakfast; and which, when mixed with cream, is so pleasant at dinner, and refreshes us in the evening in ices, croquettes, and other dainties of the drawingroom, not to mention the charming, fun-provoking pastilles and lozenges with or without mottoes.

Here our paper ends, but if it have made the reader smile, surely it has also instructed him in that very important point of "knowing and being," namely, how to enjoy life, and how to render his very repast a medicine. We say to him, or to her, in conclusion, as Sir William Temple says in his essay on *Health and Long Life*,—"Thus have I traced whatever has fallen in my way or thoughts to observe concerning life and health, and which I conceived might be of any public use to be known and considered: and it may at least pass like a Derbyshire charm, which is used among sick cattle, with these words,—'IF IT DOES THEE NO GOOD, IT WILL DO THEE NO HARM.'"

ART. II.—ABOUT SCULPTURE.

Guide to the Crystal Palace and its Park and Gardens. By Samuel Phillips. *A newly arranged and entirely revised Edition.* By F. K. J. Shenstone. London: Bradbury and Evans, 1858.

One day, last October, we were standing in the National Gallery, before Murillo's *St. John and the Lamb*, wondering that one who could create such marvellous effects of chiaroscuro, of coloring and of texture, and yet could, in the Saviour's friend, make us see only a peasant boy. Any Christian can understand what the picture means; it has been wood-cutted, and engraved over and over again; around us were glorious pictures, but pictures for the full enjoyment of which some knowledge of history or of art was necessary. As we stood before the Murillo, there came to "look at" it, a man about forty years of age, and his little son about five or six years old. They had all that half-wandering, half-stupified expression so common amongst the mass of visitors to our public museums, the class who are at home at Madame Tussaud's. The little boy said, pointing to the picture, "What is that, Pa?" Pa reads the name on the frame and says, "St. John and Lamb;" and after a second or two, lost in his case, in looking at the picture, says, "should you like a cut of lamb, dear," and so they go on to view the Venuses and Susannahs with perhaps Hollywell-street eyes.

This man was but the type of eighty per cent. of those who visit our public galleries. The mutilated statues of the Crystal Palace, the putty additions, the scribbled comments in the alcoves, all prove how coarse the popular mind yet remains; but the national system of exclusivism, and the national system which has made the possession of shillings, not the possession of taste, the test of admission to all great art exhibitions, are alone to blame.

Iguorance of some of the most important and interesting facts connected with art, particularly sculpture, is as common amongst the would-be learned as are a deficiency of taste and want of appreciation amongst the unlearned, and possibly there are reasons for this state of things.

Considering the excellence which the ancients attained in

the fine arts, it is astonishing how little has been transmitted to posterity respecting the works and methods of their most distinguished artists ; of the methods of their sculptors we literally know nothing ; indeed we believe that many a learned *fellow* imagines that Phidias and Praxiteles actually worked with the chisel and mallet in their hands, hewing out the statue within the block, with no other guide or model than the idea in their own minds. We recollect to have read somewhere, that Michael Angelo laboured with such enthusiastic fury to get his statues extricated from the encasing rubbish, that it was quite marvellous to see him ! Nothing, however, can be more ridiculous than the supposition of this species of the Cæsarian operation in sculpture ; an art which requires the utmost patience and minute carefulness, and in which the merit of the *artist* consists in preparing the clay model. It is the *artizan* who fashions the marble ; an humble species of mechanical industry scarcely removed from the toil of the common stone-cutter—the task of the labourers in the workshops of a Canova and a Gibson.

But what renders the methods of the ancient sculptors still more curious as an object of inquiry, is, that, without tools of steel or tempered iron, they should have been able to work with so much felicity not only in marble, but even in the harder substance of the precious stones. Their dexterity appears still more extraordinary when we reflect that it is necessary to employ the magnifying glass to inspect the minute beauty of many of their gems, cameos, intaglios, and medals. It is almost inconceivable how such works could have been produced without the aid of spectacles or the magnifying lens. That they possessed the magnifying mirror is extremely probable, for their looking-glasses being made of metal, it was almost a necessary result that they should discover the magnifying power of a polished concave surface. By some reflex application of the concave mirror their gem engravers may have been assisted ; and we think it would not be difficult still to ascertain in what manner this was done. It has been supposed that in some instances they employed a drop of pellucid water in the perforation of a piece of metal ; but we cannot, however, form any very distinct notion of the manner in which this magnifying power could be rendered useful to an engraver. But a pretty discovery of an ingenious savant, and which we would recommend to the attention of our opticians, has suggested a better idea. He

has discovered, that by nicely perforating a bit of paper, or any superficial substance, a plate of metal serving the best of all for the purpose,—that in proportion to the size of the hole, a very considerable magnifying power is obtained over objects closely under the eye, and that distant objects are brought apparently nearer, and seen much more distinctly than by the unaided sight. It is therefore possible, that the ancient gem engravers may have made use of some contrivance of this nature.

Our information with respect to the methods of the painters of antiquity is also almost a blank. Their excellence both in drawing and in colouring cannot be questioned; for with such evidence as we possess of their attainments in sculpture, it is almost impossible, without a denial of the force of ocular demonstration, to refuse our acknowledgments to their superiority. We are told, indeed, that Zeuxis formed the composition of his Juno* from the peculiar beauties of all the most beautiful women in Agrigentum; and that Apelles made use of burnt ivory mixed with varnish to augment the effect of his colours, and to defend them from the action of the air.† But with the exception of these two solitary facts, the one in the art of design, and the other in that of colouring, we possess no practical information respecting the methods of the ancient painters. The use of the black or burnt ivory by Apelles has been questioned by many writers on the fine arts as an improbable misconception; but Mr. West did, we know, employ it with so much success, that the colouring of his later pictures, compared with that of his earlier, does not appear to have been produced by the same hand. It serves to tune, if the expression may be allowed, the various tones of colouring into one consistent frame of harmony.

Historians differ about the birth place of sculpture. But the art was undoubtedly early cherished in Asia. Laban, we are informed, adored idols‡ abominated by Jacob. Some, however, are of opinion, that the Ethiopians were the first who employed visible symbols as objects of adoration,§ and that of course they were the inventors of sculpture. Others ascribe the invention to the Chaldeans, and refer, in proof of their hypothesis, to the statue erected by Ninus in honour of his father. But

* Pliny, lib. xxix. Cap. ix.

† Cavaliere Ferro, vol. i. p. 41.

‡ Genesis, chap. xxxi. and xxxv.

§ Contarino il Vago, p. 420.

the Greek philosophers considered Egypt as the cradle of the arts; and Plato says, that works of painting and sculpture may be found in Egypt executed ten thousand years ago. Pausanias thought that at first the priests exhibited a stone, or the trunk of a tree, as the emblems of their gods. Herodotus, the father of profane history, says, that the ancient Egyptians were accustomed to carve the one end of a stick into the form of a head, and, with scarcely more art, to trace a few imperfect lines on the other into a resemblance of feet. In this state they transmitted the art of sculpture to Greece. Pausanias mentions, that there was an ancient statue at Pygolia, which served to illustrate the history of the arts, the feet and hands of which were closely joined to the body, similar, no doubt, to the Egyptian statues in the British Museum. The first attempts in sculpture were no doubt with flexible materials, such as clay or wax. The next were probably with wood, and then marble;—metal, as requiring the aid of another art, was perhaps the last material employed by the genius of sculpture.

The earliest among the Greeks who wrought in marble, were the sons of Dædalus, Dipœnus and Scyllis,* who lived in the first Olympiad, that is, about 576 years before Christ. Phidias, who flourished about 120 years later, carried the art to its utmost perfection. It has certainly not since approached the same degree of excellence, if we admit the Athenian marbles in the British Museum to be his works; and if they were not his works, as there is some reason to believe, we have still but an imperfect conception of the improvements of which the art is susceptible.

On one occasion, when a party of artists were dining with Sir Joshua Reynolds, while Burke and Dr. Johnson were present, the conversation turned on this very subject. Sir Joshua observed, that it was impossible to understand what was meant among the Greeks, by their saying that the art of sculpture was in its decline in the days of Alexander the Great—the Apollo Belvidere and the Venus de Medicis being considered as the productions of that illustrious epoch; and neither the ingenuity of Burke, nor the erudition of Johnson, could solve the enigma. But the merits of the sculptures of the Parthenon were then unknown; we mean the Elgin or more properly the Athenian marbles; and it should be borne in mind, that even they were placed in the exterior of the edifice, merely for the

* Pliny, lib. xxxvi. cap. iv.

purpose of decoration. The statue of the Goddess by Phidias was in the interior of the temple.

It might be objected to as a paradox, to say that none of the master-pieces of the sculptors of antiquity have yet been acquired by the moderns, but it is certain that none of those, which we consider as such, were particularly famous amongst the ancients. It is at least doubtful if the Apollo Belvidere is the same statue of which Pliny speaks in such terms of admiration as the work of Scopias.—The Venus by this artist was one of the ornaments of ancient Rome—but it is now unknown. He was the architect of the mausoleum which Artimisia raised to the memory of her husband — one of the wonders of the world. The Standard by Ptolemy is lost—a statue in which all the most beautiful proportions of the human figure were so admirably preserved, that it was constantly referred to by artists as a model, and thus acquired the name of the Standard. The Media of Eutycrates is also no longer known to exist. The critics in the time of Praxiteles were divided in their opinion with respect to his two Venuses and his Phryne; but he himself preferred his Satyr, and particularly his Cupid, to all his works, and they also are no more. The story of Pygmalion is of itself a striking comment on the excellence of the lost statues of antiquity; and that of the Colossus of Rhodes shows how far superior in the magnificence of the art the ancients were to the moderns. Glycones of Athens, who produced the Farnesian Hercules, doubtless left other works, which, if not in the same degree, were probably in the same high style of art, but they have all perished. At Agrigentum we saw the foot of a colossal Juno, belonging to the late Mr. Fagan, in point of execution, and greatness of style, equal to anything that ever adorned the Louvre. But although the utmost diligence was employed to find the remainder of the statue, the search was fruitless. At Syracuse, a headless Venus was discovered, which, in the opinion of many good judges, is superior to the Venus de Medicis.

The Jews have never been considered as entitled to any merit as artists, and it has been supposed that the prohibition in the Commandments has been the cause of their deficiency in the arts. But the prohibition only referred to idols of adoration, for Moses himself, the oracle of the command, made the brazen serpent; and Solomon, their wisest king, dealt largely in sculptured pomegranates, to say nothing of the twelve oxen which supported the brazen sea, or of the golden lions that

adorned the steps of his throne. As for the cherubim, of which we read so much, we beg for the information of our churchyard sculptors to mention, that "a learned student of recondite lore" has assured us that the cherubim were not human figures with wings, but circles representing the signs of the zodiac.

The Romans were tardy in their cultivation of the art of sculpture, which was perhaps owing also to the influence of that ancient law of Numa, noticed by St. Augustine* in the controversy respecting the introduction of images, particularly of God the Father, into the churches. In fact, the ancient Romans are not considered as having made any great degree of proficiency in the fine arts, notwithstanding the magnitude of their architectural remains; and even in architecture they were far inferior to the Greeks, who distinctively settled the embellishments of the several orders, by which their buildings obtained that appropriateness of character that at once declared the use for which they were erected, and rendered them models to all succeeding ages. The Romans, in the best epoch of their taste, followed the Greeks, but deviating from their chaste models, adopted that false principle which supposes a beauty in ornament independent of propriety of application or of fitness of place. The fragments of this corruption of taste, our own architects for a long period were in the practice of imitating, but as we shall have an opportunity on some other occasion of noticing more particularly the progress and state of the arts in this country, we refrain for the present from adverting to this branch of the subject. It may, however, be so far requisite in the meantime, to explain, that the effect of this false principle of taste in architecture, is equivalent to that uninteresting beauty which we sometimes meet with in historical pictures;—where, though every figure is in correct proportion, well drawn, and with drapery elegantly folded, yet not being employed appropriately to the subject, the general composition is but a mere academical compilation, unadorned with the impress of that mental conception which constitutes the highest quality of refined art.

But if the ancient Romans are not entitled to rank high as artists, the painters and sculptors of modern Rome have acquired a pre-eminence far above those of any other nation. The Moses of Michael Angelo, for example, in appropriateness of character, is one of the most perfect creations that ever rose from beneath the chisel; and it has been said, that in this re-

* St. Augustine, Vol. V. cap. xxxi. page 38.

spect it may be classed with the Minerva and the Jupiter of Phidias. It has indeed fixed, as it were, an unalterable standard, by which every subsequent attempt to embody the form of the Jewish Lawgiver will not only be estimated, but must also, in some degree, resemble in air, features, and expression. Michael Angelo, however, was not always uniformly successful. His statue of the Saviour, the companion of the Moses, is a complete failure. The benevolent character of Jesus was a subject not suited to his vehement genius; and the statue is scarcely one degree above a common academical figure—framed according to rule, and faultless without merit. In his sublime work on the Day of Judgment, the same inconsistency may be observed. The single figures are without any appropriate character, without any expression applicable to their tremendous situation; but the groups are composed with admirable skill. Still, however, even as single figures, they have great merit; and although they are but the ingenious adaptation of legs, arms, and heads, to the celebrated Torso, which bears his name, and which served as the model to most of his figures, they are nevertheless the productions of a masterly hand.

The first modern artist who understood the principle of giving to his figures the peculiar expression belonging to their situation and character, was Leonardo da Vinci, and he carried it to the highest point of excellence in his picture of the Last Supper. The appropriate character which he has given to the Apostles in that great composition, the significance of expression in their several faces, all show that the point of time before the artist is when our Saviour said, “There is one amongst you who shall betray me.” But he failed in the head of the Saviour. He had exhausted his powers of characteristic discrimination in the heads of the apostles; and in his attempt to blend meekness and dignity in the figure of Christ, he produced only insipience. He had the prudence, however, to leave the face unfinished, that the imagination of the beholder might not be disappointed by an unworthy image, but form in his own mind one more accordant to his feelings and the subject. Pleasing as the works of Leonardo da Vinci are in general, had he not produced *The Last Supper*, and the cartoon of *The Combatants for the Standard*, he would scarcely have emerged above the level of mediocrity, for his pictures, generally speaking, are more remarkable for laborious finishing than for the impress of intellectual power.

When the works of Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, and Bartholomeo de St Marco, were attracting the admiration of all the judges of refined art, Raphael, having attained his adult age, came to Florence. The sensibility of his mind was like the softened wax, which makes more visible and distinct the form of the engraving with which it is impressed. Blest with this happy natural endowment, he became at once heir, as it were, to the treasures and experience of all his predecessors; and availing himself of the examples afforded by the discoveries of the Grecian relics, he combined, by the tuition of his own genius, and a well practised hand, a power to unfold his conceptions. In the exercise of his power, he has attained unrivalled excellence. But the peculiar merits and defects of the productions of this extraordinary young man are of too high and various a kind to be discussed in the present paper. The fine arts as they have appeared in different ages, constitute the visible history of the human mind, and those who regard painting and sculpture merely as contributing to the embellishment of our social pleasures, look only at the surface of the subject. It is necessary, however, to take care that we do not refine overmuch, and yield the metaphysical suggestions of the imagination, a credence and authority which history refuses to confirm.

Amongst the ancients, and in the middle ages, the products of statuary art were innumerable; the cities of Greece counted them by hundreds; Delphos,* Olympia, and Rome, were almost peopled with statues.†

The conqueror of the Etolians, Marcus Fulvius, had 287 statues in bronze and 230 in marble erected to his honor. Ptolemaeus Evergetes, conqueror of the King of Syria, carried away with him 2,500 statues. The theatre of Scaurus contained 3,000. According to Winkelmann, there had been recovered from the ruins of Adrian's Villa, after 250 years, statues, which enriched all the cabinets of Europe, and there remain yet more, according to the same authority, to be discovered by posterity. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, wrote, that

* Amongst others were statues in gold of the Rhetorician Gorgias, of Phryne, and that of a female Lydian slave, the gift of Cræsus.

† Demetrius of Phalerus, had erected in his honor no fewer than 360. The Greeks were so prompt in rendering this species of homage to those who had done them a service, that in Eubæa they preferred raising a statue to Demosthenes, to paying him a talent for one of his orations.

in his time, the statues in Rome were innumerable, and Sidonius Apollinaris, records that in certain cities, the vast number of statues which encumbered the public places, facilitated the means of concealment for malefactors. Rhodes contained, it is affirmed, 30,000. After various disasters endured by Rome, Cassiodorus wrote to Theodoric, that the number of statues which this city contained, almost equalled that of the inhabitants.

We know how great a profusion of sculpture was employed during the middle ages, to ornament both the exterior and interior of churches; those of Chartres and of Rheims prove this; the dome of Milan contained 3,500 statues, the tomb of St. Augustin at Pavia, of the XIVth century, had 480 figures, without reckoning those of animals.

Amongst the Indians and the Chinese there was a like profusion. Mendez Pinto, relates that in the single temple of Pocassar, dedicated to Tauhinaret, in China, he counted 1,200 statues, besides 24 serpents in bronze, so enormous in size, that each bore a statue of a woman seated on its back, and under a canopy supported by a dozen pillars of Camphire wood, might be seen a bed on which reclined a large silver statue, named Abican Nilano, which signified health of kings, and surrounding this statue were 34 idols representing children of five and six years, ranged in two files kneeling in adoration.

There are few substances capable of being worked and of receiving a shape that the ancients have not used in the formation of statues. Clay and wood were at first employed. Varron records that the plastic was anciently much cultivated in Italy, particularly in Etruria: that Tarquin the Ancient, wishing to dedicate an image to Jupiter in the Capitol, came to terms with Turianus, and had it brought from Fregellae. This Jupiter was of earth; it was in consequence of this earthen material, that the custom of coloring them in vermilion was resorted to; this artist sculptured the Hercules that existed during the time of Pliny in the city of Rome, and which, because it was composed of earth, retained the name of *Hercules fictilis*. Such was the material in use for a long period to form the most exquisite statues to the gods: and Rome, according to Pliny, had no reason to blush for the memory of those who adored such gods, and who had not a sufficiency of gold or silver to form their divinities.

These ancient idols are to be seen in various places, dating

from the time of Pliny ; the most highly ornamented were at Rome, and in the municipal towns ; their chasing was admirable : the merit of their execution combined with their antiquity rendered them far more valuable than if executed in gold.*

The statue of the Olympian Jupiter, by Phidias, had a face of gold and ivory, but the body was plaster and terra cotta ; the war between the Athenians and the Megarians, hindered its completion.

In the time of Pausanias, several of the divinities placed in the temples, were composed of clay. Statues of terra cotta have been discovered at Pompeii ; they painted statues in red at this period, such as the Jupiter at Phigalia, and those of the god Pan.

Bas-reliefs in terra cotta, were employed in the friezes of the temples. Vitruvius and Pliny have informed us that Cæsar having dispatched a colony to Corinth, to restore this unfortunate city from its ruins, commanded them to dig amongst the rubbish of its crumbling edifices, and to extricate from the debris, the works in bronze as well as those in terra cotta. Vitruvius speaks of statues in pottery by which the pediments of the temples *Aræstyles* were surmounted. "They were," said he, "a fashion taken from the Tuscans." The temples of Ceres and of Hercules, at Pompeii, are decorated in this manner.†

Statues of terra cotta were also used in the middle ages, particularly in the Cathedral of Seville, where they have perfectly resisted all changes of atmosphere. Masks for the theatre, in use at Rome, were made of plaster or of clay. Some of those masks have been discovered at Herculaneum with the moulds in which they were cast. The *cretea persona*, of which Lucretius speaks (lib. iv., v. 297) is nothing more than one of those plaster masks. During the time of Pausanias statues of wood might be also seen in the most renowned places in Greece ; such, amongst others, were the figures found at

* Pliny, Natural History, Book xxxv.

† The most curious Etruscan monuments in preservation of this species are the bas-relief of Leucothoe holding the infant Bacchus on his knees, and that which represents soldiers going to sacrifice. They are both at Rome. The former, with his drapery tight, ranged in equal plaits and falling perpendicularly, is altogether in the æginetic style.

Megalopolis in Arcadia, of a Juno, an Apollo, and the Muses, a Venus and a Mercury from the chisel of Damophonius, one of the most antient artists. The statue of Apollo of Delphos, sent as a present by the Cretans, was of wood, and formed of a single trunk of a tree. At Argas, Pausanias saw in the temple of Castor and Pollux the statues of the two brothers, and of Hilaira and of Phœbe, their women and the horses of these demi-gods, the whole in ebony and ivory.

The philosopher Diagoras has been placed by Clement of Alexandria amongst the greatest and wisest philosophers of antiquity, because, being one day in want of wood, he kindled his kitchen fire with a statue of Hercules.

Herodotus tells of colossal statues in wood which existed in Egypt. Luxury, before disdaining the use of wood in sculpture, tried to adorn it by gilding, as we perceive by some of the Egyptian statues. Pausanias saw at Corinth two figures of Bacchus of gilt wood, with the exception of the faces, which were painted in red with minium; the statue of Pallas at Aricia was in wood and gilt.

Statues have been formed of box-wood,—of cedar; this served frequently to form a mould for statues in gold and ivory; of oak,—of cypress,—of ebony; the ancient Greek statues were made of this wood; of maple,—of the fig-tree,—of beech, of yew,—of cork; Antonio Filrete made a crucifix for the church Degli Ermini at Florence in this wood, which was borne in processions at the time of Vasari;—of lotus, of myrtle; the statue of Minerva Polias at Athens was formed of this wood; of the olive tree, of willow, and of osiers; we have mention of an Æsculapius of Sparta, and a Juno of Samos made of osier. It was with the branches of these two trees that they formed the colossal statues which they cast every year into the Tiber. The immense colossal figures in which the Germans burned their prisoners in honor of their god, Teutates, was also woven in osier; of palm, of the peach tree, of poplar, of pine, of the wild pear tree; the Juno of Mycenæ was composed of this, as was also that of Samos; of the fir-tree, of lime, of the vine, above all the wild vine, and that of Cyprus; according to some authors the Diana of Ephesus was of this wood; it has been also used for a Bacchus and a Priapus. Much later it was employed in making the gates of the baptistry at Ravenna.

They have preserved a crucifix at Ravenna of very ancient

wood, covered artistically with very fine linen so fashioned as to imitate the human skin.

At Saint Cernin in Toulouse there is a Christ in wood larger than life, sculptured in the twelfth century ; the face is made of a plate of silver wrought from behind.

All known metals have been used for statuary. The Greeks made their statues in gold and silver ; Pausanias saw some specimens in one of the temples at Athens. At the triumph of Pompey and of Lucullus, they bore gold and silver statues of Mithridates and of Pharnaces ; the former was six feet in height, and the latter was surrounded with figures in gold and silver cars.

Diodorus of Sicily wrote a description of the car which, after the death of Alexander, carried the remains of this prince from Babylon to Alexandria. "At each angle of the roof which covered this car they had, wrote he, a golden Victory bearing a trophy ; at the opening of the roof were placed golden lions who watched those who entered ; between each couple of columns was a golden acanthus which wound insensibly even around the capitals. The extremity of the axles of this car were of gold, and represented the head of a lion bearing between his teeth an iron lance."*

Statues entirely formed of gold and silver carried to Rome by victorious generals were very soon imitated. The first mentioned by historians is the equestrian statue in gold erected in the most elevated place in the Capitol bearing the inscriptions, *To Cornelius Sylla the fortunate Emperor*. The first silver statue was erected in honor of Augustus. Much later Augustus caused all the statues that had been raised in this metal to be melted down and converted into money, the products of which he devoted to the porticos of the Palatine Apollo. The Emperor Claudius had a silver statue erected to him which weighed a thousand livres ; it was placed on a column near the tribune from which they harangued ; and one of gold ten feet in height at the Capitol facing the Temple of Jupiter. Titus wished to have a silver statue of Britannicus in his palace. The

* This car, the most magnificent of those which the Greeks called *Harmamaza*, was constructed by Hieronymus, by which, according to Athenaeus, he acquired a just celebrity. It has been re-modelled after the description of Diodorus, by J. Chrétien Ginzoff, inspector royal of the construction of carriages in Bavaria. It is represented in his work *Sur les Chars et Chariots des Grecs et des Romains*, Munich, 1817.

senate voted a golden statue to Marcus Aurelius; Faustina, his wife, had a silver one erected to her in the Temple of Venus.

A golden statue was decreed to Aurelian after his death, and several silver ones. The statue in silver erected to Theodosius was placed on a column facing Saint Sophia.*

This species of luxury was imitated in the middle ages, but was used principally in representing sacred subjects, such as God, the Holy Virgin or the Saints. Aimoin, however, relates that Richard II. was desirous of bestowing his statue in silver to the monks of Saint Germain-des-Prés; they, however, refused it on the plea that it would savour of paganism.†

In the Church of Cluny may be seen the Blessed Virgin and the twelve apostles in silver, life size. An inventory of Clairvaux, of 1517, mentions two statues of Our Lady and Saint Bernard, silver gilt, enriched with precious stones, and four feet high.

It was a custom of the City of Paris to present rich gifts to the Kings of France at their coronation.

One of the most remarkable specimens of exquisite workmanship represented a triumphal car supported by four Dolphins, and drawn by lions, in which the municipal body of Paris did homage to Charles IX. on the day of his formal entry, in 1571; the principal group ornamented by devices and bas-reliefs, were surmounted by two columns bearing a statue of the King supported on a pedestal presenting representations of various battles; "the entire, according to the chroniclers of the time, was composed of the purest silver gilt, of standard gold, chased and engraven so perfectly, that the workmanship surpassed the material." The statue presented by the same city to Charles the Fifth is also worthy of notice. It was a massive silver Hercules covered with a lion's skin in gold, seven feet in height, and weighing 100 Marcs. These proportions, if accurately reported, infer an exquisite delicacy of execution. It required doubtless a very perfect knowledge of art to produce a figure seven feet high, of gold and silver, weighing only fifty livres.‡

The Cathedral at Milan possesses two statues of a life size in

* Very pure gold passed several times through the fire was called *obrizum*. The *electrum* was a natural or skilful mixture of a fifth of gold, with four fifths of silver.

† See Duchesne, t. II, p. 658.

‡ *Cérémonies du sacre*, by Leber.

silver, representing Saint Charles Borromeo, and St. Ambrose, dressed in their pontifical robes, and ornamented with precious stones. The border of the cope worn by Saint Ambrose is decorated by small detached oval compartments, in which are represented some interesting details of his life. At the top of his pastoral staff are six small niches containing each a figure executed by Charles Grossi, whilst the entire figure of the Saint is from the hammer of the artificer Policarpe Sparoletto; it is supposed to weigh 2,000 ounces; on the base may be read an inscription stating that the City of Milan presented this statue to the Cathedral in 1698. The statue of Charles of Borromeo is a gift from the artificers presented in 1610.

Before the house of Our Lady of Loretto might be seen two angels in silver presented by the Duke D'Epernon,—an infant in gold, representing the birth of Louis XIV., borne by a silver angel, which weighs 700 marcs, and the child 48. This was a gift from Anne of Austria. The statue in silver of the great Condé was given by himself. In the Jesuits' Church in Rome, under the grand Altar, is the tomb of Saint Ignatius, composed of bronze gilt. His statue is of massy silver, in part gilt, ornamented with precious stones, and reposing on a sheet equally adorned.

The most ancient statues in bronze may be seen at Samos; they comprise three figures each six cubits, kneeling, and supporting a large vase. Herodotus informs us that the Samiens devoted to the construction of this monument the tithe of the emoluments which they derived from their maritime commerce at Tartessus. It was after the death of Pisistratus that the Athenians placed in the Temple of Pallas the first pyramid in bronze, nevertheless Romulus caused his statue to be erected crowned by Victory in a car drawn by four horses, all in brass; the car and the horses were a prize taken from the City of Camerinum, as recorded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

Pliny writes, in the thirty-fourth book of his Natural History—"Formerly bronze was made up of a mixture of copper and gold and some other precious material; the price of working it was variable."

The model of perfection in this species was doubtless the Corinthian bronze; this metal was of three kinds, namely, the white, which approached nearer to silver by its brightness, and in the mixture of which, silver predominated; the vermilion, in the blending of which gold was the prevailing mixture; and

a third, in which gold, silver, and copper were in equal proportions. There was also a fourth in which the relative portions could not be justly assigned. This fourth bronze was called *hepatizon* in place of its old name, Corinthian bronze; it was liver color, in fact it was being of this shade of color that rendered it at all valuable. It was, however, in much less favor than the Corinthian bronze; but in higher estimation than the Ægean bronze, or than the bronze of Delos, which for a long period was in great vogue.

After the bronze of Delos, the Ægean bronze was in most request. It was named thus from the Isle of Aegae, which did not produce a single atom of copper, but the art of combining this metal in the casting rendered it justly celebrated.

Myron always used the bronze of Aegae, and Polycletoes that of Delos. Coming forth from the same school, they were rivals in the same art; and even the material employed in this art excited their emulation.

The bronze of Cyprus has been also distinguished, that of Tartessus in Boætia, of Cordus or of Marius, of Salluste, which had been found in the Alps; of Livy, that was taken from the Gauls.

L'Aurichalcum was an alloy of copper and of gold esteemed for its brilliancy and hardness; it prevented bronze from changing and imparted to it a beautiful color; they rubbed it with the juice of the olive (*amurca*), or with bitumen.

Pewter or tin is cited by Homer amongst the metals used in the shield of Achilles.

The statue of Mamurrius at Rome was of lead.

The Sculptor Aristonidas, wishing to represent Athamas repentant and reclaimed from his frenzy after having precipitated his son Learchus, mixed copper with iron, in order to express by the ruddiness of the metal the shame and confusion of the person he meant to portray. This statue was in existence in the time of Pliny at Thebes. In the same city and at the same period might be seen the iron Hercules of the statuary Alconius; these materials were regarded as symbols of the constancy of heroes in surmounting difficulties; and at Rome, were two iron cups dedicated in the temple of Mars the avenger.*

They made also, it has been said, a magnet statue, exhibit-

* See Pliny's Natural History, book xxxiv.

ing doubtless the power of love even in iron, representing a Venus who attracted an iron statue of Mars.*

The Greeks worked in ivory from the most remote period of antiquity; Homer speaks of hilts of swords, and various ornaments formed in this material; the thrones of kings and the state chairs of the Roman Magistrates were of ivory. In Greece more than a hundred statues of ivory and gold might be seen, the greater number fabricated in the most remote period of the arts, and the highest of nature. The Minerva of the Parthenon was thirty-eight feet in height. The body of this statue and the head of the Medusa were ivory, the tunic was of gold.

A small town in Arcadia, possessed a fine Æsculapius in ivory, and a temple built on the route of Pellene in Achaia enclosed a Pallas in the same material.†

At Cyzicus in the Propontis, there was a temple the joints of which were ornamented with mouldings of gold, and the interior of which was decorated by a Jupiter in ivory, crowned by an Apollo in marble. There was also a Venus in ivory, in a state of nudity, executed by Pygmalion of Cyprus; the same as the statue of Minerva seen at Rome in the forum of Augustus, and that of Jupiter in the temple of Metellus; an ivory statue of Hercules may be seen at Tivoli, and some very ancient statues in the same material representing victories may be seen in the island of Malta.‡

They had at Cyzicus in Arcadia, a Cybele in gold, the face of which was made of the teeth of the hippopotamus.

Bones have been also used for this purpose, particularly those of the camel. The palladium has been even supposed to have been formed from the bones of Pelops.

The Romans employed ivory for all manner of purposes. Of their monuments in this material, the greater number that have descended to our time, are the dyptiques.

* This recalls to mind the pretty story of Frederick Langbein, in which an image of Saint Ursula exercises over a little iron saint, her neighbour, the same loving power which the statue of Venus exercised over that of Mars.

† To work in ivory, they softened it by the vapour of boiling water. According to Dioscorides it became pliable as wax when it had been made to boil during six hours with the roots of the mandrake.

‡ One of the last specimens of *chryselephantine* sculpture is the statuette of Leda, executed by Pradier for the artists' lottery.

We must consider the monstrous emeralds so frequently spoken of in various histories, as works in glass. The emerald column in the temple of Hercules at Tyre is mentioned both by Herodotus and Pliny ; the colossal statue of the god Serapis, nine cubits high, made of a single emerald, and which Appian affirms to have been in existence in his time in the labyrinth of Egypt ; the statue composed of a single emerald four cubits in height, executed by Dipoenus and Scyllis, was said by Cedrenus to have been at Constantinople in the reign of Theodosius. Independent of this, he was reported to have been in possession of an antique bas-relief in glass, three feet long, representing a bull fight.

The ancients also made statues in amber, exceedingly small, but of great price ; they were sometimes called *electrum*. Augustus had a statue dedicated to him in this material. There was a statue of Sylla composed of incense, aromatics, and gum, which was burned at his obsequies. Empedocles, a conqueror in the Olympic games, distributed amongst the people, an ox made of myrrh. There was a statue of Hercules, formed by Dedalus, made of pitch.

It is a matter of question amongst the ancient authors that large figures have been formed in dough, in hay, and in wool ; they were used occasionally for a species of sorcery or *legerdemain* ; those were named *Neuropastes* and *Oscilles*, and were moved by means of a cord or thread like our Marionnettes ; they also put them in motion with quicksilver.*

Jacopo della Quercia, commissioned by the Siennois to erect an equestrian statue of Giovanni Ubaldini elevated on a wooden pyramid, to assist at the funeral solemnities with which they desired to honor him, conceived the idea of forming the skeleton of a horse and cavalier of bits of wood carefully joined and encircled with layers of hay and tow bound together with hempen bands, and covered by a cement composed of earth, size, dough, and of wadding, the entire covered by various coats of paint.

Beccafumi, on the first arrival of Charles the Fifth in Italy, prepared to honor his entrance into Sienna, an equestrian

* See the very curious *Histoire des Marionnettes*, by M. Ch. Magnin, and the article of M. Edouard Fournier on this book, in the *Illustration*, 26th June, 1852.

statue of the emperor in Cartoon, supported by a group of three conquered provinces extended under the horse's feet. This group was put in motion by the assistance of wheels pushed by men concealed in the pedestal and following the cortege ; it was never used but on his return from Tunis.

We must not omit to mention the lion moulded in butter, which Canova made when a child, to be served at the table of the Seigneur Falieri, the highest personage in Passagno, the native town of the great sculptor. A German biographer has written, without jesting, that this lion of butter, made by Canova, is an incontestable proof of the softness and smoothness for which the compositions of this eminent sculptor were remarkable.

Of the statues in the immense hall at Genoa dedicated to men who had deserved well of the republic, the last erected by the senate, was to the Duke of Richelieu, and is thus described by Voltaire :

Je la verrai, cette statue
Que Gène élève justement
Au héros qui l'a défendue.

These patriotic statues were broken by the demagogues of 1797 ; they were replaced by provisional statues still standing, and representing the sciences and the virtues ; these statues are of straw, covered with fine linen, improvised at the ball given by the city to Napoleon during the gorgeous fêtes which accompanied the loss of Genoese liberty. It was a pity that under those circumstances the Italians did not preserve their usual custom of getting living persons to represent statues, as was practised during the ceremonies of the coronation of Leo X., where a nymph might be seen delivering from her niche a poem in his honor.*

Wax was one of the first materials employed by sculptors ; the ancients had the portraits of their ancestors represented in this material.

Under the reign of the Medicis at Florence, the art of making figures in wax become developed.†

* See Valery, *Voyage en Italie*, iii. 382.

† Amongst the collection of objects of art presented by the painter Widar to the city of Lisle, was discovered a bust in wax ; the exquisite beauty of its proportions caused some to attribute the execution of it to Raphael.

Guided by the painter Andrea Verocchio, Orsino introduced considerable improvements. When Lorenzo de Medicis had been wounded at Santa Maria de Fiore, his friends and relatives had his image erected in various places, to return thanks to God who had preserved him from the tragical end of his brother Julien. Orsini, under the direction of Andrea, made three figures in wax of a natural size; he formed the bodies of pieces of wood interlaced with split osiers, and covered over with draperies waxed and moulded with such art, that nothing could approach nearer to nature. The head, the hands, the feet, made of the thickest wax, were hollow and painted in oil; the hair, the eye-brows, the beard, were arranged in such a manner, that you imagined you beheld not figures in wax, but real living men; one of these figures dressed in the same habiliments as Lorenzo when wounded in the throat and shown to the people, was preserved in the church of the religious of Chiarito. Another was placed before the Madonna of Santa Maria degli Angeli, at Assisium.

In 1655, Madame de Thianges gave as a new year's gift to the Duke du Maine, a chamber gilt over, and as large as a moderate sized table; above the door was written in large letters, *chambre du sublime*; and inside the chamber was a bed, and a balluster, with a large arm chair in which was seated M. le Duc du Maine made of wax, and a striking likeness; near him, M. de Larocheaufauld, to whom he was giving some verses for examination; around the chair were M. de Marcillac and Bossuet; at the other end of the alcove Madame de Thianges and Madame de Lafayette reading poetry together. Beyond the balluster, Despréaux, armed with a pitchfork, preventing seven or eight bad poets from approaching. Racine was near Despréaux, and a little farther off Lafontaine, to whom he made signs to advance; all these figures were in wax, and perfect likenesses, as each had sat to the modeler.

Finally they made statues in snow. Pietro de Medicis employed Michael Angelo during a winter forming statues in snow.

A statue of this description was raised in a thoroughfare in Paris during a severe winter in the reign of Louis XIII. with this quatrain appended:—

Passants, qui par ici passez,
 Sonvenez-vous des trépassés
 Et priez Dieu qu'il gèle fort,
 Car s'il dégèle, je suis mort.

During the inclement winter of 1789, monuments of snow multiplied in Paris. A statue of a young girl bore this inscription :

Fille à marier avant le dégel.

In the severe winter of 1784, Louis XVI having written to the comptroller general to give the necessary assistance in assuaging the misery of the people, the Parisians erected to him, as a christmas gift, a statue of snow, at the corner of the Rue du Coq. The pedestal bore amongst other inscriptions the following :

Louis, les indigents, que ta bonté protégé,
Ne peuvent t'élever qu'un monument de neige,
Mais il plait davantage à ton cœur généreux
Que le marbre payé du pain des malheureux.

M. Collier, in his *Voyage en Asie Mineure et en Arabie*, tells of bas-reliefs which he saw near Beyroth, and which appeared to be souvenirs of the conquest of these countries by Sesostris and by the Persians. The inscriptions on them are in cuneiform characters. These monuments are doubtless those mentioned by Herodotus a-propos of the conquests of Sesostris in Asia ; he tells of having himself seen images of this King, sculptured in the rock, in Phœnicia and elsewhere. Our own traveller Bonomi had positively recognised on these sculptured rocks the cartouche of the great Ramses (Sesostris) and M. Raoul Rochette, vouches, as undeniable, the identity of the bas-reliefs discovered by M. Collier and those mentioned by Herodotus.*

M. Ch. Texier, found in Asia Minor near Tavium, on the bank of the Halys, a monument of the same kind.

"It ought," wrote he to M. Dureau de la Malle, "to be placed in the first rank of ancient monuments known. It is," added he, "an enclosure of natural rocks smoothed by art, and on the sides of which was sculptured a scene of the highest importance in the history of those people. It comprised sixty figures, some of colossal dimensions. The scene represented a conference between two Kings who were reciprocally interchanging presents."

Colossal statues, which Pliny designates as monsters of art, were multiplied amongst the ancients. At first monuments of this species were only dedicated to the gods of the first class, in the idea of marking their superior power, a practice of which

* *Séance publique de l'Institut*, 2nd May, 1834.

Lucian makes a jest, saying that Jupiter could not assist at the council of the gods, because when seated he occupied so much space that he left room for no one else.

Among the immense works raised at Thebes by Memnon, the ancients cite with especial admiration the colossal statues of this prince, not less remarkable for their enormous proportions than for their great antiquity; but one of them presented a most strange and inexplicable phenomenon; at certain hours in the morning a loud sonorous noise proceeded from this statue, which did not fail to awaken much superstitious curiosity.

Some artists amused themselves in forming microscopic sculpture. Amongst the Greeks, Theodorus made the labyrinth of Lemnos, and introduced his own statue in copper, a work as remarkable for its great resemblance to the original as for the delicate beauty of its execution. In his right hand he held a file, and with the left guided with three fingers only a little car drawn by four horses; so delicate and exquisite was this workmanship, that a simple fly equally artificial covered the team with its wings.

Jerome Faba, a Calabrian priest, sculptured in wood, every piece requisite to represent the mysteries of the Passion, in so small a space as to be easily contained in a nut shell.

Holbein executed for Henry the VIII. a chaplet on which were represented all the mysteries of the life of Jesus Christ.

Gibbons, the English sculptor, who died in 1721, sculptured flowers in wood that vibrated when a carriage was passing; he also sculptured a pen, which could not possibly be distinguished from a natural pen.

Octavius Janelli carved four small pieces on boxwood, which represented very distinctly, with natural grace, and true perspective, a hunt in a forest; a lover carrying a large shell from the sea, and Juno descending from Heaven on a car drawn by peacocks; a Christ scourged and arraigned before Pilate: the dimensions of all those united subjects was less than might be contained in a nut shell. The latter subject was particularly fine, being equal in style to some of Raphael's arabesques. The artificer of these chefs-d'œuvre died at the age of twenty-five, in the year 1660.*

Vitruvius relates (in the preface to his second book) that

* See Valery, *Voyage en Italie*, vol 2. page 418.

Dinocrates, the Macedonian Architect, made use of a stratagem in order to approach Alexander, and being perceived by him was immediately interrogated by the king as to his name and position, to which he replied : " I am Dinocrates of Macedon who brings to Alexander thoughts and designs worthy of his greatness. I have made Mount Athos in the form of a man who holds in his left hand a large city, and in his right a cup which receives the waters of all the streams that run from this mountain down to the sea." Alexander did not reject the overtures of one so capable of assisting him in his projects, and Dinocrates was, at a later period, employed in building Alexandria.

Julius the Second, conqueror of Bologna, ordered Michael Angelo to erect a colossal statue of him in bronze, at the gates of San-Petro ; seated, this statue was about nine feet high, and standing nearly seventeen. The Pope, before re-entering Rome, saw the model nearly completed, the right hand was raised and held forward, the second was not yet finished. To the artist who proposed placing in his hand a book, Julius replied : " place in it a sword, I am not a man of letters." Perceiving that the right hand was raised boldly : " he asked if it bestowed benedictions or maledictions." " Holy father," replied Michael Angelo, " it menaces Bologna to be faithful to you." At a later period this statue of the warrior pontiff was overturned by his enemies, conquerors in their turn ; portions of it, which had been sold to the Duke Alphonso of Ferrara, were cast into a piece of artillery, which they called, The Julius.

Thirty years after the death of St. Charles of Borromeo, a statue was erected to him by Cerani, at the expense of the people, of Milan, at his native place near Arona. It was of bronze sixty-six feet high, on a pedestal of granite forty-six feet ; the total elevation was consequently one hundred and twelve feet. The head, the hands, and the feet were cast, all the rest was worked in the forge. Saint Charles is represented as giving his benediction ; the expression of the countenance is sweet and melancholy ; the attitude simple, and beautiful, the proportions so just, that the colossal size of this figure could not be perceived when comparing it with other objects. The interior contains solid masonry which reaches to the neck, and which supports the exterior casing, by means of cramps or braces of iron. To reach a species of platform raised on the summit, it was necessary to mount a stairs formed in one of

the folds of the saint's dress, by which you were introduced into the interior of the statue, and enabled to ascend; with the assistance of the iron bars which supported it, you could reach the highest point. Arrived at the summit, it is lighted by a small window placed behind the head; the nose is sufficiently large to permit a comfortable seat.

Monuments, erected through national gratitude, were, for a long period, of very rare occurrence in France.

Millin describes a monument raised to Joan of Arc, on the bridge of Orleans, by Charles the Second in 1458.*

"It was placed on the old bridge beside the city, and was re-erected from the wood work in the year 1745, to prevent its falling to decay. The Protestants at the time of the second disturbances, in 1567, had the figures broken, with the exception of that of the king, though Du Haillain wrote that they were destroyed by a chance shot. They were re-constructed on the ninth of October, three years later, at the expense of the city, by one Hector Lescot, according to Jacquinet, and replaced on their bases the fifteenth of March, the following year, 1571.† All the members of these figures formed a separate jet, and it was thought to have been the second of the kind cast in France."

This monument, supported on a stone pedestal nine feet high, and of equal width, was composed of four figures in bronze, a little larger than life size, and a cross of the same metal. The Blessed Virgin is seated at the foot of the cross, on a Calvary made of lead, which re-unites all the figures; she supports, extended on her knees, the body of her Divine Son; beneath the head of the Saviour, at some distance, is a cushion on which rests the crown of thorns; to the right is the statue of Charles the Seventh, and at the left that of Joan of Arc; both are kneeling on cushions which were added to this new monument. These two figures, which have their hands united, are armed at all points, with the exception of helmets, which are placed before them, at their feet; that of

* See Millin's, *Antiquités Nationales*.

† La Fontaine, who saw the monument re-built, wrote of it thus in a letter to his wife, August the 30th 1660: "I saw La Pucelle; but ma foy it was without pleasure; I could perceive neither the air, nor the height, nor the countenance of an Amazon. The infant Gradafilé is worth ten like her; she is on her knees before a crucifix, and King Charles in the same position opposite to her. The entire thing is wretched and mean in appearance. It is a monument that betrays the poverty of the age."

the King is surmounted by a crown; the shield of the arms of France is on a rock between them without any other support, having no crown or any other ornament. The spear of the Pucelle is extended cross-wise on the monument. This celebrated maiden is dressed in male attire, and may be distinguished only by the arrangement of her hair, which is attached by a piece of ribbon, and falls below her waist. Behind the cross is a pelican, which appears to nourish her brood with her blood; they are enclosed in a nest or basket, and were formerly as high as the cross, at the foot of which was later added a serpent holding an apple.

The pedestal which forms the base is surrounded by scrolls and marble tables.

The horse of bronze which bore the statue of Louis XIII., and which may be seen at the Place Royale, at Paris, was cast by Daniel de Volt re, in a single founding. It was intended for the statue of Henry II., but the artist had not time to finish this work.

The inscriptions on the statue raised to Louis XIV. by Lafenillade, on the Place des Victoires, gave rise to the following satirical inscription, directed against the artist as well as against the monarch:—

“ Quand Louis, autrefois toujours victorieux,
Domptait ses ennemis,   toute heure, en tous lieux,
L’illustre D’Aubusson, pour le combler de gloire,
De ses faits   l’airan confia la m moire;
Il mit la renomm e au des de ce guerrier,
Qui semble le vouloir couronner de laurier.
L’attitude ambigu  o  l’ouvrier l’a mise,
Convient bien maintenant   la France soumise;
Car   voir le couronne, on ne peut deviner,
Si la d esse l’ te, on veut le lui donner.”

Nescis an tollat an ponat,

An equestrian statue of Louis XIV. having arrived at a town in one of the provinces, the mayor harangued the statue, whilst the aldermen held forth to the horse.

Anthony Coysevox, after having honorably remunerated his physician for having cured him of a dangerous malady, said to him: “ You have restored my life in your way, I wish to immortalize you in mine, by making your bust in marble.” This portrait was one of the finest he ever made: he called it the bust of friendship.

The sculptor Valerio made for the Duke of Florence a marble statue of the dwarf Morgante, and those who examined it declared they had never seen any thing more like than the portrait of this little monster. He also executed one of the Barbino dwarfs.

There is at Naples a very burlesque statue by Canova, representing Ferdinand the First, as Minerva; nothing could be more grotesque than this figure of an old man, with his large Bourbon nose, dressed in the helmet and tunic of Pallas. A bas-relief of the seventeenth century, in lead, represented Louis de Marillac, marshal of France, in the costume of the same goddess.

We know the strange effect of Louis XIV. in a wig, with the Roman costume. We have heard of some good men who cried, on seeing this absurdity :—"It must have been intended to represent a very ancient period, for in those times no shoes were worn." The ladies of England having, by subscription, raised a statue to Wellington "as Achilles," so styled, that is to say altogether naked, for some time there was discovered every morning hanging near the statue a breeches with this invitation, "Put those on!"

Celebrated statues of animals have been made at various periods. Thus Moses caused the statue of the brazen serpent to be erected. At Corinth they had the statue of the mare Phidoles. While in the race, having at the commencement thrown her rider, she continued her course, and arrived first at the winning point. The Ambracians had a statue erected to an ass, which, finding itself by chance in the midst of an ambush that the Molassians had raised for the purpose of entrapping them, began to bray after a she ass; this aroused the citizens, and thereby throwing their enemies into a fright, caused their defeat.

Pliny mentions also the famous bull of Perillus; no one spoke of Perillus with eulogy. More cruel than the tyrant Phelaris himself, he presented to him this brazen bull, which was constructed with such artifice as to enclose a man within it, and by enkindling a brazier underneath, the bull commenced to bellow. Phelaris, cruel at all times, was for once just in his cruelty, and made the first trial on Perillus himself. Thus was punished an artist who abused a noble art, and one consecrated to render just homage to gods and men.

Augustus going from his tent to visit the ships, the night

previous to the battle of Actium, met a peasant with his ass. Interrogating him, the peasant said his own name was Fortune, and that of his ass Victorinus. This, seeming to Octavius a presage of victory, he caused statues in bronze both of the ass and of the ass driver to be erected at Nicopolis.

In modern times, the Florentines imitated the practice of the ancients ; they placed at the bottom of the portico which formed the ground floor of the Pitti Palace, the statue of a mule which, according to the distich that might be read on its base, served with as much courage as assiduity in the construction of this palace, refusing no service on which it was employed.

Various opinions have been, from time to time, expressed and violently urged within the last five years upon the question of color, or no color, of statues. Some have strongly insisted that color added to the beauty of the statue, whilst others have contended that it reduced the statue to the condition of a barber's block. What the ancients thought and did, in this matter, we shall now endeavour to shew :—Amongst the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans they incrustated the eyes with different matters, some of the eyes were of silver, and others were composed of fine precious stones to imitate the color of the Iris, like that of the Pallas of Phidias, and those of the goddess in the temple of Vulcan at Athens which had blue eyes. Amongst the bronzes of Velitrae there is the head of a female with alabaster eyes, and a small Hercules with eyes of silver.

The marble lion placed near the tomb of the King Hermias, in the isle of Cyprus had emerald eyes. The colossal head of Antinous, near Frescati, exhibited a peculiar species of these eyes ; the apple or eye-ball is made of Palombino marble, and under the edge of the eye-lids at the point of the lachrymal might be seen the outline of a silver plate, very small, by which to all appearance the eye-ball was entirely covered ; this plate of silver is cut all round from the eye-ball to the circle of the iris. In the centre of this colored portion of the eye, there is an orifice much deeper to mark the iris than that which indicates the eye-ball ; those are made with two different precious stones, in order to represent the different colors of the eyes. A statue of the Muses, larger than life size, preserved at Rome, displays the same art.

At the museum of the Vatican like those of *Degli Nfizi* at Florence, and *Degli Studi* at Naples, may be seen, among the

antiquities, a great number of statues, and of busts more numerous still, where the eye-balls are figured. There are many others at Rome, such as the head of Minerva, and an admirable Bacchante, which has eyes imitating not only marble but enamel, like the stuffed animals. Let it be remembered that those who put eye-balls in their statues were the great sculptors Michael Angelo, Donatello, and other famous masters.

They gave to some statues hair and beards in gold. We know that a great sculptor had the beard of Esculapius taken away, saying that he could not consent to his wearing it, his father, Apollo, not having any.

There was found in the Capitol a bust of Lucilla, wife of the Emperor Lucius, of which the hair, in black marble, was adapted to the head in such a manner, as that it might be easily detached.

Caylus mentioned, amongst the statues of Pompeii, a Pallas and a Venus, each from seven to eight inches in height. The nails of the hands and feet, the buckles of the helmet, and the edge of the garment of Minerva, are inlaid with silver; the Venus has golden bracelets on her arms, and on her legs fillets of the same precious metal; also the statue of a priest; all these are engraved in his collection of antiquities.

Pausanias mentions a statue with nails of silver; Herodes Atticus had a triumphal car erected at Corinth borne by steeds richly gilt, and having shoes of ivory.

The cavities of the eyes of Antinous contained precious stones cased in wires of metal, by means of which might be perceived traces of the higher and lower eyelashes.

There has been discovered at Spon a monumental inscription to Rapius Serapio, whose trade was the making of eyes for statues.

The bust of Nero, in the Louvre, exhibits square and oval cavities below the rays of the crown, which shew that precious stones were formerly inserted there.

Cicero spoke in his oration against Verres, *De Signis*, of a statue of Apollo which had engraven on its thigh the name of the sculptor Myron in small silver type.

The ancients clothed their gods in rich habiliments on festival days. At Rome, the statue of Hercules was attired as a Conqueror, during the triumphal ceremonies. Pausanias cites a Juno-Lucina as covered with a light veil, through which you perceived only her face, her hands, and her feet, which were of marble.

Dionysius of Syracuse stripped the statue of Jupiter of a rich mantle, estimated to be worth eighty-five golden talents, which Hieron had borne away from Carthage, and gave in its place a mantle of wool, saying that the other was too heavy for summer and too cold for winter, and was consequently an inconvenience to the god. The Minerva of Phidias was stripped in a like manner of her golden mantle.

The custom of adorning the statues of the gods, was derived from the habit of painting the garments of marble statues.

A remarkable instance of this usage has been proved by a statue found in Herculaneum, in 1760. This statue, which appeared to Winkelmann to date from a very remote period of art, had light hair; the tunic was white as was also the robe, at the bottom of which were three bands encircling it; the lower band was narrow, and the colour of gold; the second, a little larger, was purple, and ornamented with festoons of whitish flowers; the third like. The statue which Virgil's Corydon wished to erect to Diana was to be of marble, with red buskins. The hair of the Venus de Medicis was gilt, as was also that of the head of an Apollo of the Capitol.

The beautiful marble Pallas, large as life, recovered from Herculaneum, was gilt, and the gold was so thickly laid on that it was easy to remove it. Amongst the Romans they painted the face of Jupiter red on festival days; and in the time of Pliny the censors were especially employed in watching this operation. The Ethiopians reserved this colour exclusively for the gods.*

Amongst the ancient Greeks the Aegæan school was the school of tradition; the great museum of Munich possessed the famous marbles of the temple of Jupiter, discovered in 1811 near the temple, a few feet in the ground. Minerva holds a shield in one hand and a spear in the other; the head of the goddess is covered with a helmet, resting on her hair, the little curls of which are arranged in rolls; her robe is symmetrically draped in straight folds, similar to the style adopted in decorating the most ancient statues in wood; her eyes are open, of an almond shape, but slightly elevated at the corners, like those of the other statues in the same temple; this art is said to have been borrowed from the Chinese.

On the lips, the segments of which are thin and harsh, and equally elevated at the extremities, hovers a smile which seems

* See Pliny's Natural History, book xxxiii.

cast on the figures around ; finally, like the others, the chin is straight and pointed.

History, says Vitruvius,* furnished to the architect the greater portion of those ideas developed in the embellishment of architecture. For example, if, under the cornices, instead of columns they placed marble statues representing irreproachable vestals, which they denominated *cariatides*, it will be necessary to enlighten the ignorant as to the meaning of this usage. It originated thus :—The inhabitants of Caria, which is a city of the Peloponnesus, being formerly united with the Persians who made war against the other people of Greece, the Greeks, having by their glorious victories put an end to this war, declared against the Carians, that their city having been taken and destroyed, and all their men put to the sword, the women were led captives, and in order to treat them with more ignominy, they would not permit ladies of quality to discontinue their accustomed robes, nor any of their ornaments ; not only were they led thus once in triumph, but they had to undergo the humiliation also of appearing in the same state as they did on the day of victory, on all occasions of public ceremonial ; thus were they obliged to bear their portion of the penalty incurred by their fated city. The architects of that period also placed, instead of columns, this kind of statue to the public edifices, in order to leave lasting monuments of the duration of the punishment inflicted on the Carians, and to teach posterity how they had been chastised.

The Lacedæmonians acted in the same manner after the battle of Plataea ; they despoiled them of their plunder, and spoliated a gallery from their enemies which they called after the conquered, in which statues representing the Persian captives attired in their ordinary garments supported the roof ; finally they punished this nation by an opprobrium which their pride merited, and left to posterity a monument of the virtue and victories of the Lacedæmonians. Thus they rendered their valour formidable to their enemies, and excited the people in defence of their liberty by the example of their fellow citizens.

This idea of thus representing captives was cruelly imitated at the Bastille. They set up on the front of the building, which separated the Grand Court from the Court de Puits, a clock which has become celebrated. This clock had a beautiful dial that worked to perfection ; but how bizarre were the ornaments by which it was decorated !

* B. I. c. I.

Formed of iron exquisitely sculptured, it had for support two figures chained by the neck, by the hands, by the feet, and by the centre of the body; the two extremities of this ingenious wreath after encircling the clock, met in the front, and were fastened by an enormous knot, to show that they menaced equally the two ages; the artist, guided either by the spirit of the time, or it may be under especial orders, took care to model one man in the flower of his age, and the other bending under the weight of years.*

Andrea Brustolini, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, represented at Venice in the sculptures of the library which adjoin the church of Saints John and Paul, the triumph of Catholicism, placed to support the flying buttresses of the hall; they were colossal figures of twenty-four of the most famous heresiarchs, completely sculptured in chessnut wood. These were Luther, Erasmus, Melancton, Beza, Pomponatius, Calvin, Ochin, Dubourg, and others of less note. They were covered with tatters, loaded with chains, and their countenances expressing remorse and despair.†

We must not omit to mention a colossal statue of Saint Christopher, twenty-eight feet in height, which was placed at Notre Dame near the gate. It was erected in consequence of a vow made by Antoine des Essarts in the fourteenth century, and was intact and perfect till 1784.

The *Jupiter Fluvius* which John of Bologna sculptured about 1570, for the villa Pratolino near Florence, and which may yet be seen, is one of the most remarkable colossus wrought by modern art. A clump of rock placed at the extremity of a semi-circular piece of water forms the base. The god is seated leaning forward, and supported by one hand on the head of a monster from which gushes all the pressure of a vast sheet of water. The other hand clings to the rock, and both in consequence of this favourable arrangement serve as flying buttresses. The calculated bulk of this colossus is in proportion about twenty-one metres. In the interior are several rooms, and the head is a *belvidere* for which the two eyes serve as windows. The pupils of John of Bologna spoiled the hand in sculpturing this colossus. When they came to the workshop, they preserved for some time the habit of exaggerating the form and the size of the muscles.

* The figures of the men to placed were called *Atlantides*.

† See Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum*, p. 50

Two statues were erected in Rome ; one to Pythagoras and another to Alcibiades, in obedience to an oracle of Apollo. He commanded the Romans who consulted him on the occasion of the war with the Samnites, to erect in a public place one statue to the bravest Greek and another to the wisest.*

The Greeks, and after their example the Romans, sometimes made the gates of their temples in bronze. The temple of Jupiter, and of Olympia furnish us with proofs of this fact.

These gates engraven or sculptured, represented, according to Pausanias, the hunt of the wild boar of Erymanthus, and the exploits of Hercules against Diomedes, King of Thrace, and against Geryon. Hercules is also represented assisting Atlas and cleansing the Augean stables. On the inside of the gates Hercules is represented performing his other well known labours.

Cicero speaks in his oration against Verres, *De Signes*, of gates of the temple of Pallas, at Syracuse, engraven in gold and in ivory which surpassed all the works of this kind known.

The most ancient gates of bronze at present in existence, are those of the Church of Atreni near Amalfi. They date from 1017.

Seronx d'Agincourt has left us a description of the gate of Saint Paul outside the walls, "it was constructed in wood," wrote he, "close beside the entrance hall, and was entirely covered with plates or leaves of bronze three feet in thickness, and encompassing it around; the entire of its surface is divided into six equal parts in width and nine in height; which forms fifty-four compartments or panels lightly indented and comprising subjects of figures and inscriptions." These figures are not in relief; they are merely sketches of the outline, and of the features engraven and moulded in the depth of the bronze, and completed with a setting of silver, which time and cupidity have in a great measure destroyed. The type of the legends, in the Greek language, inscribed on each panel to explain the subject, are executed in the same manner. This work is supposed to have been wrought at Constantinople about the eleventh century.

Twelve panels representing the history of the Blessed Virgin and of our Divine Saviour, from the Angelical Salutation to the Assumption and the descent of the Holy Ghost. Twenty-four panels representing the Apostles, and near each of them, his

* See Pliny's Natural History, book xxxiv.

mode of torture, and his death. Twelve panels representing the prophets; there was else to be seen two inscriptions, two crosses and two eagles.

The principal gate of the Church of Saint Sabina, on Mount Aventine, at Rome, is a work of the thirteenth century. The surface is divided into thirty-two panels, each ornamented by a bas-relief, sculptured in wood, and representing subjects from the Old and New Testament.

Anastatius, in the Life of Pope Honorius I., informs us that this pontiff had the principal gate of the Basilica of Saint Peter cased in silver. The Saracens, in one of their incursions in 846, having ruined and despoiled these gates, Leo IV. had them repaired and covered anew with plates of silver, sculptured in relief. Finally, long after, these gates were altered and almost destroyed by the rapacity of the time. Eugenius IV., in 1445, substituted for them the bronze gates which we admire at the present day; the bas-reliefs represent the union of the Greek and Roman Churches, which have been executed by Antonius Filaretos, and Simon, brother of Donatello, the Florentine sculptor.

Andreas worked twenty-two years on the gates of the Baptistry of Saint John the Baptist at Florence, and Lorenzo Ghiberti took forty years to execute those which Michael Angelo declared worthy to be the gates of Paradise.

At Castello Nuovo, at Naples, may be seen a cannon ball fixed in the bronze gates of the Arch of Triumph, erected to Alphonso I.

Time has now happily preserved a sufficient number of gates in bronze, of the middle ages. It would be easy to enumerate a hundred in the different countries of Europe—in France, in Germany, in Spain, in Italy, in Russia. England alone possesses no monument of this species worthy of notice.

What are most rarely to be met with are gates of wood, ornamented with rich sculptures. One of the most remarkable of this kind is that which is to be seen at the parish church of Santa Maria, of the Capitol at Cologne. It is placed at the circular extremity of the southern transept of the church. Each entire panel or fold of the gate contains thirty panels, representing subjects, sculptured in relief, and taken from the New Testament.

The reader will have perceived that we have not, from first to last, in this paper, written, or attempted to write, a treatise

upon sculpture ; the title of our paper, " About Sculpture," explains just the kind of matter we intended to place before him.

In a future number of this **REVIEW** we shall venture upon a paper of the like class, devoted to painting and mosaics ; and although that paper and this paper will not make a reader a Vasari, yet they may set a reader, with the means and the time, to the study of books which will enable him to judge truly of art, in its varied phases ; or they will enable the uninformed man to look upon pictures and statues with eyes very different from those belonging to him, who, seeing nothing but a slice of lamb, in Murillo's " St. John and the Lamb," suggested this paper.

ART. III.—BEGIN AT THE BEGINNING.

1. *Workhouses and Woman's Work*, reprinted from the *Church of England Monthly Review*. Also a Paper on the Condition of Workhouses, read in the Social Economy Department of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, at Birmingham, October, 1857. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts., 1858.
2. *The Englishwoman's Journal*, Vol. I., August, 1858. London: Piper, Stephenson, and Spence, Paternoster Row.
3. *St. Joseph's Industrial Institute: with Special Reference to its Intern Class of Workhouse Orphans*. Dublin, 1858.

In the middle of our belauded nineteenth century, after all that has been done by legislative enactments, organised associations, and extraordinary individual exertions for the reformation of offenders, juvenile and adult, it is rather startling to find that crime is increasing in England, not alone in proportion to the increase of population, but far in excess of that. The Criminal Returns for 1857 show this, and also prove sufficiently the significant and most painful fact, that the committals and re-committals of women become annually more and more numerous.

Where, we naturally ask, do the criminals come from? Are they manufactured periodically, assorted, labelled, and forwarded to order? Or, is there some huge hot-bed in which the vicious growth is nourished, and forced to premature deformity? Where do they come from indeed?—

From the gross, ignorant, half-heathen under current of the population:—from the class of thousands who in “moral England” are left at large to the rule of evil, without education, humane care, or religious teaching:—from the hundreds of thousands who in “merrie England” have all decency and self respect destroyed, and whose untutored natures ripen into deadly maturity of vice, in the dismal, hopeless wards of the Union Workhouse! Six hundred thousand free born men, women and children, are, in those monstrous schools of evil, constantly undergoing a regular, systematic training for the gaol. The secrets of vice are laid open to them in the dire teaching of corrupting association: idleness is infused into the

marrow of their bones by a system which ignores industrial training, and forbids remunerative or encouraging employment : wrathful discontent is engendered in their hearts through the odious display of injustice, by which the aged and decrepid, the unemployed artizan, the stricken widow, and the homeless girl are starved, degraded, and used like dogs, as if to be poor were the one damnable crime in England.

From this source, this "focus of corruption," comes ever fresh, ever formidable, the intolerable curse of the criminal population.

"The work-house is a *depot* of every kind of human misfortune. We must try and reduce its miseries to some sort of classification, and to remedy them piece-meal, by methods suitable to each separate class. It is horrible to huddle them all together into one hopeless conglomeration, where, in walking down the long wards, we see the beds of the domestic servant, the former prostitute, the peasant's wife, the invalid governess, and a dozen other victims of different distress, ranged sadly side by side, while able-bodied men and women exemplify that 'Satan find some mischief still for idle hands to do;' and we are told that '*it is a fearful and significant fact, that many of the most hopeless and hardened inmates of work-houses are girls, who have been brought up in the pauper schools.*'"

"Turn to the police reports in our newspapers, or only watch for yourselves the boys and girls who join in the disorders of this metropolis, and fill our prisons—no longer prisons to them—and you will see how imperative it is that something should be done to rescue them. They are mainly the produce of the work-house and the work-house schools. Over them society has no hold, because society has cast them out from all that is humane. They have been taught to feel that they have nothing in common with their fellow-men. Their experience is not of a home, or of parents, but of a work-house and a governor—of a prison, and a gaoler, as hard and as rigid as either."†

Now at last we have come to the source of the whole mischief. We take no heed of the "perishing" and "dangerous" classes, until, through cruel neglect, they become vengeful and ferocious—they turn and rend us. The cause of the Convict has been fought out; justice and humanity have conquered there. The offender, after his course of penal servitude, shall not be returned to society weakened in body, and confirmed in evil practices; he shall go forth with power in his hand, and knowledge in his head, to enable him henceforth to earn and to eat honest bread. The poor child in years, whom cruel circumstances and fatal ignorance seduced into a first fault, is not for that shut out of the pale of salvation; he shall be taught

* *Englishwoman's Journal*, p. 386.

† *Lectures to Ladies on Practical Subjects*, by the Rev. J. S. Brewer, p. 271.

better things. Good men hope and work for other triumphs of reform. But, into the profound abyss of that workhouse abomination no helpful hand has yet been stretched: at most some pitying eye has opened in wonder at the mystery of evil there revealed, and fast closed again in horror and despair.

There is hope, however. Enquiry is awake. If the evil still remain, at least it shall no longer be ignored. Those who do no work by halves are now on the track. Mrs. Jameson, all honor to her! struck a chord, the vibration of which shall long be felt. That chapter on workhouses in her beautiful book, "*The Communion of Labour*," was the first loud note of alarm—it may be of deliverance also. Those whom such powerful, tender words struck to the quick, will not rest until thought takes life in action:—

“The thunder deed following the lightning thought.”

At the first meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held in Birmingham in October, 1857, the condition of workhouses was brought under the notice of the department of Social Economy. A sub-committee was appointed to investigate the subject, and the result of various meetings was the formation of a Workhouse Visiting Society,* which “would lead the minds of various persons to the subject, whilst it would form a centre of communication for all those who are at present working singly amidst great discouragements.” Among the committee we find the names

* At a Meeting of the Committee of the Social Economy Department of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, held at the Office of the Association, 8 Waterloo, Place, Pall Mall, on *Monday, June 7th*, 1858, the report of the Sub-Committee on Work-houses having been read—

1. Resolved, that the Report be received
2. That it is desirable to obtain a more efficient superintendence over the internal management of work-houses than now exists in the great majority of these establishments.
3. That the inmates of work-houses ought to be far more carefully classified than at present, as to sex, age, and character, and that children especially, should always be entirely separated from adult paupers.
4. That industrial training and occupation should be more extensively introduced.
5. That a system of inspection by unpaid, and especially Lady visitors, sanctioned by the Guardians, would be calculated to improve the internal condition of work-houses.
6. That for the furtherance of the views expressed above, the Committee of this department will sanction the establishment of a **WORKHOUSE VISITING SOCIETY**.

of some well known men, and some distinguished women. The work is now fairly begun. We may look for more startling, hideous revelations—some remedy speedily applied. Public opinion must sooner or later be impressed by such a method. Make known the evil first—and then the remedy.

The Church of England Review, and the Englishwoman's Journal are strong allies, and bring powerful help to the association. With how just a satire a clever writer in the last named valuable publication handles the subject we are dwelling on :—

“ It has occurred to us that stereoscopic slides of work-house interiors might be now distributed with greater efficiency than tracts at a penny, or pamphlets at a shilling; and the same wonderful art which is employed to trace and identify the criminal in the eye of the law, might be used to bring Lazarus under the notice of forgetful Dives—the miserable sufferer upon a work-house bed, under the sympathy of the lady, who, in the very next street, lies hour by hour upon her luxurious couch. p. 381.

“ The one hope, we were told, for St. Martin's Work-house lay in the National Gallery! public philanthropy and private rate-payers will not give it a new and well-arranged building; but it was hoped that the ground on which it stands would be wanted for the enlarged gallery which was in contemplation—when the better housing of our Raphaels and Turners would contribute indirectly to the better housing of our poor.” p. 384.

Workhouses and Women's Work is as wise a pamphlet as we have seen for many a day. It is clear and methodic, with a certain suppressed fire, very admirable when the question is of abuses and injustice to make one's hair stand on end. Such a tone gives confidence at once in the writer's power and sincerity. Without giving an outline of the whole, we shall just extract, almost at random, a few paragraphs. Here is the secret of the pauper's preference for the prison :—

“ In the first place, whatever the management of Workhouses may be, it is stated to be a fact, that they are less comfortable than prisons, and that the latter are preferred as places of abode by the lower classes. Magistrates and chaplains and visitors to prisons acknowledge this to be the case. The preference is openly avowed by men and women, especially the latter. What does it matter to them if the degradation of the prison is greater than the Workhouse, if indeed there be much difference between the two in this respect ?”

* “ In fact, the difference is rather the other way. Persons going to prison and confessing that it was for the sake of obtaining relief, have

The prison offers a clean and comfortable lodging, food far superior, to the usual fare of the criminal, and to that of the Workhouses: kind and attentive officers of a grade above those provided for the non-criminal poor. Such treatment as is too commonly received even from the porter at the workhouse gate, would not be suffered in prison establishments, which are governed by a bench of magistrates, gentlemen by character and position, who regularly visit and inspect the buildings. With them rests the appointment of a governor, a gentleman of education and intelligence, who has the supreme command over the establishment, and, generally speaking, this important office is filled with discretion and zeal. The chaplain's is an important and conspicuous post, and lady visitors have long since been permitted to visit the female inmates.

The *Report* of the Visiting Justices of the Westminster House of Correction shows that the number of commitments from workhouses to that prison in the year 1856 was 273, and to the Coldbath Fields prison 221. With regard especially to the boys and girls thus committed, the magistrates speak as follows;—'Your committee cannot but believe, if more attention were paid in Workhouses to classification and other improvements of a reformatory character, there would be much less necessity for sending so many of the inmates to prison; and the visiting justices are strengthened in this belief from the fact of the very great difference in the numbers that are sent from some of the workhouses in comparison with others.' They believe that 'an increase in the criminal population must arise from familiarising so many destitute persons with the interior of the prison;' and they further suggest, 'that offences against workhouse rules should be punished by other means than imprisonment in a criminal prison; and that greater facilities should be offered to the poor and destitute, as well as to discharged prisoners, to prevent their committing offences in order to obtain an asylum.' Surely if there is no other argument in favour of an amended administration of our Workhouses, this alone would be sufficient. Either our prisons for criminals must be made less comfortable and attractive, or our workhouses, for the non-criminal poor, more so." p. p. 7. 8.

Very true, say we. And we add, that it were doubly well that reform in this case should for once begin at the right end, and that instead of seeking to pull down what is good, an

been asked why they did not apply for it at the Workhouse? They have actually replied—'They did not like the disgrace of doing so.' Yet they would commit an offence against the laws, and enter a prison, without feeling that they had contracted any degradation! We are strongly inclined to believe that it is the general management of prisons being felt superior to that of Workhouses, that raises them in the estimation of the lower classes, who, even the worst among them, are keenly alive to justice and fair treatment. One of the most refractory female prisoners in a large prison told the magistrates, 'She knew she would receive justice from them.'"

effort should be made to raise up to the just standard, what is now defective and bad. All that we have been doing of late only results in this, that the current of evil is stopped occasionally ; the course changed here and there, with infinite labour, and at ruinous expense. But the great body of the stream flows on as of old—turbulent, destructive, ever increasing. We *must* begin at the beginning. And, adopting the sentiment as our own, with the gifted writer of the pamphlet just quoted, “we trust that a better day has begun to dawn upon the dreary night of workhouse management, and that our non-criminal poor may ere long receive a share of that benevolent zeal and interest which is now so largely bestowed upon the criminal portion of our population.”

Sometimes when we are given to “romancing,” as our old nurse would say, we begin to hope that the Workhouse Visiting Society may come to spend the summer vacation in Ireland. If the society should not have much light thrown on their labours, by investigations at this side of the channel, perhaps at least they might succeed in showing up to some purpose our own national apathy on the subject. At any rate it would be no discouragement to them to find, that while pursuing their own noble path at home, they may do us good service also—saving at once two kingdoms from destruction and disgrace. We hope they may come. To get a glimpse of our “interiors” would not oblige a member to half an hour’s digression from any pleasure route in the kingdom.

On all the high roads of Ireland, whether we steam or ride, the first intimation of approach to any town or district of consideration, is the appearance on a rising ground of the Tudor gables and lattice windows of the Union Workhouse—or Poor-house, as we shall call the edifice in Ireland. To unaccustomed eyes the building presents the bearing of a respectable national institution not ashamed to hold up its head. But, as Mrs. Jameson says, it is “an institution peculiar to ourselves,” which cannot be spoken of “without a mingled feeling of shame and fear”—an institution, let us add, a parallel with which cannot be found in “despotic” Austria, or “ill-governed” Spain. To experienced eyes, therefore, the tawny edifice, for all its style and neatness, is nothing but a whited sepulchre. What we know to have occurred within those walls, it would not answer to refer to here. History when calm shall by and by write the narrative ; and writers of

fiction, when they want to arouse and shock lethargic readers, will choose such a subject, and will find that to have the story credit-worthy they must pare down the truth, making it more probable by making it less true. We value the ennobling power of art too much to make it the medium of conveying frightening and sickening impressions. But the stereoscopic method might we think be adapted to illustrate certain transactions, constantly occurring to vary the monotony of poor-house life—normal conditions, which, wisely considered, point a moral very sharply. For example:—

Groups of poor-house-reared girls, surly, audacious, with no work to do, no wish for any; lounging through the prison-like wards with the shadow of the place upon them; power for mischief clearly developed in their faces; the master's step, too evidently, the only rule of conduct to them—a sight, on the whole, in comparison with which a herd of raving idiots suggests more cheerful reflection.—

Play ground of poorhouse children, whom society disowns, and whom "justice" and "charity" have taken to their own, stunted little creatures neither child-like, nor human-like; they are at *play*, sitting close packed against the wall, or gathered into knots, dull and stupified on *their* nursery floor; no ghost of a ball, or hoop, or pegging-top to mind them of a child's nature; pauper boys must be taught to do without these things.—

Behind the scenes: precocious youths applying deleterious substances to their eyes to simulate ophthalmia; happily succeeding, though with infinite pain, they may be sent to hospital, where no lessons are said, and where young paupers, if diseased, get good bread to eat.—

Conspiracy brewing among adult paupers to tear away the brick work and "*murther* the master"; not under the excusable pretext of inflicting injury on the said officer, but with the understood, avowed intention of being sent to gaol.—

Boys in the act of setting fire to their bedding, in the hope of burning down the whole establishment, and so putting an end to it all.—

Paupers attending divine service on Sunday: several card parties in full operation in convenient corners of the apartment devoted to public worship.—

But enough. People know little about these things. They care little, just because they know little. The press might utter a cry strong enough to be heard from one end of the

island to the other ; but the press sometimes forgets its high vocation, and instead of leading and commanding opinion, is content passively to reflect the temper of the times. The press in Ireland, with a few honorable exceptions, reflects in this case very accurately—the apathy of opinion. People when forced by accident to give the matter a thought, have a vague notion that the poor laws are the destruction of the country, and content themselves with cursing the poor laws. Cursing the poor laws ! as if that legislative measure were not meant for good ; were not capable of good ; a recognition indeed of a vital first principle, that the rich should be taxed for the support of the destitute, and that beggars should no longer be quartered on paupers. If cursing were an accredited remedy, one might suggest the propriety of letting malediction fall in the proper quarter ; on the heads, namely, of the negligent, ignorant, factious administrators of the law. It does certainly strike one forcibly, that if a body of legislators sat down with cool heads to devise a method by which a whole race might be demoralized and physically debased, they could not hit upon a better plan than to enact a just law, and abandon the administration of it, according to the approved representative system, to a class of men not competent for the trust ; a class of middlemen who grind the faces of the poor, and to whom “ keep down the rates ! ” is the first and last commandment.

We should like, of all things to hear of the appointment of a parliamentary commission to enquire into the common-sense qualifications, and educational status of our “ guardians of the poor.” An instructive, perhaps amusing, blue book might be compiled, furnishing such tables as the following :—

A return of the number of Guardians who are familiar with the interior of the Houses they make rules for on Board days.

A return of those who only attend when a job is to be carried, a priest snubbed, or a parson put down.

A return of the Boards which do not appear to rejoice in the possession of one supreme bully, who, when a true gentleman and honest christian comes in to remonstrate, and say a word for the dumb suffering poor, hounds on his brood of brawlers, and silences the voice of humanity, and affrights its advocate by the apparition of this dragon at the door.

A return of the number of Guardians, who, on strict examination, appear to have ever once reflected that every penny they “ save the country ” by refusing to classify, industriously train,

and properly feed mere paupers, is carried over at once to the prison account, and levied with ruinous interest for the maintenance of branded convicts. Lastly, and though we might have a column or too, it would not much increase the printer's bill—

A return of Guardians who do act according to right principles, and stand by their post; and though defeated, and left in scandalous minority, still protest, and raise a voice for humanity and justice.

A chapter on blue-book literature would not be the worst subject for a clever essayist. We have tragedy, comedy, farce, non-descript interludes, and finales of fire and brimstone in the Reports of many Royal Commissioners. The Reports of the Poor-law Commissioners have a style of their own, and a very remarkable one too. Official dignity is admirably preserved, and it is really a study to observe with what imperturbable calmness the guardians are recommended to adopt alleviative measures when disease appears; to attend unfailingly to the physician's opinion; to provide vegetables, and vary the diet of the paupers. With grave earnestness, advice is given to educate children, so that they may be enabled to leave the union, and obtain employment—for the carrying out of which object it is intimated, that it is necessary to employ persons fully competent to instruct in the schools, and also expedient to pay them sufficiently. Patiently and perseveringly the guardians are reminded, that the care of orphans is an onerous charge, involving moral obligations not a few—that the workhouse is a sorry substitute for a home to these deserted children—that still it is above all things important to keep them in health, care them, and train them industriously. The commonest truisms are detailed in a way to make them level with the comprehension of the most thick-headed guardian; and we can fancy how much art was called into exercise to preserve this tone, and how often the Commissioners, instead of recommending, advising, representing, and suggesting, must have longed for powers to command, compel, threaten, and denounce. The crowning point of all is the recorded fact, that in one year, *thirty-two* Boards of Guardians were dissolved, and paid officers appointed to do their duty. This, at all events, is significant. When “troublesome times” arrived, the “system of self-government,” and “the great principle of popular representation,” as developed in the constitution of Boards of Guardians, failed

to work except in the dead-letter way, and two or three paid officers were found an efficient and satisfactory substitute for a score of duly elected guardians.

It is exceedingly strange how often men, even of average worth and talent, are spoiled, or rendered useless, when they come in contact with the working of this Poorhouse system. Many a man, who in his drawing room, is a frank, kindly gentleman—in his household, a good master—and in business or professional relations, “an honourable man,” fails in sense, and courage, and charity, when he takes his place at a Board of Guardians. His very goodness, if we may say so, is a stumbling block ; he seeks conciliation ; adopts soothing methods ; accepts instalments of good as he thinks ; gathers up shreds and patches of orders and resolutions to comfort himself withal—and succeeds, after all his trouble, just in plastering up abuses, and temporarily concealing offensive sores. But the direct road to reform in this particular case would be a sadly long way. It will take another age, and the operation of a yet undeveloped system of middle class education to produce a generation of true “guardians of the poor.” The appeal for the present lies elsewhere.

The subject of poor-house mismanagement is so vast, that we dare not even glance at its extent and ramifications in so cursory a way. Leaving everything else aside for the present, we shall give our parting word for the children who are brought up in the poorhouse. We say it boldly—the greatest evil lies here. Thousands of orphans and deserted children are crammed into the poorhouse ; the neglect they endure is fatal ; the very care, in some instances, bestowed on them, is vain or injudicious. What we are about to say now, regards the female children more particularly. The boys suffer in their measure ; but there are here and there outlets of escape for them ; sometimes they are trained usefully ; and at any rate the injury done to them and to society by poorhouse rearing is not so terrible, and so quickly avenged, as in the case of the girls.

In some Unions it would appear that the children are well taken care of. They are kept apart from the adults ; are well grounded in religious doctrine by the chaplains ; have masters and mistresses trained by the Board of Education ; and get in fact whatever a mechanical national school education can give them—but no more. They are taught no work by which they could earn their bread in the world. It is sometimes asserted

that they are made to do the work of the house; that they wash clothes, clean out wards, and so on. Let no one be imposed on by that. The washing of the pauper uniform does not go far towards initiating them into the mysteries of "making up linen;" and the sweeping out of dreary monotonous wards does not exactly qualify for housemaid's duty. To speak plain truth, after undergoing poorhouse training from infancy or childhood, they are found at fifteen or sixteen years of age perfectly useless for all practical purposes.*

Moreover there is no way of disposing of them even if they were able to earn their bread. Here again one is sometimes put down by the assurance, that numbers of people come to the Union looking for servants, and that a great many girls are taken out in that way. Shall we tell what this means? We can speak with authority, though we are no guardian—thank Heaven! and for all our bitter speaking have never eaten the bread of affliction within the walls of the Union. But we shall tell how it is. The people who come to take out poorhouse children, are low struggling roomkeepers who cannot pay servant's wages, and want a little drudge, who for "her bit," no better generally than pauper's fare, is expected to slave, and trudge, and scrub with the power and energy of full-grown, skilled labour; or they are tradespeople who offering to teach the children their business, get them bound to them, and then use them for common messengers and runners. The treatment the unfortunate children meet with, is the kind

* "I was in a very large parish union, where there were about four hundred children, nearly an equal number of boys and girls; and schools for both. The boys had an excellent master for reading and writing, and had masters, besides, to teach them various trades. There was a tailor, a carpenter, a shoemaker, a hairdresser, a plumber, who at wages from 25s. to 35s. a week, were employed to instruct the boys in their respective trades. The girls were taught reading, writing, and sewing; some of them under the pauper menials, helped to scour and scrub. The over-tasked, anxious mistress seemed to do her best; but there was not sufficient assistance. The whole system was defective and depressing, and could not by any possibility turn out efficient domestic servants, or well-disciplined, religious-minded, cheerful-tempered girls. I was informed that, of the boys sent out of this house, about 2 per cent. returned to the parish in want or unserviceable; while of the girls they reckoned that about 50 per cent. were returned to them ruined and depraved."

one would expect to be given by people who think nothing too bad for a child who is "only a pauper, whom nobody owns." The bad example witnessed in these "homes," the spectacle of vice never dreamt of in the children's ward, is often so shocking that the young servant or apprentice runs back frightened, begging with tears to be taken into the Union again. Even in rare instances where fair play and indulgence might be given, obstacles of the most provoking kind, arise from the unbearable ignorance of the children themselves.* The very timidity of creatures so long housed up from intercourse with the world, to whom a run down the street is an adventure, and carrying a message, a service of difficulty and danger, causes them to commit awkwardnesses to no end.

The general result is that the children are turned off, or run-away; stray about the streets or roads for a while; meet bad company; and are next heard of in gaol;† or seeking refuge again in the Union, are admitted—but not this time among the children. A woman's suit is put on them—they are sent to the woman's ward—and hope is done with them. Their childhood was safe with children; they had one glimpse of the great world, which did not use them well; now they shall have full knowledge of what is meant by a hell upon earth. Suffice it to say, that the very worst characters resort to the poor-house, just for the purpose of tempting out such ready-reared victims; and as there is no separation of character

* See our "Record" of the current number for "St. Joseph's Industrial School, with special reference to its intern class of Work-house Orphans."

† This important official statement (Report of Poor Law Commissioners) reveals the melancholy admission that 35 per 1000 of these young persons are either so depraved, or the discipline of the workhouses is so conducted, that of the entire number put in prison, from 9 to 15 years of age, 64 per cent., and of those from 15 to 21 years of age, 61 per cent., were *for offences committed in the workhouses*, so that their antecedent criminality, even including under this head the larger fraction of vagrancy, has been only about half as active in familiarising them with the debasement of a prison as the very workhouses to which they resorted as an asylum. The outbursts in Cork and Waterford Unions, by which the windows were broken, the workhouses wrecked, the officers injured, and police and military interference required, were not only witnessed, but were shared in by the school children, and by many who had been reared in those institutions.—See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. 15, September, 1854.

or class, no protection for the innocent, no corner of shelter in all the desolate, dreary wards, in which the modest girl can be out of ear-shot of the blasphemous talk, and ribald songs of the degraded and shameless herd, evil speedily has its way. Children born and bred in the vilest lane of a crowded city, and surrounded by idle, vicious neighbours, have better chance of escape, better opportunity of knowing right from wrong, greater power of choosing and resisting, than those poor orphans.

If by rare chance, some few of those who return to the poorhouse, escape the last degradation to which we have alluded, they are sure to fall into another pit. The atmosphere of the place soon tells upon them—lessens, and deadens, and finally destroys all energy of body and mind. The want of work, or the forced work without profit, or reward,* or healthy stimulant, has the inevitable result. After perhaps an effort or two to get and keep a situation, they finally return of their own free will to the Union, to lead a life, we cannot say of animal enjoyment, but of brutish inaction. The poorhouse stamp is on their coarse garments a badge of degradation—the poorhouse stamp is on their whole moral being, a warning that none need hope much good from them.

The worst cases in a convict prison are the insolent ungovernable subjects from the poorhouse. In their untameable audacity, and unconquerable obstinacy they form a strong contrast with the poor girls who are sent up from the country parts of Ireland under sentence of penal servitude. The latter, generally speaking, after holding out for a while, fall gradually into the routine of discipline, become gentle and docile, take instruction gratefully, and are almost sure to leave the prison better girls than they entered, not unfrequently thanking God that they were brought there. But the former, coming in, too often, of their own accord, and not for purposes of self-improvement, are capable of any enormity, and are the despair of matrons and officers.

Amongst the unfortunate inmates of the Magdalen Asylums,

* In a paper read at the Social Science meeting at Birmingham, 1857, Mrs. De Morgan suggests the practicability of slightly remunerative employment, and especially urges industrial training for the young, so that "workhouses, from being the lowest step on the downward ladder, might form the first of an ascending scale, and arrest the idle and vicious in their certain course to prison."

the most thoroughly depraved are of the same class. They have to be watched with most vigilant care, lest the spirit of evil and insubordination so strong within them, should break out anew, and contaminate those, who, in comparison with them, are *innocent*. The source of all their wickedness and misery they trace to the evil influence of unrestricted intercourse with the worst classes in the poorhouse ; and when it is sometimes thoughtlessly suggested to them, that on leaving the asylum, if all fail, they can go to the Union, the answer is quick and to the point—" it were better to go back to the old trade than do that !"

Our lunatic asylums are not without their poorhouse cases, of a kind to baffle the ingenuity of experienced physicians, who find it frequently impossible to decide whether the patients from the poorhouse are really lunatics, or only make-believe mad. As for hospital experience—we leave that to be inferred.

Turn where we may, in every asylum and refuge for the unfortunate ; in every place of detention and punishment for the criminal ; wherever vice, and misery, and cruel suffering have their abode, the poorhouse and its iniquitous system rise up before the mind. Poorhouse-reared girls throug the streets, or spend their lives on the tramp from one "institution" to another, trying which is the most comfortable, or which answers best the need or the whim of the moment. Truly, our system of dealing with the poor, in spite of all its niggard parsimony, is not an economic one.

Want of classification, and want of industrial training, are not the only evils. There remains another grievous wrong. The children in the poorhouse are not properly fed. It is of no use to say that they would have no better food at home if they had a home. They would have better than that ; they would have full liberty of spirit and limb, and fresh air in copious draughts. Irish children, when at large, are known to be hardy, healthy, straight-limbed and well grown. In the Union they are stunted, and deformed, have weak eyes, swollen jaws, and are subject to diseases which permanently vitiate the blood. So that at a time when emigration is carrying off our labouring population, and we begin to fear that we may soon be in want of hewers of wood and drawers of water, we are actually rearing from 15,000, to 20,000 boys and girls in such a way, that if they survive childhood, they can only propagate disease and perpetuate deformity. A congress of slave-drivers

would be too wise for this; they would see the absurdity of destroying the breed of the human cattle which is to do the rough work of life for themselves and their children.*

There must be an end put to this stronghold of perdition, no matter what it cost. We state the plain fact, and show how things are. Let political economists, and christian philanthropists, and good men and women who take common sense views of things look to it. We know that some have already set their thoughts in this direction, and are groping for a remedy. To these we say:—Take heart; be not discouraged; if you can do no more, stand even like watchmen on the tower and give notice of the danger; you shall not always be alone! A few earnest men can utter words more full of power than the roar of multitudes. All good work, in our time, is done in this way:—a few true hearts think out honestly their thought; they gain disciples; opinion grows; and soon, suddenly as it seems, a voice is heard which dare not be gainsayed.

Why not turn the children's classes into regular industrial schools? It would cost too much to get masters and mistresses, and working tools—and the guardians would never consent! But, we persist, after a few years' training, they would be fit to leave the Union, and could earn their bread ever after. Is it a wonderful saving to keep them all their lives, and instead of training them for the world, only rear them for the gaol?

* "With respect to some workhouses in Ireland, it has been alleged that the diet for the children is sufficient. In others, as in the North Dublin Union, the mortality of infant children is excessive. Some ten years ago, the mortality there rose to such a height that it became matter of public investigation. What it is at present I do not know, but a remark of a guardian at a recent meeting was significant of his opinion on this point. When a question arose as to the religion in which two deserted children should be brought up, Mr. Roper said, 'I think it a thousand pities to lose so much time about a matter of no consequence, because every man knows that from the system of the house, not one of these children will be alive this day twelve months.' How guardians, with such convictions on their minds, can be found to be the instruments for enforcing the rule, that no child shall receive relief except in the workhouse, it is not easy to understand."—*The Workhouse as a mode of Relief for Widows and Orphans*. By W. Neilson Hancock, LL.D. Read at the Meeting of the Dublin Statistical Society, 29th January, 1855.

Why not, as Dr. Hancock suggested three years ago,* give out-door relief to widows in such a way, that their destitution need not compel them to enter the poorhouse with their children, and condemn the orphans, as a first step towards their education, to a severance from all ties of home and kindred? Why not, as that clear-headed man recommends, make the allowance contingent on the children's attendance at some school in the neighbourhood, and so arrange matters that "the calamity of the father's early death need not have produced the further calamity of breaking-up a human family?"

Or, better still, instead of crushing them into poorhouses, why not charge the rates with their support in extern industrial schools—such as the Aberdeen Feeding Schools for example? What has been effected in that town and in Glasgow by the operation of these schools, furnishes an example which Ireland might very well follow. Sheriff Watson, tired of committing vagrant children to prison for petty offences, thought of a remedy; and having enlisted the sympathy of a few zealous friends, a school was opened in Aberdeen, in 1841. It was notified that children of the lowest description would be received, and in addition to the ordinary school training, would be given work and food; would be kept all day, and would be sent home at night, that family ties might not be interfered with. Children flocked in without further persuasion; their appearance changed rapidly; and the police soon reported a perceptible diminution in the number of juvenile offenders. Here is a telling fact:—The number of boys committed to prison in Aberdeen in the year 1851 had suddenly increased to four times the number of the previous year, and in 1854 quadrupled again; while during the same period the committals of girls never exceeded *two* in the year. This discrepancy was not to be accounted for until it became known, that owing to a temporary depression of trade, the subscriptions to the schools fell off; the gentlemen who managed the boys' schools were obliged to restrict the admissions, while the committee of ladies who managed the girl's schools, being more fruitful in resources, contrived to keep going as usual.

* We refer to the paper quoted in the note above. There could not be a better proof given of the want of interest among the public in this vitally important subject, than the fact of the little notice this most able paper attracted. It gives the essence of whole chapters in a few short paragraphs, and ought to have been a textbook for the "leaders" of our daily press.

Subsequently an Act of Parliament was obtained, known as Dunlop's Act, by which Sheriffs and Magistrates are empowered to send children found begging, or wandering about without proper guardianship, to these schools, when duly certified by the Secretary of State, to be kept there as long as is necessary for their training. The parish may be rated for their maintenance.

The effect of the operation of these schools has been, that the towns in which they are established are almost cleared of juvenile criminals; the demand of employers for the children exceeds the supply; and in the schools the attendance has *lessened* owing to the exhaustion of the class from which they came. The cost, including rent, salaries, and other expenses averages from £7 to £11 per head per annum.*

The only sign of life which Ireland has given, is in the establishment of the Cork Benevolent Apprenticing Society, and in the existence of St. Joseph's Industrial Institute in the neighbourhood of Dublin. Both works are in their infancy. In Cork a number of gentlemen lately formed themselves into a Society for the purpose of taking boys out of the poorhouse, at the moment when they should be sent, by the rules of the Union, among the unclassed adults. They not only apprentice them to trades-people in the city, but continue to watch over their conduct with great vigilance, settling disputes between master and apprentice, and acting the part of a well organised patronage society. They have already provided for twenty-one boys, whose conduct since they have been placed out has been unexceptionable. These gentlemen with scarcely an exception are guardians, who finding they could not carry reform into the system of poorhouse management, were not content with remonstrating at the Board, but remembering they were not only poor-law guardians, but likewise christian gentlemen who could not let evil pass without an effort to stay it, began to work in their private capacity, and soon set an example worth following. They have since appealed to the ladies of Cork to go and do likewise, and help the poorhouse girls, and we believe not without effect. The managers of St. Joseph's Industrial Institute, have taken out of one of the Dublin Unions seven orphan girls, "a sort of first instalment" as they say. It is a small beginning, but involves the assertion of a great principle.

* 'Train up a child in the way he should go.' A paper on the Industrial schools of Scotland, and Dunlop's Act, Communicated to the British meeting of the National Reformatory Union in 1856. By Alfred Hill, Barrister-at-Law.

No time is to be lost. Reason suggests, prudence dictates, expediency demands that the present state of things should be put an end to. A child in a Reformatory costs £20 a year at the lowest estimation: a grown offender in a common gaol more than £23: and a convict prisoner above £33. A word to the wise is sufficient. Such facts and figures strike in the wedge very bravely. We keep *fifteen or twenty thousand* children in our Irish Poor-houses, and we think we are excellent managers and do our duty by society and the orphans. Heaven help us!

There is a very precious benediction bestowed on those who "lead others unto justice," and doing the Saviour's work, "bring back strayed sheep to the fold." Let those who give their hearts to the Reformatory cause be comforted with that. There is a grievous malediction pronounced by the same Lord and Master himself, against those who "scandalise those little ones." Let our guardians, and our rate-payers, and our inert public look to it.

ART. IV.—A CORSAIR EXPRESSION.

La Pigonotomie, ou L'art D'apprendre a se Raser Soi-Meme, avec la maniere de connoître toutes sortes de Pierres propres à affiler tous les outils ou instruments ; et les moyens de preparer les cuirs pour repasser les Resoirs, la maniere d'enfaire de très-bons; suivi d'une Observation importante sur la Saignée. Par J. J. Perret, Maître et Marchand Coutilier, Ancien Jeré-Garde. A Paris, Chez Dufour, Libraire, Rue de la Vieille-Draperie, vis-a-vis L'Eglise Sainte Croix, au Bon Pasteur : MDCCLXIX.

At the conclusion of our paper entitled *The Hair*, and printed in the twenty-seventh number of this REVIEW, we promised to return to the subject then opened, and to write of Beards and Wigs. In our present paper we shall consider the subject, BEARDS AND WHISKERS.

It may be safely argued, as a general physiological principle, that whatever evinces a free and natural development of any part of the body is by necessity beautiful. Deprive the lion of his mane, the cock of its comb, the peacock of the emerald plumage of its tail, the ram and deer of their horns, and they not only become displeasing to the eye, but lose much of their power and vigor. And it is easy to apply this reasoning to the hairy ornaments of a man's face. The caprice of fashion alone forces the Englishman to shave off those appendages which give to the male countenance that true masculine character indicative of energy, bold daring, and decision.

The presence or absence of the beard as an addition to the face, is the most marked and distinctive peculiarity between the countenance of the two sexes. Who can hesitate to admire the noble countenance of the Osmanli Turk of Constantinople, with his un-Mongolian length of beard? Ask any of the fair sex whether they will not approve and admire the noble countenance of Mehemet Ali, Major Herbert Edwardes, the hero of the Punjab, Sir Charles Napier, and others, as set off by the beard?—We may ask with Beatrice—

“What manner of man is he?

Is his head worth a hat, or his chin worth a beard?”

We have noticed the whiskers and beards of many of our most eminent physicians and merchants encroaching upon their former narrow boundaries, while it is well known that not a few of our divines have been long convinced of the folly of disobeying one of nature's fixed laws; but hitherto, their unwillingness to shock the prejudice of their congregations, have prevented them from giving effect to their convictions. The *London Methodist Quarterly Review* recently took up the subject, and the following is an extract from it:—

“It may surprise not a few when we say that the bronchitic affections under which ministers of the gospel so frequently labour, are often due to the violation of a hygienic law. The fact that the Creator planted a beard upon the face of the human male, thus making it a law of his physical being, indicates, in a mode not to be misunderstood, that the distinctive appendage was bestowed for the purpose of being worn. Moreover, physiologically considered, those views are corroborated by experience; for diseases of the throat have, in many instances, been traced directly to the shaving of the beard, the liability disappearing with its growth, and *vice versâ*. Let, then, all our ministers of religion wear beards, for the Bible and nature are in favour of it; nor is the great head of the Church, Christ himself, ever seen in a painting without a beard; and it was said by the early Christian father, Tertullian, that to shave the beard, is ‘blasphemy against the face.’”

Dr. Dixon, a leading physician of New York, in his influential publication, *The Scalpel*, strongly advocates the wearing of the beard, and some able letters have recently appeared on the subject in the *Montreal Herald*, a commercial daily journal of Canada.

A recent decree of the Emperor of Austria forbids his civil functionaries, of whatever grade, to wear beards. “Genteel” whiskers and properly trimmed moustaches may still be worn. The new regulation is any thing but popular with those whose chins have not been familiar with cold steel since the year of grace 1811.

The mode in which young men wear their beards is the one solemn question of the Neapolitan government at the present time (April, 1853). A little more or less hair on the chin of a pale dandy, makes the State tremble. However absurd this may appear to Englishmen, it is no joke for the Neapolitans, who are dragged daily into the barbers' shops by the police, and their beards trimmed according to the political creed of the authorities, who just now believe,

that nature grows rebellious on the lip. The police wanted a decree to appear, prohibiting men from wearing hair on their chins, but His Majesty is said to have declined his signature to the document, so that the inspectors are obliged to act without official authority.

Lorenzo Benoni gives some passages in the life of an Italian, which portray this system of merciless persecution.

"I am now twenty-one, and a thick circlet of hairs has grown under my chin. I should also have a pair of beautiful moustaches—the object of my ambition as a child—if moustaches were not unmercifully proscribed. I have made several attempts towards wearing them, but they were all frustrated. One day, a long, long time ago, M. Merlini, meeting me in the peristyle of the University, with a show of down upon my lip, protested, with sundry indescribable nods, jerks, and grimaces, that he had taken me for a pioneer. I understood the hint, and my budding moustaches fell under the razor. Twelve months later, the moustaches having reappeared thicker than ever, the Director of Police had the kindness to send me word through my father, that if I did not shave them off of my own accord, he would have them cut off for me; a very simple ceremony, not at all unprecedented. Two Carabineers would take you by each arm, force you into a barber's shop, and stand present during the operation."

In a general order issued from the Adjutant General's office, at Washington, to the American army, it is laid down that the beard is to be worn at the pleasure of the individual, provided it be kept short, and neatly trimmed. The reason given for the permission being that "the human beard is equally valuable as a protection against the cold blast of the north, and the scorching suns of the south." In our navy, on the contrary, the Admiralty has made it incumbent on all commanders of stations, to issue orders that no officer or man is to be allowed to wear "unseemly tufts of hair under the chin;" and the moustache is, in like manner, strictly prohibited.

M. Jourdan states, that when the long hair worn by the soldiers in the revolutionary war was cut off in all the regiments, many complained of headaches of several weeks' continuance. Persons in the habits of wearing long beards, have often been afflicted with rheumatic pains in the face, or with sore throat, upon shaving them off. In several cases of frequently recurring, or of chronic, sore throat, Dr. Copland (*Dict. of Pract. Medicine*), tells us wearing the beard under the chin and upon the throat, has prevented a return of this complaint.

The annals of the beard are rather interesting. Within the range of modern history, it has gone out and come into fashion about a dozen times. At the present moment, it is gradually creeping into favor, and in the course of a few years it may, probably, approach the zenith of its glory, again to be cried down as "vulgar," and shorn of all its pristine charms.

Many of our readers have no doubt seen the portraits of such men as Drake, Raleigh, Francis Bacon, Vandyke, and all the remarkable men of the times of Elizabeth and the two Charles's. Compare those faces, set off by magnificent beards, with the portraits of our closely shaved moderns, in their high, stiff-starched shirt collars; the eye at once acknowledges the superiority of the former in the picture; why does it not extend its judgment to the living pictures?—The reason is—Fashion deters.

———"By Jupiter,
Were I the wearer of Antonius' beard,
I would not shave to-day."

Beards never flourished in England so universally as previous to the Norman conquest, and as the Normans only wore whiskers, they were thought by the English spies to be an army of priests.

Beards were worn in the reigns of Mary, Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., but not generally.

A correspondent in the late Douglas Jerrold's *Weekly News*, some six years since, urged the subject with much force and justice :

"Why," said he, "should men cut off what nature has given them for use, comfort, and ornament, and as a distinguishing characteristic of their sex! Is shaving a pleasing operation? If the choice lay between two evils, something might be urged in favour of the custom of shaving; but I do most strenuously contend that the beard is a positive good. It is useful, for it affords naturally what we are forced to supply artificially—warmth and protection to the throat. If the fashion of wearing beards was to come in, we should have no more sore throats. It is ornamental—if you doubt it, look at Cardinal Benbo's picture—at the portraits of Titian, Shakspeare, Fletcher, Spencer, Chaucer, Alfred, Plato,—I could name a great man who wore a beard, for every hair which I painfully shaved off this morning. It sets off the face as in a frame; it gives dignity, and conveys the idea of strength, decision, manliness, depth of intellect, solidity,—in short, everything may be said in its favour—nothing against it. 'What!' I hear a fair friend exclaim, 'would the wretch have our husbands, our brothers, our sons and our nephews, wear nasty beard's

and look like Frenchmen?' Certainly not, Madam; and one reason why we should *not* look like Frenchmen is that our beards would *not* be nasty. If we ceased to shave, we should not cease to use soap and water, and I will venture to say that the English beard would be the cleanest, glossiest, handsomest thing in the world. Besides, the beard which I advocate, is the beard given us by nature, in the form in which she caused it to grow. I would not have it touched by the razor; let the scissors curtail and shape it when too exuberant, but my cry is '*a bas* the razor!' You very seldom see a foreigner with the beard, the whole beard, and nothing but the beard. He shaves off his whiskers or moustache, or in some way or other manages to disfigure himself. Now what I want is, the whole or none. Once admit that the use of the razor may be advantageous to some extent, and I am as far off my end as ever. Dear Madam, you know not the pains of shaving, and the beauties of the beard."

The poet Campbell is said to have calculated that a man who shaves himself every day, and lives to the age of three score and ten, expends during his life as much time in the act of shaving as would have sufficed for learning seven languages. Southey in his "*The Doctor*" (vol. 5), states that he tested this assertion by timing himself, and he found that he occupied ordinarily nine minutes; but if he had to strop his razor, another minute or two would have been lost.

"Now (he goes on to state) as to my beard, it is not such a beard as that of Domenico d'Ancona, which was *delle barbe la corona*, that is to say the crown of beards, or rather in English idiom, the king.

"Una barba la più singulare

Che mai fosse discripta in verso o'u prosa."

A beard the most unparallel'd

That ever was yet described in prose or rhyme.

And of which Berni says, that the barber ought to have felt less reluctance in cutting the said Domenico's throat, than in cutting off so incomparable a beard. Neither do I think that mine, even by possibility, could vie with that of Futteh Ali Shah, King of Persia at this day; nay, I doubt whether Macassar oil, bear's grease, elephant's marrow, or the approved receipt of sour milk with which the Persians cultivate their beards, could ever bring mine to the far inferior growth of his son's, Prince Abbas Mirza. Indeed no Mussulman would ever look upon it, as they did upon Mungo Park's, with envious eyes, and think that it was too good a beard for a Christian. But for a Christian, and moreover an Englishman, it is a sufficient beard; and for the individual a desirable one: *nihil me pœnitel hujus barbæ*; desirable I say, inasmuch as it is in thickness and rate of growth rather below the average standard of beards. Nine minutes therefore will be about the average time required for shaving, by a Zebedeean—one who shaves himself. A professional operator makes quicker work; but he cannot be always exactly to the time, and at the year's end, as much may have been lost in waiting for the barber, as is gained by his celerity of hand.

Assuming then the moderate average of nine minutes, nine minutes per day amount to an hour and three minutes per week; an hour and three minutes per week are fifty-four hours thirty-six minutes per year. We will suppose that our shaver begins to operate every day when he has completed his twentieth year; many, if not most men, begin earlier; they will do so if they are ambitious of obtaining whiskers; they must do so if their beards are black, or carrotty, or of strong growth. There are then fifty years of daily shaving to be completed, and in that time he will have completed two thousand seven hundred and thirty hours in the act of shaving himself. Dividing this number by seven, we have three hundred and ninety hours for learning each language; three hundred and ninety lessons of an hour long,—wherein it is evident that any person of common capacity might with common diligence learn to read, speak and write, sufficiently well for all ordinary purposes any European language."

On the other side it is urged, if beards are to be worn, some care and, consequently, some time must be bestowed upon them. The beard must be trimmed occasionally if you would have it as ragged as an old Jew clothes-man's: it must also be kept clean, if you would not have it inhabited like the emperor Julian's; and if you desire to have it like Arron's, you would oil it. Therefore it is probable that a Zebedeean who is cleanly in his habits, would not save any time by letting his beard grow.

"I myself (observes Southey), if I wore a beard, should cherish it, as the Cid Campeador did, for my pleasure. I should regale it on a summer's day with rose water; and without making it an idol, I should sometimes offer incense to it, with a pastille, or with lavender and sugar. My children, when they were young enough for such blandishments, would have delighted to stroke and comb and curl it, and my grandchildren in their turn would have succeeded to the same course of mutual endearment."

The following physical argument is gravely advanced in Rees' Cyclopædia:—

"The practice of cutting the hair of the head and the beard is attended with a prodigious increase of the secretion of the matter of the hair. It is ascertained that a man of fifty years of age will have cut from his head above thirteen feet, or twice his own length of hairs; and of his beard, in the last twenty-five years of the same period—above eight feet. The hair likewise, besides this enormous length, will be thicker than if it had been left uncut, and must lose most of its juices by evaporation, from having its tube and the ends of its fibres always exposed.

The custom of shaving the beard and cutting the hair of the head has, we believe, been justly deprecated by some physiologists. The latter has been supposed, and with much apparent reason, to weaken

the understanding, by diverting the blood from the brain to the surface of the head. The connection which exists between the beard and the muscular strength of the individual, would seem to render it improper to interfere with its natural mode of growth. Bichat attributes the superior strength of the ancients to the custom of wearing their beards: and those men who do not shave at present are distinguished for vigor and hardihood."

We cannot agree with all these assertions and speculations, especially the assumption that clipping the hair is calculated to weaken the understanding.

When the Russian soldiers were first compelled to part with their beards, that they might look like other European troops, they complained that the cold struck into their jaws and gave them the tooth-ache. The sudden deprivation of a warm covering might have occasioned this and other local affections. But they are not said to have complained that they had lost their wits. On the contrary, in the days of Peter the Great they are reported to have made a ready use of them in relation to this very subject. Other arguments had been used in vain for persuading them to part with that comfortable covering which nature had provided for their cheeks and chins, when one of their priests represented to them that their good Czar had given orders for them to be shaved only from the most religious motives, and a special consideration of what concerned them most nearly. They were about to march against the Turks. The Turks, as they well know, wore beards, and it was of the utmost importance that they should distinguish themselves from the misbelievers by this visible mark, for otherwise their protector, St. Nicholas, in whom they trusted, would not know his own people. This was so cogent a reason that the whole army assented to it, and a general shaving took place. But when the campaign against the Turks was over, and the same troops were ordered to march against the Swedes, the soldiers called for the priest, and told him they must now let their beards grow again—for the Swedes shaved, and they must take care St. Nicholas might know his friends from his foes.

Beatrice (in "Much Ado about Nothing") says—"I could not endure a husband with a beard on his face;" and yet she subsequently admits that "he that hath no beard is less than a man."

A correspondent in the *Globe*, (Aug. 28, 1852) states that

he spent nine years of his life in Russia, where the frost was so excessive, that the thermometer fell sometimes (by our scale) to 35 degs. below zero, and yet he never saw a common Russian, with any covering round his neck except that provided by nature, which effectually protects his chin and the glands of his throat. They travel in their sledges at almost railroad speed, and are therefore exposed to the utmost severity of the frost, from which, thus protected, they never suffer any inconvenience.

Sir Francis Head, in his recent work, *A Faggot of French Sticks*, after speaking of a French railway guard with an unusually long and thick black beard, says—"It occurred to me at the moment that our railway directors in England might for the same service recommend the adoption of this fashion. In regions of intense cold it is invariably found necessary to cover a shaved chin, and there is no cheaper or warmer protection than that which nature has granted to the lower half of a man's face; it would be especially economical and convenient to railway guards, who, when travelling at thirty or forty miles an hour, through cold air, itself flying in an opposite direction, say from forty to sixty miles an hour, are exposed—to say nothing of rain, sleet, snow, hail and sunshine—to very trying vicissitudes of temperature and climate."

In an article in the *Edinburgh News*, the masons in that city were recommended, on the score of health, to wear the moustache and beard as a preventative to breathing the fine dust which so much injures the working mason, and shortens his life. The recommendation was given by a grave professor at Edinburgh—Dr. Alison, who would be the last, it is said, to countenance anything like puppyism—or continentalism shall we call it—on the part of our operatives. The consequence is, that nearly all the masons in Scotland, in the north of England, and even, we understand, in certain districts of Ireland, have begun to cultivate moustaches! Other trades, such as millers, cabinet makers, steel grinders, and the like, are rapidly following this example. The practice of wearing the moustache, and even the imperial, is an old British one, as every one knows; but it is really from knowing its beneficial influence in lengthening the lives and protecting the health of German, French, and other continental stone cutters and masons, that its

revival in this country is advised ; and the recommendation is now being carried out by the Glasgow masons.

It is a notorious fact that cavalry regiments suffer less than regiments of the line from consumption. Their beards and moustaches act like a respirator ; and the same line of reasoning applies with greater force to stone-masons and other trades where impalpable fine dust is breathed into the lungs. In the south of Germany—in Bavaria and Wurtemberg, for example—where freestone is extensively worked, and where the masons are fine-looking, muscular fellows with large beards, such a disease as phthisis is never heard of.

Tait's Magazine for November, 1852, had a pleasant article under the heading of "A few words upon Beards," from which I shall take an extract or two.

"Have not men, aye, whole nations, been named from the color and fashion of their maxillary hair? Was not the fate of Rome decided by an insult offered to the venerable appendage? Have not laws been framed for the regulation of beards, and for keeping their proportions curtailed within conscientious limits?"

"We declare ourselves at once as champions of the long beard ; we regard it with profound respect, and deeply lament that so comely an ornament should be banished. We cannot forget the picturesque effect which the shape of the beard had in the reigns of the Tudors, and we mourn that so refined an adornment should have gone out of fashion. But then, as now, France exercised taste for all Europe—Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. both ascended the throne in their minority, and in a spirit of fulsome flattery it was proposed among the courtiers, and carried by acclamation, that to present a loyal compliment to their bald-chinned sovereign, they should surrender their cherished beard and moustaches, and exhibit their features feminine and free."

Hence the fashion spread, until in later times, no one dared, Esau-like, to gratify nature at the expense of art.

Hudibras's beard must have been perilously attractive, for

"The upper part thereof was whey,
The nether orange, mixed with grey."

Bottom, the weaver, had a very accommodating taste in reference to his beard ; for in allusion to the part of *Pyramus*, which he was to play, he says—"I will discharge it in either your straw-colored beard, your orange-tawny beard, your purple-in-grain beard, or your French crown-colored beards—your perfect yellow." No less cheering is it to notice the refined cultivation which was given to beards in days still nearer to our own. The peaked beards

in Vandyke's portraits we regard as being very comely ; and they almost make us think that a more handsome fashion of wearing the beard could not be devised. Sir Thomas More's attention to this classical ornament claims our highest admiration. When kneeling before the block, with the axe already suspended over his neck, he bade the executioner wait till he had put aside his beard, for that had committed no treason.

We have a few words more to say, and those are words of hope—we are enabled to prophecy that beards are coming back again. Civilized chins shall again repose in the shadow of perennial pilosity ; and the barber, no longer condemned to reap the barren crop of a stubble field, shall be restored to his pristine dignity as the artistic cultivator of man's distinguishing appendage. Already the martial moustache, the haughty imperial, and the daily expanding whiskers, like accredited heralds, proclaim the approaching advent of the monarch, Beard ; the centuries of his banishment are drawing to their destined close, and the hour and the man are at hand to re-establish his ancient reign.

“ Be not so mad (says Quarles) as to alter that countenance which thy Creator made thee ; remember it was the work of his hands ; if it be bad, how darest thou mend it ? If it be good, why dost thou mar it ? Art thou ashamed of his work and proud of thy own ? He made thy face to be known by, why desirest thou to be known by another ? It is a shame to adulterate modesty, but more to adulterate nature. Blush not to appear what he blushes not to make thee. It is better to be his picture than thy own.”

The *Naval and Military Gazette* of the 12th March, 1853, in a leading article advocating the wearing of the moustache generally by the military, says—“ If the cavalry—and the first to wear the moustache were the hussars and the household troops—did not wear this military mark, we then might have believed there was an impression that ‘ the moustache was not British,’ and that we were better looking fellows without it. However, the moustache is now called for on better grounds than merely the wish of the service and its military propriety. It is now called for on medical grounds. If the appearance of the soldiers alone were in question, we could have much to say in favor of the moustache.

“ Why are the cavalry only to be allowed to wear this

distinctive military mark? Why does Prince Albert himself wear it? He is not a cavalry officer? Why do two-thirds of the army on half-pay wear the moustache? Because it is a very becoming and soldier-like and healthy adornment of the human face. Civilians too largely indulge in it. Are they less English on that account? It is well known that nothing better protects from both the sun and frost than whiskers and moustache. Ask those who have long served in India and Canada, the Cape colony and the Arctic regions."

A correspondent of the same paper speaks personally of the advantages he derived from wearing the hair about the face. "On my regiment landing (he says) from England at Algoa Bay, South Africa, in 1846, we proceeded at once to join Colonel Somerset's division, encamped on the Chalumna river, about fifteen days' march, during which both officers and men suffered much from sore lips, caused by the heat of the sun and dry wind. I recollect one sergeant-major in particular was a pitiable object, his lips being in a worse state almost than any others. I was one of the sufferers (for few of us escaped), and therefore can speak feelingly; and I know that as soon as our 'Chief' gave the order to allow the moustache to grow, those who were fortunate enough in possessing a beard never suffered afterwards."

In a number of the *United Service Gazette*, the editor thus takes up the subject, about six years ago:—

"A feeling appears to prevail that the Englishman has as good a right to wear hair upon his upper lip as a Frenchman or a German; and that if the hirsute adornment is suitable to the cavalry, it is equally appropriate to the infantry. Let us examine the question in a common-sense spirit. Nature says to man, wear moustaches on the upper lip; and it is the opinion of the pro-moustache party that nature's laws should be obeyed. Civilisation says, society could not hold together if this doctrine were admissible. Natural impulses are the apologies of the savage, who sets decency at defiance. Therefore, for the sake of order and harmony, and to remove man from the same low state as the beasts of the field, social rules are introduced, which place nature's laws in abeyance. Good: but may not this restraint upon nature be carried to a mischievous and absurd length; may not the advocates of these restrictions run into extremes which have not the commonest justification of reason? Why is not the moustache popular in modern England? Simply, because it is popular elsewhere, and John Bull has a dread of being thought anybody but John Bull. The excellent friend of Church and State stands much upon his reputation. No one, in his opinion, enjoy so high a character for honesty and bravery, and, as people are judged

of by their appearance, he does not fancy that any one who wears a moustache can be taken for an Englishman. John has a notion that in proportion as the inner man is deficient in sterling qualities, he is assiduous to decorate his personal. If a man with an adorned upper lip goes into his counting-house, John takes it for granted he is either a 'distinguished foreigner,' or a member of the swell mob, or of some other class of society equally to be doubted; and he buttons his pockets with a mixture of alarm and resolution instantaneously. Nothing, therefore, but the suggestion of personal vanity stronger than the love of reputation, a 'most false imposition' (as *Iago* says) induces an Englishman to challenge the antipathy and distrust of his sober fellow-citizens. You will not often hear men admit that they wear moustaches because they look all the better for them. No; any excuse serves them but the true one. This man is subject to the toothache; that one is always travelling, and must 'at Rome do as Rome does.' Sometimes the practice of ours is the justification, or the pain of the razor, and not unfrequently the fear of inhaling malaria, which otherwise settles on the moustache and is wiped away. Why cannot men be honest at once, and say that it is because Anna Maria or Sarah Jane love those dear moustaches that they allow the hair to grow. Or more likely still, that because after an extensive study of the mirror it is obvious that they are handsomer with than without the hair? But all this has nothing to do with the military part of the business. 'To be, or not to be,' on the infantry soldier, 'that is the question?' Well, then, we say, let the soldier have the moustache, and let razors, shaving-pots and brushes no longer remain in his knapsack, to add to the weight so badly adjusted on his unhappy back. Shaving takes up time, is often a torture, and costs money. Let whiskers and moustaches have fair play, and that they may not become as dirty as those of Napoleon's grognards, let the drummer's scissors once a week be employed in a wholesale trimming. The soldier will look all the more manly for his hairy appendages, but not the more fierce. That is a fallacy. If men look the more ferocious for a few hairs more or less, women wouldn't like moustaches as they unquestionably do. It is the contrast—not the ferocity—that carries the day. 'Affection mateth not with its like, but its opposite.'"

Colonel E. Napier, in the *United Service Magazine*, for Sept. and Oct., 1851 (in "The Soldier as he Is and as he Ought to be," an article of extreme interest), advocates the adoption of the beard, having observed and experienced the extraordinary luxury of it during his campaigning at the Cape; and it is to be hoped such an authority may have its due weight in deciding so important a matter; conducing, as it would do, to simplification of the toilet, picturesqueness and propriety; to say nothing of the deliverance from that sum of suffering from daily shaving, which Byron declared quite made up for what the other sex endured in parturition.

The *Agra Messenger*, an influential Indian journal, in a satirical but truthful article a few months ago, instituting an inquiry into the difference between the valor of the British soldier and the native Sepoy, has the following pertinent remarks—

“ The British soldier is undoubtedly superior to the native, but to what particular cause is the superiority first attributable ?

After mature reflection and careful study of the idiosyncracies of military usage, we flatter ourselves that we have hit the right solution at last. It is a very simple one, simple as the rule by which Samson preserved his strength ; only that in the present case systematic transgression has produced the results which systematic obedience ensured in his, and *vice versa*. The true secret of British superiority lies in a nut-shell, or, more correctly, in a barber's basin ; the difference between the things compared literally turning in true Homeric phrase, ‘ *epi-xyru acme* ’ on the edge of a razor. The heart of the difficulty is to be found on the mere face of it. No diving below the surface will bring up the secret, which lies on the surface itself. In the cropped head and shaven visage of the British soldier, we must look for the source of those peculiar excellencies which place him so far above his hirsute and long-haired comrade in a purely military view. By the cut of his figure-head shall ye measure a man's capacity for warlike achievements. Long hair and whiskers of natural growth predicate physical weakness and courage of a very inferior order. A single touch of nature may make us all friends, but it takes many a touch of art—the art tonsorial—to make us passable soldiers. The external difference is only in a hair or two, but how wide is the difference of intrinsic worth which a hair more or less will betoken in the realms of Mars ! According to the rule of close shaving enforced in the British army, Curius ‘ of the unkempt locks,’ was a downright impostor, unworthy of the niche he enjoys in the Horatian apotheosis ; while the ‘ long-haired Achæans ’ proved their inferior breeding by taking ten years to conquer Troy. Mars himself must have kept a barber, or the wonders related of him have belied his natural inaptitude for achieving wonderful things.

This is the only rational way that has yet occurred to us of accounting for the jealous negligence with which the Sepoy's personal appearance has been kept distinct from that of the European. For while the latter is obliged to curtail his locks to a uniform pattern of regulated ugliness, and check the luxuriance of his chin and cheeks by frequent use of lather, the former is allowed the luxury of growing his hair to a reasonable length, and producing whiskers of a size sufficient to make the fortune of a May-fair dandy. Of course there is reason alleged for the indulgence as well as the prohibition. Respect for national prejudices forbids in the one case the curtailment which cleanliness demands in the other. Fear of political consequences professedly spares the whisker which fear of personal consequences would have clean effaced, root and branch. But such pleas are clearly inadequate to express the full purport of a distinction so obstinately maintain-

ed at no little abatement of the comfort and personal comeliness of our gallant countrymen. We cannot accept them as aught but groundless pretences for maintaining a distinction in which the secret of our military progress is so emphatically asserted. For has not the wondrous virtue of deficient hair been yet more emphatically asserted in a recent order issued by Sir W. Gomm, widening the old license enjoyed by the native army of wearing unlimited hair, into a direct commandment for every Briton connected with the native army, to encourage the unlimited growth of hair on one portion at least of the human countenance? Does not the new commandment clearly develop the principle concealed in the previous concession? Is not the moustache now set in evident antagonism to the razor? For cleanliness being assumed as the sole end and aim of close shaving in the British army, why is the British officer serving in the native army henceforth compelled to wear the outlandish symbol of a cause with which he and cleanliness have apparently nought in common? The commandment to desist from shaving the upper lip cannot imply the extension to British officers of the principle on which the investiture of the upper lip was outwardly conceded to the prejudices of the native army. What other solution remains then but the one already proposed? Can this mode of assimilating the officers with their men in respect of facial equipment, mean aught but the wish to carry out the ancient principle of preventing all possible assimilation between the British and native soldiery in respect of military efficiency?

Pleasantry apart, we are fain to say what end of public utility has been or is to be gained, of sufficient urgency to justify the contempt for private tastes and prejudices evinced in measures regulating the precise amount of hair to be worn or shorn by the members of public society? If the soldier's deficiency depends in no intelligible way upon the smoothness of his cheek or the trim of his moustache, why in the name of common sense and humanity is he forced to shave or not to shave in keeping with some trivial and childish scheme of an uniformity which practically does not exist at all? Are cleanliness and martial appearance compatible only with a shaven face? Or does the soldier who wears moustaches of necessity fight or look worse than the soldier who is forbidden to wear them? Are the habits of the European cleaner than the habits of the Sepoy? Is the excrescence which nature has planted on faces of every color less unsightly on a black than a white ground? Why is the principle of uniformity between officers and men, carried to an outrageous excess in the matter of a whisker, and entirely set aside in the more prominent items of belts and white taping? If we really encourage cleanliness by shaving clean and cropping the upper hair in true convict fashion, would not the end be yet more simply attained by sticking at nothing short of total baldness? The assimilation of lips and cheeks should clearly be extended to an assimilation of mouths and noses. The officer in a British regiment is allowed the option of a partial whisker. Why split the difference of a hair and refuse him the option of a whisker in perfect bloom, or the additional comfort of a moderate moustache? We blush for the credit of a *régime* which requires at this time of day to press the justice and propriety of leaving its subjects to wear what nature gave them in any fashion they pleased, consistent with general usage and due regard for personal decencies."

Many of your "smooth-faced" men say, wearing the beard looks unbusiness-like, and forfeits confidence. Others assert that it is a piece of egregious vanity to wear the beard; in fact, they seem to consider that they have a perfect right to say everything that is disagreeable respecting beards.

In standing up in defence of beards, we must say that this assertion about vanity is *utterly* illogical. A beard grows naturally on a man's face; undoubtedly, if we did but know it, for some good and wise purpose. Hair grows on the head and eyebrows, as well as on the cheeks and chin. Now if a man were to shave the hair off his head and brows, as smoothly as he does from his chin, the chances are that he would be thoroughly laughed at, and yet one proceeding would not be a whit more senseless than the other.

There is one certain fact we would mention with regard to beards. It is this. As a general rule, every man with a beard is a man of strongly-marked individuality—frequently genius—has formed his own opinions—is straightforward—to a certain degree, frequently reckless—but will not fawn or cringe to any man. The very fact of his wearing a beard, in the face, as it were, of society is a proof that his heart and conscience is above the paltry aid of a daily penny shave.

If men would not shave from boyhood up, they would find their beards would be flowing, their moustaches light and airy, both adding a dignity to manhood and a venerableness to age, to which shorn humanity must be strangers.

But the beard is not merely for ornament, it is for use. Nature never does anything in vain, she is economical and wastes nothing. She would never erect a bulwark were her domain unworthy of protection, or were there no enemy to invade it. We shall proceed to show that the beard is intended as a bulwark, and designed for the protection of the health. The beard has a tendency to prevent diseases of the lungs by guarding their portals. The moustache particularly, as we have already seen, prevents the admission of particles of dust into the lungs, which are the fruitful cause of disease. It also forms a respirator more efficient than the cunning hand of man can fabricate. Man fashions his respirator of wire curiously wrought; nature makes her's of hair placed where it belongs, and not requiring to be put on like a muzzle. Diseases of the head and throat are also prevented by wearing the beard.

If any inconvenience is felt from the beard in summer, we think it will be found to be chargeable to the manner of dressing the neck. Lay aside flashy cravats and stiff collars, leaving the neck free and open, and the beard will never be felt to be a burden. Hear what a well known physiological writer says on this point: "The Byronic fashion of dressing the neck is preferable to all others. The true plan ought to be to allow the beard to grow, and thus protect the neck and chest. This appendage was not created for nought, and cannot be cut off with impunity."—Weakness and disease in the eyes may be obviated in a great measure by wearing the beard. There is an intimate connection between the upper lip and the eye. Every one must have noticed, when he has had a small pimple upon his lip and has squeezed it, how the tears will start involuntarily to his eyes. Shaving the upper lip with a dull razor which pulls the hair, will produce the same effect. Many can speak to the beneficial effects of wearing the beard upon weak eyes. The toothache, too, has been prevented by the wearing of the beard.

Frequently cutting and shaving the hair has a tendency to make it thicker, hence the beard of man becomes the thickest of all human hair. The marrow-like substance of the hair and its two outer coatings are well seen in a section of hair from a well shaved chin. The razor cuts it across; it cannot grow longer, so it grows thicker and stronger; and each slice taken away by the shave, looks under the microscope, like the section of a bone, just as a bone is cut across when a ham is cut up in slices for broiling, whilst the *stump* remaining on the chin has just the same look as the bone on the section of the grilled ham ready for the breakfast table. The primly shaved mouth is thickly dotted round by myriads of hideous hair stumps, with inner layer and marrow all exposed. Fashion, ever since the days of Louis Quatorze, has demanded the sacrifice, and men continue to pay it. Happily they do not see the stumps of their beards through a microscope, or razor makers would starve. M. Withof, a curious investigator quoted by the celebrated Haller, has calculated that the hair of the beard grows at the rate of one line and a half in the week; this will give a length of six inches and a half in the course of a year, and for a man of eighty years of age, thirty feet will have fallen before the edge of the razor.

It is occasionally urged that beards are dirty appendages, such as dust gatherers. So far from being an encourager of filth, the beard, on the contrary, is an efficient protection against it. It gathers dust and dirt only to prevent their being inhaled into the lungs, or stopping up the pores of the skin. This important office it performs much in the same way that the eye-lashes and the short hairs in the ears and nostrils protect the organs about which they are placed. And it would be quite as sensible an operation for a man to clip his eye-lashes every morning as to remove his beard and moustache. The dirt which the beard collects, can be more easily removed than if, by the absence of the beard, it were allowed to lodge itself in the pores of the skin. Because a man with a beard of one or two days' growth *looks* dirty, people are apt to conclude that it is the beard which caused that appearance, while it is only its shortness that does so ; as soon as it has attained some length it no longer looks dirty.

There are many who in their own minds are convinced of the folly of flying in the face of nature by cutting the beard, but who lack the moral courage to follow their convictions. The beard, indeed, is a tender point for foolish ridicule to aim its shafts at. Every man who has passed the age of twenty knows what stereotyped, but yet cutting jests, his youthful whiskers have had to encounter. Many a man who might have faced the cannon's mouth has felt the laughter of fools too much for him. The only way to conquer this ridicule is to learn to despise it. If a man were to be turned aside by every laugh he would be a living weather-cock.

Many persons are now becoming somewhat ashamed of their antiquated prejudices against a most becoming and useful ornament to the human face divine. We might quote numerous medical authorities to prove the utility of the growth of hair on the upper lip, especially of men who, in their professional avocations, are liable to exposure to all the ever varying changes of season and climate, now subject to chilling damps, freezing cold, or unwholesome night vapors, and anon to hot parching winds, or the scorching rays of a powerful vertical sun. But we should rest satisfied with the *prima facie* evidence afforded by the fact that an all-wise Creator, for some useful and benevolent purpose,

has ordained that the masculine face shall be protected and adorned by the growth of hair. Irrespective, therefore, of considerations of health and comfort, we fly in the face of God's providence, when we inconsiderately divest our features of every particle of their natural protection. Who so forward as an Englishman to ridicule and condemn the eccentricities of other nations. The contracted feet of Chinese women, the long tails, the shaven heads, the scalp locks of Oriental races, excite our contempt at their senseless folly: while follies on our part, equally as senseless, escape animadversion, and are complacently attributed to the rational dictates, or to the natural consequences, of a higher civilization. It was not the progress of civilization, it was a servile imitation of the first George that introduced among Englishmen the ridiculous practice of divesting their faces of every particle of hair. Prior to the reign of George I. such a practice was unknown, and would have been scoffed at as preposterous. Feelings of rancorous hatred and enmity towards a neighbouring nation, with whom we have perpetually come into collision, and over whom we have frequently triumphed, have tended to foster the practice into a prejudice, and to perpetuate it as a national peculiarity, distinguishing us in features, as widely as we were severed in feelings, from our miscalled natural enemies. Intellectual progress and general enlightenment are fast dispelling such absurd prejudices, and overcoming such ungenerous feelings. Few care to acknowledge that they entertain and cherish the bigoted opinions of bygone days. It is encouraging to know that those who share in these antiquated sentiments are fast disappearing from the arena of public life. Common sense has triumphed over bob wigs, pigtails, grease and hair powder, and will yet extend more generally that protection to the features which a luxuriant growth of hair affords, and men will sedulously cultivate beard, whiskers and moustache.

To apply Douglas's defiant speech in a perverted sense:—

“No man so potent breathes upon the ground
But I would *beard* him.”*

With regard to the growing fashion of again wearing the hair profusely on the face, much more might be advanced. The prevalence of the moustache among Englishmen may be attributed, like many other of our social customs, to the

* Henry IV. Act 4 scene 4.

favor with which it is now viewed among our continental neighbours. Indeed, such is the rage in France for long beards and outrageous whiskers, that where nature has denied that ornament, the Parisian dandies, like the Chinese, have recourse to art to supply the deficiency; and false beards among certain classes there, are no more uncommon than wigs amongst us. In the event, too, of the color of the beard being red or very light, it is quite usual to dye it, as we do the "white stockings" of the horses in our cavalry regiments.

A chronological history of beards (observes a recent periodical writer), would be a history of the world, and we should have to trace it from Adam downwards; for it is almost certain that the hair's decoration came into fashion with the first man himself; though it is a deputed point, whether coming into the world a full grown biped, he possessed a luxuriant black beard from the moment of his creation, it being strongly maintained by *Martinus Scriblerus* and others, that our first father had no such distinguishing mark of manhood till after the fall, and that the pain of shaving was thereupon inflicted on him and his posterity for ever; and the author of *Don Juan* seems to have been of the same opinion, for he says,—

"That ever since the fall, man for his sin
Has had a beard entailed upon his chin."

Like all the oriental nations, the Assyrians appear to have taken extreme care of the beard, which, to judge from the bas-reliefs from Nineveh, they allowed to grow long, and arranged in so regular a manner, that the representations of it might almost be regarded as merely conventional.

Without pausing to inquire whether the custom of shaving. "pollarding the chin top, top and top," was practised by the patriarchs, it will be sufficient to observe that it must have been known to Homer; for that blind old bard of the *Iliad* borrows some of the finest of his metaphors from the art; describing the fate of Troy as being *on the edge of a razor*.

In the *Psalms* we read of Aaron's beard; and the golden beard of Esculapius, the father of physic, is universally celebrated; so that it is not at all improbable that in those days it was a professional distinction with the priest and the

doctor to keep their chins unshorn, and hence might have arisen the proverb of the wisdom of the wig, and superior sanctity in a quantity of hair depending from the chin. The gods of the ancients are, with the exception of the "imper-bis Apollo," always represented with beards reaching to their breasts; and Thetis, we are told, in the first book of the *Iliad*, wishing to conciliate the great Jupiter, sat at his feet with one hand embracing his knees, and the other smoothing his flowing beard.

The custom of shaving appears to have varied considerably in different ages and countries, according to the caprice of fashion, the arbitrary will of sovereign princes, or the necessities of the climate; but the practice of abrasion, nevertheless, seems to have become more common as mankind have advanced in civilization. We are told by Cicero, that for some hundred years there were no barbers in Rome. Pliny and Varro inform us that the Romans did not begin to shave till the year of the city, 452, when Publius Ticinius Mena brought over barbers from Sicily. Scipio Africanus, Pliny adds, was the first Roman who shaved every day.

Speaking of the early Roman Kings, Juvenal tells us that they were proud of their long beards. And this reminds me of an anecdote I have heard, or read somewhere, of the good old King George the Third. It is said that the monarch, whose chin had remained unshorn for many years, was present at the chapel in Windsor, when the preacher by an unfortunate impediment in his speech, misread a sentence so as to make it appear "O Lord *shave* the King!" a *lapsus linguæ* which, of course, set the congregation into hysterics of well-bred laughter.

Few fashion have undergone greater mutations than those to which the hair and beard have been subject. With women long tresses—those natural jewels of the sex—have always been admired; but with men, the changes of dress, manners and language have been of less importance than the way of cutting their beards and trimming their locks. There was a time when

"'Twas merry in hall, where beards wagged all."

Whole nations have been named from their beards. The Tartars waged loud and bloody wars with the Persians, because they would not consent to cut their beards in the Turkish

fashion. The insult offered to the beards of the senators, decided the fate of ancient and imperial Rome, which fell before the swords of the barbarous unshaven and audacious Gauls. Beards were worn by the Greeks till the time of Alexander the Great, B.C. 330 ; by the Romans till the year B.C. 297 ; by the Jews, from the earliest period, till in A.D. 1066, when they were discontinued in this country. Peter the Great of Russia had such a horror of hair on the face, that he appointed officers to go about and cut off the beards of all those of his subjects who wore them above a foot and a half in length.

The fashion of the beard, we all know, is an interesting topic with the male sex, from the stripling of sixteen to the patriarch of sixty. Barbers have wielded the destinies of empires, taking their rulers by the chin ; and have sometimes been the greatest of tyrants. A ludicrous tale is told of our government in 1831, who, by the mouths of Lord Goderich and Howick, ordered an allowance of two razors per annum, for renovating the ebony chins of the West Indian negroes, a people without beards ; and Mr. Hume, in the House of Commons, publicly declared about that time, in opposition to the razor grant, that the best instrument of the kind he ever possessed, had been bought of a Jew boy some twelve years previously for a shilling. Alas ! for Sheffield, if all men found shilling razors last so long, and shave their epidermis so cleanly as did that belonging to the honorable member.

The ancient Indian philosophers, called gymnosophists, were solicitous to have long beards, which were considered symbolical of wisdom. The Assyrians and Persians also prided themselves on their long beard ; and St. Chrysostom informs us that the kings of Persia had their beards interwoven or netted with gold thread. The figures on the Babylonian cylinders are usually represented with beards, and those on the reliefs from Persepolis, in the British Museum. The first Etruscans wore a large long beard, pointed and turned up in front. Mercury was represented with this sort of beard. In the earlier times the Etruscans marked the hair of their statues like scales of fish, or in corkscrew curls. The hair and locks (says Winckelmann, the first great sculptor who treated the hair with care,) disposed *par etage* (in stories) are found without exception in all Etruscan figures. Aaron Hill, in his *Account of the Ottoman Empire*, published

in 1709, draws this distinction between the Persians and the Turks: "The Persians never shave the hair upon the upper lip; but cut and trim the beard upon their chin, according to the various forms their several fancies lead them to make choice of; whereas the Turks preserve with care a very long and spreading beard, esteeming the deficiency of that respected ornament a shameful mark of servile slavery."

The Chinese are said to affect long beards; but nature having denied their natural growth, they are sometimes supplied to the chin artificially.

Plutarch, in his life of Theseus, mentions, incidentally, that Alexander cut off the beards of the Macedonian soldiers, that they might not be used as handles by their enemies in battle; for nothing is so painful to the feelings as a tug at the beard.

The Greeks continued to shave the beard till the time of Justinian, under whom long beards came again into fashion, and so continued till the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453. The Greek philosophers usually made the beard a distinguishing feature in their appearance. Persius terms Socrates the bearded master (*magister barbatus*), and Prudentius bestows the same title of "*barbatus*" upon Plato. Adrian was the first of the Roman emperors who wore a beard. Plutarch says he wore it to hide a large wart and other scars in his face. The emperors who followed him continued to wear the beard.

An antiquarian writer has discovered that the custom of shaving off the beard, on the continent, was introduced by Peter Lombard, 1160. Innocent III. confirmed it with the monks at the Council of Lateran, in the year 1200; and the reason which induced the Council to make the injunction for shaving beards was, lest in the ceremony of receiving the Sacrament the beard might touch the bread and wine, or crumbs and drops fall and stick upon it.

The clergy, however, were averse to this change, and it appears that in France, from 1515 to 1547, Francis I. made the priests pay a large sum for wearing their beards.

The Christian priests seem to have adopted the custom of wearing beards from opposition to the heathen and Egyptian priests who shaved themselves.

Southey, in *The Doctor*, tell us of an insolent message sent by one of the early kings of North Wales to King Arthur. And this was his message—

“Gretyne wel Kynge Arthur in this manere wyse, sayenge, ‘that Kynge Ryons had discomfyte and overcome eleaven Kynges, and everyche of hern did hym homage, and that was this; they gaf hym their berdys clene flayne off, as moche as ther was; wherfor the messenger came for Kynge Arthur’s berd. For Kynge Ryons had purfyled a mantal with kynges berdes, and there lacked one place of the mantel, wherfor he sent for his berd, or els he wold entre in to his landes, and brenne and slee, and never leve tyl he have thi hede and thi berd.”

According to Hudibras, we should always

“Speak with respect and honour

Both of the beard and the beard’s owner.”

The Anglo-Saxons at their arrival in Britain, and for a considerable time after, wore beards. The Normans not only shaved their beards themselves, but when they became possessed of authority they obliged others to imitate their example. It is mentioned by some of our historians as one of the most wanton acts of tyranny in William the Conqueror, that he compelled the English (who had been accustomed to let the hair of their upper lips grow) to shave their whole beards; and this was so disagreeable to many of them, that they chose rather to abandon their country than to lose their whiskers. Ordericus Vitalis relates a curious anecdote of Henry I., submitting to lose his beard at the remonstrance and by the hands of Serlo, Archbishop of Sees.

In the higher classes of society the beard, in a greater or a less degree, was encouraged by the English for a series of centuries, as is evident from the sepulchral monuments of kings and chief nobility, and from portraits where they remain. Edward III. is represented upon his tomb at Westminster, with a beard which would have graced a philosopher. Stowe, in his Annals, under 1535, says, “The 8th of May the king (Henry VIII.) commanded all about his court to poll their heads, and to give them example he caused his own head to be polled, and from thenceforth his beard to be knotted and no more shaven.

The practice of wearing the beard continued to a late period, and the reader will readily call to recollection the portraits of Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, Cardinal Pole, and Bishop Gardiner, all ornamented with flowing beards, in the reign of Mary I. The commentators on Shakspeare show, that in the reign of Elizabeth beards of different cut were

appropriated to different characters and professions. The soldier had one fashion, the judge another, the bishop different from both. While the Churchman wore a long beard and moustaches that flowed on the breast, and was known as the *cathedral beard*, the soldier wore the *spade beard* and the *stiletto beard*, equally indicative of their calling. These beards were so called from their fancied resemblance to these weapons.

Malone has quoted an old ballad, inserted in a miscellany, entitled *Le Prince d'Amour*, in 1660, in which some of these forms are described and appropriated :—

"Now of beards there be
Such a companie,
Of fashions such a throng,
That it is very hard
To treat of the beard,
Though it be ne'er so long.

"The soldier's beard
Doth match in this herd
In figure like a spade,

With which he will make
His enemies quake
To think their grave is made.

"The stiletto beard,
O, it makes me afeard,
It is so sharp beneath :
For he that doth place
A dagger in his face,
What wears he in his sheath ?"

John Taylor, the Water-poet, in his *Whip of Pride*, also particularizes the fashions of the beard, &c., as they still continue to subsist in his day :—

"Now a few lines to paper I will put,
Of men's beards' strange and variably cut ;
In which there's some do take as vain a pride,
As almost in all other things beside,
Some are reap'd most substantial, like a brush,
Which makes a nat'ral wit known by the bush.
(And in my time of some men I have heard,
Whose wisdom have been only wealth and beard.)
Many of these the proverb well doth fit,
Which says, 'Bush natural, more hair than wit.'
Some seem as they were starched stiff and fine,
Like to the bristles of some angry swine ;
And some (to set their Love's desire on edge)
Are cut and pruned like to a quickset hedge.
Some like a spade, some like a fork. some square,
Some round, some mow'd like stubble, some stark bare,
Some sharp, stiletto-fashion, dagger-like,
That may with whispering, a man's eyes outpike ;
Some with the hammer-cut, or Roman T.
Their beards extravagant reform'd must be ;
Some with the quadrate, some triangle fashion,
Some circular, some oval in translation ;
Some perpendicular in longitude,
Some like a thicket for their crassitude.
That heights, depths, breadths, triform, square, oval, round,
And rules geometrical in beards are found.
Besides the upper lips strange variation,
Corrected from mutation to mutation ;
As 'twere from tithing unto tithing sent,
Pride gives to *pride* continual punishment,
Some (spite their teeth) like thatch'd eaves downward grows,
And some grow upwards in despite their nose ;
Some their moustaches of such length do keep,
That very well they may a manger sweep.
Which in beer, ale, or wine they drinking plunge,
And suck the liquor up as 'twere a sponge.

But 'tis a sloven's beastly pride, I think,
 To wash his beard, where other men must drink,
 And some (because they will not rob the cup)
 Their upper chaps like pothooks are turned up
 The barbers thus (like tailors) still must be
 Acquainted with each cut's variety."

William Rufus, the second Norman King of England, was so called for his red beard—it being common to give surnames in manhood from various peculiarities of person, and not as now by inheritance. The great hero of the East—the Nelson of the Turks, and the rival of Andrew Doria—Haireddin Pasha, better known by his noble title Barbarossa or Redbeard, acquired that name in manhood, as did Frederick the First of Germany, also surnamed Barbarossa; and who does not remember that tale of fearful interest wherein Bluebeard sacrificed so many fair maidens to his lust.

William Fitzosbert, or Longbeard, the great demagogue, reintroduced among the people, who claimed to be of Saxon origin, the fashion of long hair, in contra-distinction to the citizens and Normans, and, from wearing his own beard hanging down to the waist, obtained that name by which he is best known to posterity.

Jean Staminger, a citizen and counsellor of the magistracy of Brannan, upon the river Jura, in Upper Austria, who died Sept. 28, 1567, had a remarkably long beard, which reached to his feet, and rendered him an object of great attraction, especially to strangers.

Martin Van Butchell, father of the present Dr. Van Butchell, had a very long and fine beard, which reached beyond his waist.

The fashion of wearing a long beard, although banished by the Normans, gradually revived, and in the time of the Tudors we find the portraits of their great men all grim and warlike, with bristling hair and fierce moustache. A melancholy interest clings still to the venerable beard of old Sir Thomas More, who, when the executioner had already lifted high his axe to perform his deadly office, raised his weak hand from the block, exclaiming, "Wait, my friend, till I have put aside my beard; *that* has committed no treason." And again there is a story told of the gallant, but unfortunate, Sir Walter Raleigh, who, when the barber visited him in the Tower to trim his beard, said gently to him, "Desist, dear sir; there is a lawsuit pending between

the king and me about this head, and I don't wish to lay out any capital upon it till the cause is tried."

It was the custom of old to color the beard and whiskers artificially, either for disguise or foppery ; softness in love, or ferocity in war. Arrian alludes to it, and states " that the people of India daub their beards white, red, purple and green."

In former times as much pains were bestowed on dressing the beard, as in later ones upon dressing the hair. Sometimes, as we have seen, it was braided with threads of gold. It was dyed to all colors, according to the mode, and cut to all shapes.

In Lodowick Barry's comedy of *Ram Alley*, 1611, one of the characters asks " What colored beard comes next my window ?" receiving for answer, " A black man's, I think." To which comes the response, " I think a red, for that is most in fashion." In Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman*, the barber exclaims, " I have fitted my divine and canonist, dyed their beards and all."

The church never showed itself so great an enemy to the beard as to long hair on the head. It generally allowed fashion to take its own course, both with regard to the chin and the upper lip. This fashion varied continually ; for we find that in little more than a century after the time of Richard I., when beards were short, that they had again become so long as to be mentioned in the famous epigram made by the Scots, who visited London in 1327, which ran as follows ;—

" Long beards, heartlesse ;
Painted hooes, witlesse ;
Grey coats, gracelesse ;
Makes England thriftlesse."

When the Emperor Charles V. ascended the throne of Spain, being only 16, he had no beard. It was not to be expected that the obsequious parasites who always surround a monarch could presume to look more virile than their master. Immediately all the courtiers appeared beardless, with the exception of such few grave old men as had outgrown the influence of fashion, and who had determined to die bearded as they had lived. Sober people, in general, saw this revolution with sorrow and alarm, and thought that every manly virtue would be banished with the beard. It became at the time a common saying, " We have no

longer souls since we have lost our beards." In the latter part of his reign the beard was again revived, and he appears on his medal with a flowing beard.

In France the beard fell into disrepute after the death of Henry IV., from the mere reason that his successor, Louis XIII., was too young to have one. Some of the more immediate friends of the great Béarnais, and his minister Sully among the rest, refused to part with their beards, notwithstanding the jeers of the new generation.

The beard now gradually declined, and the court of Charles I. was the last in which even a small one was cherished. After the restoration of King Charles II. moustaches or whiskers continued, but the rest of the face was shaven; and in a short time the process of shaving the entire face became universal.

In Russia it continued somewhat longer. Butler, in his "Hudibras" alludes to the beard "cut square by the Russian standard;" which Grey illustrates by the following extract from *The Northern Worthies, or the Lives of Peter the Great and his illustrious consort Catherine*.—(London, 1728).

"Dr. Giles Fletcher, in his *Treatise of Russia*, observes, that the Russian nobility and gentry, accounting it a grace to be somewhat gross and bushy, they therefore nourished and spread their beards to have them long and broad. This fashion continued among them till the time of the Czar, Peter the Great, who compelled them to part with these ornaments, sometimes by laying a swinging tax upon them, and at others by ordering those he found with beards to have them pulled up by the roots, or shaved with a blunt razor, which drew the skin after it, and by these means scarce a beard was left in the kingdom at his death; but such a veneration had this people for these ensigns of gravity, that many of them carefully preserved their beards in their cabinets, to be buried with them, imagining, perhaps, that they should make but an odd figure in the grave with their naked chins. The Emperor Peter set about this reform in 1705. A certain time was given that the people might get over the first throes of their repugnance, after which every man who chose to retain his beard was to pay a tax of one hundred roubles. The priests and the serfs were put upon a lower footing, and allowed to retain theirs upon a payment of a cobeck every time they passed the gate of a city. For many years a very considerable revenue was collected from this source. The collectors gave in receipt for its payment a small copper coin, struck expressly for this purpose, and called 'the bearded.' On one side it bore the figure of a nose, mouth and moustaches, with a long bushy beard, surmounted by the words 'money received;' the whole encircled by a wreath, and stamped with the black eagle of Russia. On the reverse it bore the date of the year. Every man who chose to

wear a beard was obliged to produce this receipt on his entry into a town. Those who were refractory and refused to pay the tax were thrown into prison.”*

As the hair began to be worn shortened, the beard was allowed to flow. Indeed this compensatory process has always obtained; in no age were the hair and beard allowed to grow long at the same time.

Shakspeare was constantly alluding to the beard. In his day this term included the three more modern subdivisions of beard, moustache, and whisker—they were all then worn in one. “Did he not wear a great round beard, like a glover’s paring-knife?” asks one of his characters, clearly alluding to the extent of cheek it covered, and which was a common fashion with military men during the reign of Henry VIII. It looked sufficiently formidable, and took least trouble in trimming and dressing. In *Henry the Fifth*, act 3, sc. 6, Shakspeare makes Gower exclaim, “What a beard of the general’s cut, and a horrid suit of the camp, will do among foaming bottles and ale-washed wits, is wonderful to be thought on!” In a word, the period, *par excellence*, of magnificent barbes comprised the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century.

With the renewed triumph of long hair, the beard gradually shrank up; first assuming a forked appearance, then dwindling to a peak, and ultimately vanishing altogether.

Although we are told that the fashion of smooth faces “came in with the Conqueror,” like so many noble families, yet it must be understood that it was principally popular with courtiers and rich men; for by reference to Fairholt’s *English Costumes*, we find that the aged, the unfashionable, and the lovers of old customs still delighted for many years in beards and whiskers of formidable dimensions—the square, the Franklin, the forked, the curly and the corkscrew. In the *Canterbury Tales*, we are told:—

“A merchant there was with a forked beard.”

In the course of time, we read of knights with “golden curls” about their faces, a sure sign of Saxon blood and lineage; and of some bucks who wore their moustaches curled in a manner so unique as almost to rival the splendid beards of the Ninevites, who appear, by the relics recently imported by Mr. Layard, to have paid particular attention to their facial ornaments.

* See Mackay’s *Popular Delusions*.

In the play of *Time's Metamorphoses*, by T. Middleton, (1596), we have a further evidence of the mutability of fashion in this respect; for we find one of the characters asking of another, "Why dost thou wear this beard; 'tis clean gone out of fashion?" And by a note to Grey's *Hudibras*, we learn that so curious were the gallants of the day in the management of their beards, that they put them in paste-board boxes when they went to bed, for fear they should turn in the night, and so disarrange them! Comb and beard-brushes were as common then as now; and Holinshed tells us that the dandies of his day spent hours in the arrangement of their beards and whiskers. In Lely's *Midas*, we have a barber instructing his apprentice in the manner of trimming the beards of his customers, from those who wore them "like a spade or a bodkin," to those who had them "hang down like the goat's flakes!"

Some of the learned in curious trifles have spared no pains to record the changes that took place in the fashion of the beard. Hotoman wrote a treatise expressly on the beard, entitled *Pogonias*, first printed at Leyden, in 1586, and, which on account of its rarity, was reprinted at length by Pitiscus in his *Lexicon*. In Bulwer's *Anthropomorphosis, or Artificial Changeling*, is a whole chapter "On the opinion and practice of diverse nations concerning the natural ensigns of manhood appearing about the mouth," quoted from innumerable authors, ancient and modern.

Various nations still cultivate and preserve the beard with scrupulous attention. To cut off the beard was esteemed infamous, and particularly disgraceful among the Jews.

It is so at this day among many Eastern nations. The Mahometans, by whom it is suffered to grow long, and is regarded as a mark of honour, consider it as a distinguished ornament, and their beards not unfrequently reach to their waist. They would resent as an indignity any insult offered to the beard.

The Turks are highly affronted if one even threatens to shave their beard. Aurengzebe, the Emperor of the Moguls, in the last century, terribly revenged the shaving of his ambassador's beard, on the Sophi of Persia. With the Lacedæmonians, the punishment of fugitives from the field of battle was to have their beards half shaved. We may there-

fore conceive the height of the contemptuous indignity offered to the ambassadors of David by Hanun (2 Samuel, x. v. 4.) Many people would prefer death to this kind of treatment.

The Arab makes the preservation of the beard a capital point of religion, because Mahomet never cut off his ; and with them, as with the Turks, the beard is a token of authority and liberty. They consider the beard the perfection of the human face, which, in their opinion, would be more disfigured by its loss than by that of the nose. To kiss the beard is the prevalent and respectful mode of salutation by wives, children and friends.

Mr. J. A. St. John, in his *Isis, an Egyptian Pilgrimage*, states as follows :—

“ When I arrived at Thebes I had one of the handsomest beards in the world, black as jet, and descending in curls and waves over my breast. This was a great recommendation to me among the Arabs, and I fear I must attribute to it much of the influence I possessed over them. Often and often, while passing along the streets of Gournou, Karnak, and Luxor, the women and the old men, as they sat on the stone mastabak beside their doors, would exclaim to each other, ‘ Wallah, by God, has not he a beard ! ’ ”

The late Sir John Malcolm, in his very interesting *Sketches of Persia*, gives a curious gossiping account of the estimation in which barbers are held in that country, and the wealth which they frequently obtain. Their skill in shaving the heads and trimming the beards of kings and nobles, though highly prized, is subordinate to that which they display as attendants at the warm bath. It is on their superior address in rubbing, pinching, joint-cracking, and cleansing the human frame at the Hummums, that their fame is established. The luxury of the bath in Persia is enjoyed by all, from the highest to the lowest. Among the various attendants, the man of most consequence is the *dellák*, or barber. For he who has the honor to bathe and shave a king, must not only be perfect in his art, but also a man altogether trustworthy ; and confidence amongst eastern rulers is usually followed by favor, and with favor comes fortune. This accounts for barbers building public bridges in Persia !

“ I was one day (says Sir John) speaking to my friend Meerza Aga of the munificence of the barber of the great Abbas, in a manner

which implied doubt of the fact. He observed, he knew not whether the barbers of the Seffavean monarchs built bridges, but 'I do know', he said, 'that the Khâsterâsh (literally, personal shaver) of our present sovereign, in the abundance of his wealth, built a palace for himself close to the royal bath at Teheran. Then,' said the good Meerza, 'he is entitled to riches, for he is a man of pre-eminent excellence in his art, and has had for a long period under his special care the magnificent beard of his majesty, which is at this moment, and has been for years, the pride of Persia.'

'Well,' I replied, 'if your personal shaver has built such a mansion, I will no longer doubt the wealth of the barber of Shah Abbas, for that monarch, though he wore no beard, had, we are told by travellers and observe from paintings, a noble pair of moustaches, of which he is said to have been very proud; and the trimmer of which no doubt, was, as he deserved to be, a great favorite.'

"This conversation led to a long dissertation on moustaches and beards, upon which subject my travels to countries that my Persian friends had never seen, enabled me to give them much useful information. I told them many stories about the Sikhs, a nation dwelling between the territories of Cabul and India, who devoting their beards and whiskers to the Goddess of Destruction, are always prompt to destroy any one who meddles with them; and who, from a combined feeling of religion and honour, look upon the preservation of life itself as slight, in comparison with the preservation of a hair of these beards.

"I next informed them how beards, whiskers, and moustaches were once honoured in Europe. I told them an anecdote of the great John de Castro, a former Governor of Goa, the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India. He being in want of a considerable loan from the citizens of Goa, for a military expedition, was at a loss for an adequate security.* His first intention was to pledge the bones of his gallant son Don Fernando, who had recently fallen in battle; but finding, on opening the grave, that the carcase was putrid, he offered, as next dear to his personal honor, a lock of his cherished moustaches. This security was accepted; but immediately returned with more than the amount required, young and old vying with each other who should show most respect to so valuable a pledge.

"The Persians of my audience twisted their moustaches with a combined feeling of pleasure and pride on hearing this testimony to the value of that ornament of the visage; and Khan Sahib, who was one of the party, said to me with a smile, 'You gentlemen with the mission wear moustaches in compliance with the prejudices of the Persians; but is it true that many officers of your cavalry now wear them, and that they are again likely to become popular in England?' I said, perhaps they might; adding, I had no doubt that would be the case, if there appeared the slightest chance of their ever turning to account in the money market like those of John de Castro."

* These facts are mentioned in the introduction to Mickle's translation of the "Lusiad."

A Grand Vizier of Constantinople is also reported to have once borrowed a large sum of money on the security of his beard and whiskers ; and such was the faith of his creditors in the honor of a beard, that it is said they were content to visit their debtor occasionally, to see that their security was safely growing curly on his face.

“ It is,” says D’Arvieux, who has devoted a chapter to the exposition of the sentiments of the Arabs in regard to the *beard*, “ a greater mark of infamy in Arabia to cut a man’s beard off, than it is with us to whip a fellow at the cart’s tail, or to burn him in the hand. Many people in that country would rather die than incur that punishment. I saw an Arab who had received a musket shot in the jaw, and who was determined rather to perish than to allow the surgeon to cut his beard off to dress his wound. His resolution was at length overcome; but not until the wound was beginning to gangrene. He never allowed himself to be seen while his beard was off; and when at last he got abroad, he went always with his face covered with a black veil, that he might not be seen without a beard; and this he did till his beard had grown again into a considerable length.”

Burckhardt also remarks, that the Arabs who have from any cause had the misfortune to lose their beard, invariably conceal themselves from view until their beard has grown again.

To cut off the tail of a Chinese is in use as a national punishment. The Parsees are always shaven all over the head, and should he chance to remove his skull-cap (or indoor covering), the Parsee always places his hand on his crown, as if in shame of his bare head, and keeps it there till his cap is replaced.

In an article in the *Quarterly Review*, some eight years ago, mention was made of the Hon. Mrs. Dawson Damer having requested a lock of Mehemet Ali’s hair, to place in a collection which already boasted the hair of Nelson, Napoleon, and Wellington, when she was gallantly informed by the Pacha, that in his will he would request his son Ibrahim Pacha to present her with his *beard*.

Swearing by the beard of the Prophet is the Mussulman form of oath. Nearly all of the inhabitants of Schinde, whether Mussulmen or Hindoos, wear beards, which they often dye of a red colour.

Before the revolution of 1830, neither the French nor Belgian citizens were remarkable for their moustaches; but after that event there was hardly a shopkeeper either in

Paris or Brussels whose upper lip did not suddenly become hairy with real or mock moustaches. During a temporary triumph gained by the Dutch soldiers over the citizens of Louvain, in October, 1830, it became a standing joke against the patriots, that they shaved their faces clean immediately; and the wits of the Dutch army asserted that they had gathered moustaches enough from the denuded lips of the Belgians to stuff mattresses for the sick and wounded in their hospital.

An amusing anecdote has lately been current in Germany. The authorities of Vienna have not, until very recently, attacked the beards of men, but a lady of high rank some time since made an unsuccessful attempt to induce about fifty servants of her guests to sacrifice the hirsute honors of their upper lips. The lady in question, the wife of the reigning Prince Adolphus Schwarzenburg, gave a grand ball, at which the *crème* of the Austrian nobility was present. As is customary on such occasions, the friends and acquaintances of the lady of the house permitted their valets to wait on the guests during the entertainment. The illustrious lady, who, in the matter of festivities, leads the fashion there, ordered that the servants should have their hair powdered. Now, as immense black, brown, or red moustaches do not exactly harmonize with white pericraniums, five florins (10s.) were offered to each of the gentlemen's gentlemen who would sacrifice his cherished *schnurrbart*. Need I say that the lady kept her money, and the men their moustaches.

A facetious writer in the *Quarterly Review*, asserts that a mutton chop seems to have suggested the form of a substantial British whisker. Out of this simple design countless varieties of forms have arisen. British whiskers, in truth, have grown up like all the great institutions of the country, noiselessly and persistently—an outward expression, as the Germans would say, of the inner life of the people; the general idea, allowing of infinite variety according to their individuality of the wearer. Let us take the next half-dozen men passing by the window as we write. The first has his whiskers tucked into the corners of his month, as though he were holding them up with his teeth. The second whisker that we descry has wandered into the middle of the cheek, and there stopped, as though

it did not know where to go to, like a youth who has ventured out into the middle of a ball-room with all eyes upon him. Yonder bunch of bristles twists the contrary way, under the owner's ears; he could not, for the life of him, tell why it retrograded so. The fourth citizen, with the vast Pacific of a face, has little whiskers, which seemed to have stopped short after two inches of voyage, as though aghast at the prospect of having to double such a Cape Horn of a chin. We perceive coming a tremendous pair, running over the shirt collar in luxuriant profusion. Yet, we see, as the Colonel or General takes off his hat to that lady, that he is quite bald—those whiskers are, in fact, nothing but a tremendous land-slip, from the veteran's head.

ART. V.—XAVIER DE RAVIGNAN.

Le Père De Ravignan, Sa Vie, Ses Œuvres ; par M. Poujoulat.
Paris, Charles Douniol, 1859.

To readers of English works of fiction published during the past eighty years, it must be a puzzle to guess whence could have come all the evil disposed Jesuits, plotting and doing every sort of mischief through the well or ill-written pages in question. *Waverley* and his brothers wrought an improvement in the world of imaginative prose, but the quasi evil-disposed disciples of Ignatius still retained their bad eminence, and wrought all the evil in their power to *Sir Reginald Montfort* and *Lady Alicia* as in times past. Catholic Emancipation is at last obtained ; the persons and principles of Catholics, lay and cleric, are better known and understood ; melo-dramatic villains and deep-designing knaves will be sought for in other places as well as in the cell and the confessional !—By no means. Our living writers still resort to the same haunts for their disreputable characters, as the cotemporaries of *Bridget Bluemantle* or the now-unknown author of "*Says she to her Neighbour, WHAT !*"

Since the epoch of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, the crop has been more prolific than ever ; and publishers find it profitable to resuscitate even such wretched productions as the *Lollards* or the *Monks of Leadenhall*, for though the Jesuits themselves were unborn when Prince Hal took purses, their dead and buried relations, the monks and friars, were all alive, and prompt for evil doings.

What deduction could be strictly drawn from the contemplation of this mighty, many-sided mass of fleeting literature, if it gave anything like a true reflection of the state of society either of past or present times ? merely this :—Only for the supernatural strength, wisdom, goodness, and omnipresence of certain Gipsies, madmen, outlaws, and brigands, all the venerable gentry and aged widows for eight centuries would have been deprived of their little property, the minors reduced to beggary on coming to age, young gentlemen on the eve of the wedding day, killed by ambushed parties, and their shrieking or fainting lady-loves carried away before their

dying eyes ; and all done by the contrivance of diabolical minded, scowling fiends in soutanes and shovel hats. How the frame work of society has held together under such a dispensation, is not easy to conceive, nor have the romancers deigned to offer any explanation of the problem.

Let us be allowed to imagine a not very improbable case under these circumstances. A country recluse, deriving his information, from the authorities that rule in circulating libraries, entertains a heartfelt conviction that all the evils that now plague humanity, were hatched in the Old Castle of Loyola, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees. He has never seen a live Jesuit, and the Parish Priest and Curate in his neighbourhood do not resemble in the least particular, such pictures as he finds scattered through his favorite works of reference. He finds their time occupied in the ordinary duties of spiritual shepherds, set over a sincere though wayward and excitable flock, but he knows from the information given in *Father Eustace*, *The Lady and the Priest*, *Beatrice or the Unknown Relatives*, *The Convict*, *Devereux*, *The Bosom Friend*, *Aspen Court*,* and other trust-worthy productions, that such monsters are to be found ; and he feels a conviction that it is his mission to discover and unmask them before the eyes of a careless and too trusting generation. Hearing that the Irish Metropolis is kept in terror by a body of strong, dark-coated young men, whose hats are distinguished by a rim of glazed leather, and who, though supported by the negligent British Government, are the secret spies and devoted champions of its implacable foe, he takes a second class ticket, and is found on the evening of the same day in Mountjoy square west, making marked enquiries concerning the morals and habitudes of the inmates of a house in its neighbourhood. He will not be put off with vague or equivocating information : his enquiries will go to the marrow of the matter, his eyes will pierce mill stones, or granite walls just as opaque ; and if necessary, he will aid the

* Honorable exception from the animus of the above named works, must be made in favour of *The Young Duke*, *Henrietta Temple*, *Coningsby*, *Sybil*, and other productions of their author, who with his eyes fully open to the expediency of flattering the public prejudice, has sought his most estimable characters, and most pleasing social pictures among the old Catholic families of England. Whatever may be said of his political articles or parliamentary speeches, his novels have *not* pandered to a vitiated taste in the public.

sun at noon day by a forty-gas lamp power, not to find an honest man, but a triple-dyed hypocrite. He consults respectable heads of families, police and car men, basket women and ragged little boys. He visits the church in Gardiner st., examines the interior of the dwelling house, and is no nearer to the expected discovery than when he left home. He finds that the young ladies and gentlemen who are regular in their attendance at the confessional, give more pleasure to their parents, and better example to the world abroad; that the attending heads of families discharge their duties more lovingly and effectually to each other, and to their children; that the cabman grumbles less when offered his legal fare, and seldom extorts an extra six-pence from the *Unprotected Female* in Dublin; that the policeman, when anger-provoking spirits disturb the public peace, does his necessary spiriting as gently as the case permits; and that the barefoot children grow up into well conducted men and women, and are officially ignored at Green st. and Grange Gorman.

Taking a *precis* of the ordinary daily existence of the subject for whom his quest was made, he finds him after an early rising and morning prayer, celebrating a timely Mass for the spiritual comfort of labourers, and little shopkeepers, and habitually devout citizens, and spending hours in his confessional, administering comfort to the over laden and contrite, advice to the perplexed, and knowledge to the ignorant; and occupying his remaining time in devotional exercises, and giving sound instructions either secular or theological, to the youth confided to his care. He finds frugality prevailing in his repasts, and in the modest furniture of his apartment, and himself without personal property; and he says, "why should a man devise evil to his neighbour, and commit infamous acts, merely for the privilege of enjoying this life of labour, of privation, and of non-enjoyment as far as can be seen?" Perhaps after all, Miss Sinclair, Mrs. Trollope, Mrs. Maberly, Mr. Shirley Brooks, Mr. James, and Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, have not made as conscientious a perquisition as myself into the matter, and are therefore not to be trusted as truthful guides.

"However, as Ireland furnishes perhaps the best phases of Christian life, Catholic and Protestant, in the world, and that each party naturally wishes to appear well in the eyes of the other, it is not to be wondered, if Jesuitism should also present its fairest aspect in this favored corner. Let me then

examine the continent where *Mrs. Grundy's* name is less terrible. Look at the mound of the abominations of the system piled up by that model of purity, philanthropy, and truth-telling, Eugene Sue. I will not, however, blindly trust to his guidance. I will look with my own eyes on the social aspect of Paris, see whether it is affected for the better or worse by the influence of the '*Parti Prêtre*,' and like a free and conscientious Protestant, draw my own conclusions."

After a suitable time spent in that Vanity Fair, our wanderer in search of Miss Sinclair's Jesuit, sets out on his return with the conviction, that only for the incessant, untiring, loving, unselfish, heaven-inspired, and heaven-supported efforts of the clergy, regular and secular, France would at this day present a frightful picture of unbelief or antinomianism; men, women, and children would be governed by the mere impulses of sensuality and selfishness; and if any images were set up in the public places in honor of the influences that rule the land, they would be those of VENUS, BACCHUS, and MERCURY.

On quitting Paris, he procures the work about which we are at present concerned, peruses it carefully on his homeward journey, considers the natural results of the spirit and discipline of the system, acting on a well disposed novice, and begins to look on the members of the society in the light of the life-guardians on the Serpentine when the strength of the ice is problematic. He is at present occupied in aiding the Catholic and Protestant clergymen of his parish in works of practical good, irrespective of the peculiar tenets of those for whom the good is to be done, in diminishing party prejudices, and in promoting good feelings to each other among those neighbours of his, who take different paths to their houses of worship on Sunday.

Our biographer M. Poujoulat has evidently undertaken a labour of love: he scarcely leaves unrecorded any incident, in the infancy or youth of his beloved subject that came to his knowledge. The length of the work, 534 pages 8vo., and our limited space, cause the omission of much that we should otherwise wish to retain, and make the choice of selection an embarrassing matter. For reasons which the reader will comprehend before he has done with us, we commence our extracts at page 101.

"People often ask with profound surprise, how it is that the order of Jesuits has excited more prejudice and hatred, and become the object of more persevering attacks than all the other religious orders

taken in a body ; they look on the fact as an incomprehensible mystery. On considering from a near point of view the existence of the Jesuits, the date of their first appearance, and the battle fields on which history finds them engaged, this exceptional hatred seems easy of explanation.

“ The Jesuits arose at a time when the greatest hatred prevailed against the Catholic Church, namely the epoch of the breaking forth of Protestantism ; and as they at once took up arms against the new-born foe, they were consequently detested. At a later date the companions of Jesus found themselves face to face with another enemy. They distinguished themselves as the firmest opponents of Jansenism ; they had to sustain the shock of the united forces of Port Royal and the Parliaments ; they had enemies in the magistracy as well as in the ranks of genius, two powers the more redoubtable, as being recommended to public estimation by virtue. In the controversy of the Five Propositions it was not easy for the public to distinguish with which side rested the correct theological principle. That which they best comprehended in the debate was what furnished them amusement ; and it so happened that comic entertainment and eloquent raillery at the expense of the Jesuits, gushed forth in exhaustless flow out of that immortal lie, *Les Provinciales*.

“ The Jesuits not only defended Catholic Truth against Luther and Jansenius ; they defended Religion in its essence, in its fundamental principles, in its works : their pens and tongues were employed in the service of those doctrines, which ensured the repose and the duration of governments. Instructors of youth, they implanted in the hearts of rising generations, religious and social truths ; and thus it was, that their work ceased not with the passing hour, but also embraced the future. This was the vanguard, the valiant phalanx, which it was necessary to get rid of, when in the eighteenth century a vast conspiracy under the name of Philosophy, was organised against Christianity. A campaign of calumny was opened by the same agency against the Jesuits : it was an essential point in the programme of hostilities.

“ If despite our long sufferings from which light and justice were at last to issue, public feeling has not thoroughly reconciled to itself the idea of Jesuitism, we can only see therein, the deep traces of former hostilities ; it is a proof of the breadth of the wound inflicted on our faith. For three hundred years, religion and authority have been vehemently assailed, and for these three hundred years the Jesuits have upheld religion and authority. They have been the devoted objects of deeper animosity and outrage than all the other champions of truth on the earth, because the world has been kept in amaze at the immensity of their labours, in the centre of which the martyr's purple is conspicuous. This hatred of the Jesuits is cotemporary with that revolution in Europe, which dates from the great war of the sixteenth century against the Papacy. They belong to no party, and accommodate themselves, as Catholicism itself does, to all forms of government among nations ; but their spirit, which is imbued with the virtue of obedience, still sympathises with authority. They love it, for it is at once the essential condition, and the visible exponent

of order ; and order here below, is an image of that higher harmony where the glory of God himself is unveiled. It is not surprising that in our days worthy people retain prejudices against the Jesuits, because the most honorable, and even the most distinguished spirits sometimes take judgments on trust, and do not give themselves time to go to the bottom of historical research, but the simply bad will never be the friends of the Order.

“ If the company of Saint Ignatius was such as the Parliament of Paris represents it in the unfortunate decree of 1762, if all the abominations ascribed formed a portion of the instruction given by the Jesuits, impiety and revolt would have paid them devoted worship.

“ In a life merely contemplative, or devoted to study in the cloister, the Jesuits had lived in peace ; they would have encountered on their way none but the ordinary trials reserved for every Catholic institution : but they formed a militant body ; they were above all, men of apostolic action, sent against the powers of error and evil ; they ceaselessly offered battle under the Christian banner ; the most glorious portion of their destiny was exposure to assault. Saint Augustin has indicated to us the two cities, whose strife shall only end with time itself. Nothing can be more natural than the storms which form the staple of the history of the Society of Jesus ; that history is the history of truth and opinion in Europe for three centuries.

“ A nation which has strayed from God, must either return or perish. It was the will of Providence that France should be preserved ; it was God's good pleasure to use it as an instrument for the accomplishment of his eternal purposes. Thus it happened, that after those days when guilty follies drove Him from the temples, as they would have driven Him from Heaven if they could, the days of renovation returned. The *low murmur of impiety* which Fenelon had heard, became in the eighteenth century a tempest, and the tempest was now appeased. A deep felt need of religion sprung from the midst of the ruins ; impiety appeared in its true aspect, exhibiting its immense ravages and its bloody fruits. Crime had followed as the natural consequence of principles established with such levity and rashness ; there had been enough of horrors, of ruins, of untimely graves. France astonished by all that had been destroyed in ten years, and wearied with the weight of life without faith, eagerly demanded once more the worship of their forefathers, priests and altars. Then the man whose sword was in the ascendant, hearkened to this vast sigh of a reviving land, and had the courage to respond to it, notwithstanding the ignorant and low bred oppositions of those about him. The First Consul foresaw an additional strength conferred on his authority by a return to the Catholic Faith. He acquired both advantage and honour from the opening of the churches.

“ But if general opinion tended towards Christianity, and laid claim to it as to a long lost possession, there was greater interest exhibited for its recollections than its lights. People were glad to recover their church through a social, conservative, and patriotic instinct, but they knew nothing, or next to nothing, of religion. They had forgotten its benefits and its mighty works, its divine superiority over

every institution raised by the hand of man, and the affecting and sublime poetry of its ceremonies and its festivals. It was necessary to strike a great blow in the kingdom of thought; a work was to be achieved, not by dint of reasonings and demonstrations, but by the double power which attracts and subjects, which induces reverie and thought, which exalts, animates, and colors everything; viz. imagination and style. It now behoved to rouse admiration for what would have only excited contempt in the eighteenth century. A brilliant writer, a great painter, was found to perform the task.

"A young French noble, an exile and wanderer, who at the outset of life, had seldom thought on religion, learned at last to know God, in the midst of the forests and the immense landscapes of the New World. No one returns in an impious frame of mind from scenes of solitude. Himself has said, 'woe to the traveller, who after making the tour of the world, has re-entered, an unbeliever, under the roof of his ancestors!' Having diligently sought his vocation, M. de Chateaubriand found it in Christianity. His book appeared at an hour the most favourable, the best chosen; it was the most brilliant and happy coincidence in the world of literature. Whoever has intimately studied the history of the human race, is well aware of the important part played by imagination among its various tribes: to despise it would be to exhibit ignorance in the art of governing men. You have done much for some great object, when you have associated it to the imagination. The book of M. Chateaubriand, rendered that service to Christianity: it will endure as marking an epoch. Look not into it for a studied vigorous theology, for profound philosophy, extensive learning, the exuberant riches of the fathers of the church; but consult it for whatever can be expected from sentiment and rich coloring.

"At the distance of more than half a century, and to us who may be already considered as posterity, this work cannot be accepted as admirable in every point of view. It still sustains its pristine reputation in the descriptive and critical portions; the mere Christian tableaux, in which we are conscious of laboured art, and a deficiency in the 'natural,' have faded to some extent. If in our days an attentive perusal of the '*Genius of Christianity*' is less fertile in enchantments, there are still found, and always will be found, real and new beauties, beauties of a high order, which belong peculiarly to M. de Chateaubriand. They bear the striking impress of one of the most powerful minds that have ever enriched French literature. Even his defects have a certain character which leaves much to the excursions of fancy; they are fleeting clouds whose motions the mind loves to follow. The '*Genius of Christianity*' attained its object amid enthusiastic acclamation. We may be permitted to doubt whether any one was converted, and went to confession after reading it; but at all events, he might now go to Mass, without pulling his hat over his eyes.

"Imagination was won over to the profit of the Christian religion, but reason waited for something more. People still longed, but they also desired to be instructed, and to be able to render a reason for their faith to a certain limit. Objections against the existence of

God, and against Christianity, lingered everywhere, and had acquired a certain status in the habits of the time. It was necessary to put to silence the common places of incredulity, whose echo was still noisily prolonged in books and academies; and to undertake with this view the guidance of the new generations: the accomplishment of this work of an apostle was reserved for M. Frayssinous.

"When we look back after being borne forward on the tide of years, how many things are recollected, about which complaisance or passion made great noise, and of which nothing whatever remains! The memory of M. Frayssinous has risen and expanded over the dust of many a name, which once thought itself immortal. And as the works of man require to be seen, like monuments, from a distance, the labours of M. Frayssinous, after a lapse of forty or fifty years, now appear in their true grandeur.

"From the year 1801, we find him at the church of *Les Carmes*, where he became a catechist, to make known the principles of religion. M. l'Abbé Michel Clausel de Coussergues presented the objections, M. Frayssinous answered them. What a novelty in this Paris, which for ten years, had ignored Christianity! The great interest felt by the auditors, was a sufficient proof that they wished at last to emerge from the cavern of evil, the abode of every crime and every error. It was most consoling to see instruction in the Christian Faith, revived in the same place, where some years before, it had been sealed by the blood of martyrs. In 1803, M. Frayssinous was permitted to establish his conferences at Saint Sulpice, then restored to Catholic worship. At first, he contented himself with the building called the German Chapel, afterwards he made use of the church itself. It was on the 4th of January, 1807, that M. Frayssinous presented himself before this numerous audience. A brilliant assembly crowded into the vast enclosure; Cardinal Maury and the Minister Portalis, were there; the impression made was profound, the success immense. In 1809, Napoleon heaped persecutions on the illustrious and holy Pontiff, Pius VII.; it was only to be expected that he would impose silence on the conferencier of Saint Sulpice. The return of the Bourbons in 1814 again restored freedom of speech to M. Frayssinous, who continued the good work till 1822.

"Obliged to be an apologist for more than twenty years, M. Frayssinous chiefly addressed a congregation, whose cradle had rested between the temple of Reason and the scaffold. The auditors of the commencement of the century had forgotten their Christian Doctrine, his auditors of the Restoration had never learned it. From 1814 to 1822, he saw before him a youthful crowd, attracted by every thing great, desirous to raise itself to the knowledge of truth, and rejecting by an instinct of honor and moral dignity, the grovelling doctrines of the preceding century. What a delightful and befitting mission for this fervent apostle of reviving religion! M. Frayssinous was the instructor of a great number of young men, who were one day to possess considerable influence in their country; he was the lamp of their souls, and after divine grace, the father of their faith. He gave an impulsive movement to intelligence, excited courage, inspired generous designs. To him, in a great degree, is due the honor of the

religious good effected under the Restoration, in spite of the hail storm of daily attacks from an anti-Catholic press. To him is due the honor of having sown in the hearts of his young hearers, so many good seeds destined to spring up at the proper time, and to have restored and kept up the Christian tradition in families.

“ When M. Frayssinous took his place in the pulpit, he had to prove everything, even the existence of God, for men had made it a point of honor to convince themselves and others, that they were orphans, and had been so from eternity. The new situation required a new kind of discourse. He had not to address Christians, but those who were strangers to the very elementary principles of religion and philosophy: it was necessary to stoop to the level of the intelligences of his auditory. M. Frayssinous comprehended this at once. It was a sad thing to be obliged to plead the cause of religion before children, as the Tertullians and Origenes of former days before Jews and Pagans ; but it was incumbent to meet the necessities of the time. He was obliged to establish the impotency of human reason to recognize the truth, and the philosophical advantages of an absolute scepticism. The conferencier of Saint Sulpice demonstrated that we were created for truth, that there are primary truths, and truths of deduction, and that we are furnished with the means of attaining them. And as the desire for truth does not absolutely prevent our being deceived, the orator searched out the cause of these errors. He proved the existence of God by the universal faith of the human race, and by the order and beauties of nature, and trod in the dust the arguments of Atheism. Providence in the moral order, the spirituality of the soul, natural law, free will and the immortality of the soul, formed in succession the subjects of the conferences. He established the dogma of man owing worship to the Divinity, and that this worship ought to be exterior and public. He established religious principles as the foundations of morality and society, discussed the value of cotemporary testimony, and the question of miracles, examined the books of Moses and the Gospels, and proved a divine foundation in the establishment of Christianity. Then, penetrating to the profound depths of religion, the orator contemplated its mysteries, the fitness and utility of which he lucidly exhibited. He cleared religion of ill-founded accusations, of calumnies so often re-produced, of wilfully false and hostile inventions, and re-established the precise theological truth in disputed points ; he shewed the social power of the Catholic doctrine, and saw in it alone, the solid elements of the greatness, the peace, and the future of France.

“ It needs but to indicate this order of ideas, this ensemble of Christian lessons, to comprehend the importance of the services rendered by M. Frayssinous to the youth of France, in the early part of the nineteenth century. Such a mass of facts, of motives, of reasonings, and of proofs, shed floods of light on those minds, which were ignorant of everything connected with religion, and were sincerely seeking the truth. The orator spoke with clearness, nervous force, and with vigorous and spiritual good sense. His information was solid, his argumentation well knit, the turn of the thought often eloquent. You saw in him an upright heart, profound faith, love of truth, love

of country, horror of evil mens' doctrines, but of good will to the men themselves. He once said, 'if religion is without pity for error, as she is truth, she is full of consideration for the persons subject to error, because she is charity.'

"In citing M. de Chateaubriand and M. Frayssinous, as two mighty influences, which by different ways, favored the return to faith, we must not forget other labourers honourably united by their date to the work of reconstruction among us. M. de Bonald, caused in some degree the idea of the Divinity to take its place again in our philosophy, our society, and in the traditions of the human race; M. de Maistre attacked error in its remotest holds, with the original views of a rare genius, and the boldness of one who feels himself in possession of the truth. M. de Lamennais struck effective blows, but alas! to fall the deeper from his height of glory; and lastly, among this group of illustrious ancestors, let us find room for M. Michaud, the first Frenchman of the nineteenth century, who restored the great epopée of the Catholic middle ages, the first volume of his *History of the Crusades*, having appeared in 1808. The religious revival, however, particularly appertains to the *Genius of Christianity* and the conferences of St. Sulpice."

The above extracts are given from different portions of the life of the eminent and holy personage whose name heads this paper. We have taken no further liberty than arranging them according to time, and making them form an introduction to his history. His admission to the Society of Jesus closely followed the later conferences of M. Frayssinous, and as his subsequent career is so intimately connected with the after successful efforts of that society, he being in fact under God, its chief instrument for good in France, we may begin here to trace his heavenward route from his childhood upwards.

From the author's introduction we select a few lines.

"The perusal of this work should urge to a successful strife with discouragement. In it will be seen everything calculated to furnish strong hopes, and what constitutes the true honor of our age, the incontestible religious improvement of French society during the last twenty years. Nothing is lost when religion begins to revive, and resume her rights and her empire. Her tendency is to elevate the moral sense, true dignity, the idea of justice; and to teach us to look beyond the present hour. She is hopeful for the future, because she believes in the INFINITE, and she not only restores souls; she even aids in restoring states. As long as genuine religion shall remain free in our land, no evil can be irreparable."

The great grandfather of our Apostle, purchased the Chateau of Ravignan, near Mount Mersan in the *Landes* in the reign of Louis XIV; and with the castle and estate he bought the privilege of using the name, his own proper one being De La

Croix. The same gentleman owned an estate called the Gurgue, about four leagues from Bayonne, where he chiefly abode, as the Chateau of Ravignan was in a ruinous condition. The family followed the profession of arms. The father of the subject of our memoir was a Chevalier of Saint Louis under that unsaintly King the fifteenth of the name. His wife was a Saint C eran, and a brother-in-law of his, a lieutenant in the expedition, of Lapeyrouse, died in the Philippine isles. He wore through the dreary revolution without emigrating, though at imminent peril of his life. The devotedness of his valet Du-maine who once assumed his queue, powder, and embroidered coat, saved his life on the occasion.

On the 2nd of December, 1795, Gustave Xavier de La Croix de Ravignan was born at Bayonne, and privately baptized on the next day at the house of a watchmaker in the same town. As in the case of so many of the elect in the Old Testament, his name seems to have possessed prophetic power. During infancy he did not enjoy robust health. Afterwards, though frolicsome and lively with his playmates, he was serious when in the presence of his parents. His gravity made his family call him the young ambassador: he became one indeed, but it was to plead the cause of his fellow-mortals at the court of Heaven. His father being advanced in years at his birth, made him his close companion in all his little excursions to Bayonne and back.

In the year 1805, he conducted him to Paris, and left him under the care of the Abb  Hunot in the Rue Cherche Midi. He soon surpassed all his class-mates, and rather embarrassed his teachers by his extraordinary quickness in mastering his lessons. Even at that early time of his life, he experienced a strong devotional impulse; and performed his religious duties to the great content of the spiritual director of the school, the Abb  de Sambucy.

At the end of a-year and a-half, he was changed to a superior academy, Rue Matignon, presided over by M. Hix and three Clergymen, and affording secular and religious instruction to 250 students. The father-confessor was the Abb  Doremus, who about a quarter of a century later became the spiritual director of the Duchess de Berri. Here his progress was equally rapid. He was accompanied by his elder brother Hippolyte, who was also his god-father, and to whom he continued tenderly attached through life. We must afford space for one of his letters to his father, dated from the academy.

"Ah, dear and good papa! how I would wish to hear you call me once more your little companion, as when we used to walk together through the woods that surround the Gurgue! How happy I was at that time! Alas it is past. Let us hope that I shall one day re-visit my birth-place, which is so dear to me. How I long to see that happy day! Mean time, dear Papa, I console myself as well as I can, by sending you these letters, in which I describe what I feel.' 'Alas,' said he in another letter to his father, 'how I wish my studies were over, that I might be at liberty to embrace you, and be off to the chase with yourself and Dumaine.'"

His respect for the authority and advice of his parents was so great that he did not learn to ride or fence, though he delighted in these exercises, without obtaining their approbation.

"What particularly strikes us in this correspondence of his early years, is a character of a mature stamp, which early revealed itself, exhibiting a deep feeling of duty, strength, will, courage, and resolution. He is constantly pre-occupied with the necessity of doing good; he neglects nothing, but he is never satisfied with himself; though still a child, he seems sensible of a divine impulse, which prompts him to aim at perfection. One week of vacation is enough for him. At its close he commences his preparation for the opening of the classes. Endowed with a tender and sensitive nature, he endeavoured to conquer, or at least, restrain it; but, if on any solemn occasion, there was a mention of mothers, he at once sadly thought of his own; and his eyes filled with tears when at a distribution of prizes, he heard these words addressed to the children: 'Victors, your mothers will shed tears of joy at your triumphs; vanquished, your mothers will console you by their tender caresses.'

"Separation from the paternal hearth, weighed heavy on him. He sighed to re-visit his home, but then sadly reflected that a few days of happiness, would give place to the misery of a long absence. He used often to cry out, 'When shall I be able, poor child that I am, to live with my parents, without fear of being separated from them? perhaps never!' Ah! never indeed. Our greatest duties here are accomplished by the most distressing separations; and those mothers who are proudest of their sons, are often the most to be pitied."

At thirteen years of age, his parents were desirous that he should enter among the pages: but finding that generally these pages entered on a military career after a couple of years, he sought guidance in prayer, and announced to his parents, that he felt no inclination for arms, and preferred the study of law or diplomacy.

For five months before his first communion, he could not be induced to be present at a play. His preparation was probably as perfect as could be made by one of his age, where the grace received was so well aided by the most tender devotion in prayer and meditation.

“It was innocence itself, which on the 8th of June, 1809, in the person of Gustave de Ravignan, became the tabernacle of God. It was the child preserved, the child predestined, which on that day for the first time, was nourished with the bread of angels. Our poor country seldom presented at that period, a spectacle of the kind, so worthy of the regards of heaven. A first communion made by a child so stainless, was at once a benediction and the consecration of a destiny. A mysterious source of graces has been revealed to this sickly looking scholar of noble and grave mien, on whose countenance shines a tender and intense piety, and this source of grace shall never run dry. The first communion of Gustave de Ravignan, which so vividly presented the idea of an angel mingling with human beings, was the commencement of all the divine favors showered on a great life.”

After five years of successful studies, he lost his father whom he had not seen since his entry at M. Hunot's academy. His vacations had been passed in the city, as in those days the idea of a journey from Paris to Bayonne and back again every year, was not to be entertained. At fifteen years and a half old, he finished his studies with M. Hix, having had for class fellows, among other celebrities, Oudenot, Alfred de Vigny, Perignon, the composer Herold, and lastly Count D'Orsay, who in after years presented to his former comrade, a Head of Christ modelled by himself.

At sixteen years of age he commenced the study of jurisprudence, taking for his guide M. Goujon, who was recommended by M. Seze, the illustrious defender of Louis XVI. His confessor was the sainted conferencier M. Frayssinous, whose labours in the pulpit were at this time suspended by Napoleon, as mentioned before. He applied himself at intervals to the study of English, German, and general reading; and might be seen praying with fervor at an early Mass, and delighting a salon in the evening by the elegance of his manners and the agreeability of his conversation; for as our author remarks “Piety in the fashionable world has no need of making faces at the company.” Religion held his heart, and so exclusively, that these outward matters did not affect his deep seated piety in the slightest degree. He has occasionally said, addressing his mother, “If I have offended you in any way, I take refuge in your heart;” as St. Augustin once wrote, “If you are afraid of God, run and hide in his arms.”

Inheriting by race and tradition, loyal attachment to the Bourbons, he took up arms after the return from Elba, and was in peril of his life at an engagement in the lower Pyrenees. He would not quit M. Barbarin, his colonel, who was severely

wounded, and the noble-minded but mistaken man, seeing no other means to compel his friend to fly for his life, snatched a pistol from his belt and shot himself on the spot. Gustave soon after rejoined the little body of French soldiers that were commanded by Count Etienne de Damas in Spain, and was appointed lieutenant of cavalry.

Want of space obliges us to leave out the many affectionate letters which he dispatched to his mother during these years of his youth : let our readers be assured that they were every thing that could give joy and comfort to the heart of a loving and religious minded mother.

We see prevailing in the life of the true soldier and the true saint, the same virtues of heroism, endurance, and loyalty to the cause adopted, and sometimes these virtues animating the same person in both careers, as in the instances of St. Martin, St. Ignatius, and the subject of this memoir, who will probably be one day publicly invoked among the ranks of the canonized defenders of the faith.

Gustave de Ravignan, after his brief military career, now devoted himself with more zeal to the study of the law. We extract a few lines of our author's, relative to the subject :—

“ The study of law touches on what is greatest in the history of men, and conduces to the most noble occupations of the understanding. Gustave de Ravignan ceaselessly added to his information by a regular course of reading, and by the good and profitable practice of making notes of what he read. On finishing his annotations on the *Spirit of Laws*, he remarked that a valuable work might be composed as a companion, having for its title the *Morality of Laws*. It was a great and happy idea. It strongly seized on his mind, and we have proofs that the courageous young student fully intended to execute it. The notes which we have seen are those of an intrepid workman. They bear for title ‘ *Notes on Religion, History and Laws,*’ &c. * * * He did not go on with the execution of the intended work : the will was good, but time failed. He was at the age when great designs traverse the brain of those enamoured of goodness, but maturity was denied to the conception of the large design.”

During parts of 1815 and 1816 his life was endangered by an attack on his lungs. His doctor recommended a visit to Caunterets, as he would have recommended any other place, but the instinct of a mother guided her to select the Eaux Bonnes in the Pyrenees, and after a short sojourn there his health seemed perfectly re-established.

In 1817 he was admitted to the office of *Conseiller Auditeur*,

being the elect out of three candidates proposed, the interest of the Duke of Angoulême, which was chiefly due to his conduct during the Hundred Days, having, it is supposed, influenced the King's choice. His first essay as a pleader dated May, 1820. The notes made on his first brief, which are still extant, exhibit great powers of reason, extensive information, clearness, and force. In all his speeches during his legal career, there was evident a serious study of the subject matter, and a rare correctness in the opening and the discussion of the cause.

On the 31st of August, 1821, he was employed in the prosecution of Cauchois-Le-Maire, for an impudent and licentious attack on the government. He conscientiously drew a distinction between license and liberty, and had the pleasure of seeing an unprincipled and mischievous writer found guilty under all the heads of the accusation.

During the vacation of Pentecost the President Amy used to assemble a select number of his friends, among whom was always found De Ravignan, at his chateau de Rosay in Upper Normandy. In the number of the invited were to be found Chaveau Lagard, the illustrious defender of Marie Antoinette and Charlotte Corday; Michaud, a collaborateur of our biographer in the History of the Crusades, and one whom he characterises as a delightful talker, a profound politician, a historian of great talent, of great knowledge, and of an upright conscience; M. Berryer, then a brilliant young advocate, and the professor Lemaire. There our future conferencier chatted, made verses, enjoyed manly exercises, and contributed more than any one to the general harmless enjoyment. One amusement alone he would not share—the card table, or gambling of any description. About this period a friend of his of an irreligious disposition, fell ill, and was watched by him with the care of a mother. He ceased not till he had the inexpressible comfort of seeing the sinner thoroughly reconciled to his God before the near approach of his dissolution.

“We elbow the crowd but it is very rare to meet a man. How few are there who live on their own proper funds! who seek their strength and greatness in themselves! The life of nearly everyone is a life reflected, re-echoed, or borrowed. They drag on a life out of doors, for inside they find nothing; they seek everything from others, and outside their own proper habitation; they borrow their dreams, their ideas, even their opinions. Gustave de Ravignan's character exhibited a sustained greatness, the secret of which is a sincere desire to do good and advance without cessation. This man of the world,

whom the world looked up to, and who stood far above its level, entertained a profound conviction of the dignity of human nature. He had considered with the eyes of faith, the divine stamp with which our nature is impressed, and it was on that account that he bestowed great care on his entire being ; he carefully attended to his soul, his spirit, and even his exterior. He was not only one of the most pious of young men, there could scarcely be found one more attractive. With his beautiful regular features, and their charming expression, his superb eyes, fine curling black hair, and his clothes cut in such a good style, you might have taken him at first for a person too much wedded to the world ; but with him all this was only the complement of the ideal of moral beauty. His Christian obligations were never absent from his mind ; he was surrounded with attractions, yet he inspired respect ; he was at once amiable and unaffectedly reserved. His gaiety never passed certain bounds ; and there was in his spirit a slight tinge of irony, which he turned to the purpose of entertainment, and never allowed to offend any one."

About this period, the successive deaths of his grandmother, and of a dear young friend, with the dangerous illness of a beloved sister, sensibly affected his spirits, and probably served to turn his wishes towards the life of a Religious. We give part of a letter written soon after to his sister Pauline, who was living at the time with their mother at St. Laurent.

"I earnestly long for repose. . It is as necessary to me as any other appliance for the sick ; the least noise affects me. I beg of my mother to get the pigeon house or some quiet apartment in the garden readied for me. I do not like to hear any movements of outward life where I am. Without doubt it is an error, a defect, a vice : I look on it as a malady affecting the nerves, or something of the sort. I must have night and silence round me. . . . I am very much annoyed that Michael is not giving satisfaction to my mother. He does not go to confession ! I will bring him with me when I go down, for I will go often myself to the Curé of the place. Adieu ! pray to God for me. Cherish religion, for we have no other real good in the world ; but you feel this better than I, and I love you the more for it."

He passed some happy days with his dear relatives at Ravignan or St. Laurent. The desire of entering into the ecclesiastical state had taken hold of him in a greater or less degree for some time ; and his biographer is careful to assert, that no worldly disappointment, or chagrin, or affair of the heart, had the least influence on the travailing of his soul in these days. M. l'Abbe Frayssinous his spiritual director, cautioned him against a too sudden resolve. After his return from the country in 1819, he resumed his legal functions, giving thereby great pleasure to his mother, who seems always to have opposed his vocation somewhat more vigorously than strictly became

a devout Christian parent. This remark is made, not for the disparagement of the good lady, who, we hope, is enjoying at this moment the society of her blessed son in glory and bliss, but for a warning to living mothers, not to pull against the divine bands which are drawing their happy children into the refuge of Christian perfection. The rule in this matter is simple : force or persuade not your children to enter a Religious state, but do not oppose their wishes when they tend in that direction.

“ Among the worldly pleasures he enjoyed, the young counsellor preferred the little reunions at his mother’s. He there appeared lively, witty, and well pleased ; and often at the close of one of these parties, he would request them to fix on a time for the next. He took pleasure in dancing, and often when returning from a ball, he would find fault with himself for having been so much amused. His mother would sometimes say to her daughters, ‘ Our dear Gustave has given up his projects ; he now thinks only of that career which is opening so brilliantly before him.’ ”

“ One day in the year 1820, at a small party, the discourse turned on religion and the Jesuits. The Catholic Faith and the Company of Jesus were attacked, and Gustave de Ravignan undertook their defence. Immediately the vehemence of the assailants was directed full on the celebrated society ; but our young counsellor retorted with vigour, rectifying facts, confounding calumnies, and proving the innocence of the accused. All at once, having given utterance to his historic and religious convictions, he rose up with eyes on fire, sublime with truth, faith, and confidence, and cried out, ‘ I will die a Jesuit.’ ‘ Then,’ said his opponent, ‘ you will be hunted from every place, along with them.’ ‘ I may be hunted,’ answered he, ‘ but I will die a Jesuit notwithstanding.’ This scene, so indicative of prophetic inspiration, was never forgotten by those who witnessed it.”

He was appointed substitute to the *Procureur du Roy*, 1st. August, 1821 ; and during the following winter he went pretty freely into society by order of his director, who wished to test the genuineness of his vocation by bringing him face to face with the attractions of the world. He no longer danced, and was often found by his family very sad in appearance. His hour being come at last, he spoke to his mother of his being obliged to take a journey which might occupy him a week or so, promising to write if he would not have returned by that time. In embracing her at his departure, he jestingly requested her not to present a petition *à la. Loveday*.*

* An Englishman so called presented, a little before that time, a petition to the Chamber of Deputies, complaining that his daughter had become a Catholic, and embraced a religious state.

On the morning of the 19th of April, 1822, he entered the little seminary of Issy in the outskirts of Paris, where so many holy and learned men had tested their vocation before him. In the garden of the house called the Solitude, are two large cypresses standing like two silent sentinels, and the solitaires have a view of Paris, lying silent and untempting beyond their little world. He wrote to his mother as he had promised, asking forgiveness for not being more explicit with her, as he could not endure the sight of her grief. His director was M. Mollevaut, the superior of the house of Solitude. M. Fraysinous, on confiding him to this venerable guide, said, "when he informs me that you have received a call, I will be as much at peace as if the words came from God."

Mme. de Ravignan, in her distress, paid a visit to M. Fraysinous, now Vicar-General of Paris, and Almoner to the King. He gave her all the consolation and courage that could be obtained by looking at the separation in a religious light, and repeated more than once, "I am growing old: your son is destined to succeed me at Saint Sulpice." From a letter of her's to some lady among her intimate friends, the biographer gives his readers an opportunity to judge of the depth of the sacrifice she was obliged to make in parting from her beloved child.

He received a letter from the Procureur General, M. Bellart, in answer to one announcing his resignation of office, in which this brave defender and preserver of so many of the illustrious accused of past days, exhorted him to a most careful examination of himself before making his irrevocable choice; but such light had been already shed on his interior, that his path was as clear before him as a well beaten causeway through a marsh in the full blaze of noon. He thus addressed a friend some time after his entrance at Issy;—

"Oh, how I bless the infinite goodness of God! How was I employed in the world! In agitation, in torment, in debate; and for what purpose? Little of what was good; much of what was evil; often for nothing at all. Here, I pray; I meditate on the fundamental principles of faith; I labour for the sanctuary; and my conscience tells me, that I am of some service to my country, to my friends, to myself. Implore God that this life may endure long for me."

"Two days after this letter was written, he received the tonsure from the hands of the Bishop of Hermopolis (M. Frayssinous), whose own consecration had only just taken place. * * * It was a fine and affecting sight, such as we meet occasionally in the history

of the Church. The young man kneeling before the Bishop to receive the lowest degree of priesthood, had been since 1814, his most assiduous hearer at Saint Sulpice. He had revealed all the secrets of his soul to him for ten years ; and it was by his advice that he had prolonged his stay in the world, in order that the gold might be the more purified in that world's furnace.

"After the ceremony the Bishop addressed the new cleric in words the memory of which has remained fresh in the minds of those present, and at once, claimed those rights of the Creator which men seem not willing to recognise. 'The world speaks of your sacrifice, you have made none : is it a sacrifice to quit the world for God ?' Being oppressed with the duties of the times, of which he felt the weight and difficulty, he demanded of the dearly-loved Levite the assistance of his prayers. 'You are going,' said he, 'to pass long days of peace in a holy solitude : forget not those who are launched on a sea disturbed with storms, and strewn with rocks.' Touching and merciful wonders of Providence ! The elect succeed each other : from one work crowned with glory, arises another work destined for a glorious future ; and the mantles of the prophets are bequeathed, as in the ancient games the torches passed from hand to hand. It was in 1822, that the conferences of M. Frayssinous ceased, and it was at the same period that the orator of Saint Sulpice introduced young De Ravignan into the sanctuary. When Ambrose baptized Augustin, he was little aware that the new Christian would be the most sublime and profound doctor of our faith ; but when the Bishop of Hermopolis opened the barrier to a vocation so well known to him, he knew full well the apostle that was going to arise for the glory of the Church."

His mother having gone to Saint Laurent, and being very anxious about his health, he writes to her in the most tender and affectionate style, describing his entire contentment in his present life, and mentioning that, to give pleasure to her and his other dear friends, he attends carefully to his health.

It is very probable that De Ravignan had no intention of entering the ranks of the Jesuits when he began his retreat at Issy ; but there was such bitter hostility shewn to the order by the revolutionary party about the year 1822, that he became decided, even as a brave volunteer quits garrison duty to encounter the enemy where the war is actually raging. His mother having returned to Paris in November, drove to Issy in all haste to embrace her son, but he had set out on foot on All Souls' Day to Montrouge, where the Society possessed a little house, with court and garden, since 1816, the novices amounting to one hundred.* She followed him thither, and

* In 1830, they were driven from this retreat : a separate branch of PICPUS now occupies it.

wept, and embraced, and reproached him in turn. He consoled her as well as he could ; and when he had brought some degree of comfort to her mind, he remarked with a smile, " You see, my dear mother, that you did not name me Xavier for nothing." A small portion of a letter to his mother on her Festival day (St. Catherine's), is subjoined.

" I hope you will be convinced that the most serious reflections and the most abundant grace have conducted me to Montrouge, and that you will extend your love for your son to the society of which he aspires to be a member. May our Lord, through the love of his mother, and the intercession of your holy patroness, grant you all succour to pass well through this short life, and rejoin us in Heaven ! To-morrow I will pray for you at the Holy Sacrifice. I will communicate for the same intention : this is my bouquet for your festival, prayer, and union with God. Receive them with welcome : unite your prayers with mine that you may be consoled, and become tranquil and happy."

To his brother he writes, deprecating any merit to himself in the step he has taken :—

" Once the will of God is made known to us by faith, prayer, and meditation, the man is no more himself in following the route which has been traced out for him. When you think of me, pray that I may live only to do His will, to save myself thereby, and to labour in future for the sanctification of the souls committed to my charge. Herein is no question of strength, of sacrifice : there is nothing but facility and simplicity in executing the orders of the Sovereign Master. I pray yourself and our sister to rejoice, and to think more of that Heaven to which we tend, than of this earth on which we creep. Our mother is deeply affected ; but time, grace, and consolation from on high, will change her grief into true joy. . . . I rejoice with you on the promises made for your advancement ; but think of the King of kings, who after this life will distribute grades according to our fidelity here—and that for all eternity."

Our author introduces his account of the noviciate of his young postulant by some appropriate and judicious remarks.

" That man is in possession of true peace on earth, who can sincerely say that he is doing God's will. Not to be where we ought, is the real evil, even as the real good is to be where God wishes us to be. Philosophy is of accord with religion, in teaching that on the choice of a state in life, depends our future ; and that on the well or ill resolving of this question, depends the repose of society. True order is, *Every Thing in its own Place*. Let any organ of the human body be transferred from the spot where it ought to fulfil its functions to another, and this body, whose structure is so beautiful, could no longer exist. Suppose the least detail neglected in the most wonder-

ful invention of mechanical genius ;—the machine loses its power or its surety. It is the same with societies, whose individuals are not at the posts assigned them by Providence. Terrible and frequent are the shocks we experience at times ; and if the world is not oftener thrown from its balance ; if it still holds out through such discordant and displaced elements, it is only a standing miracle of God that sustains it.

“ Before assisting at the profound labour of a soul which seeks to know God and itself, before considering the working of the constitutions which form the Jesuit, let us pay homage to the great Ignatius of Loyola, the wounded officer of Pampeluna, soldier of God and catechist of his people, founder of an institution, perfect in its first formation and never changed, father of a magnificent family of apostles and martyrs, and whose life was a prophetic image of the struggles and griefs of his posterity. All is one long combat in his genius, his means, and his object. He is roused to anger against his own person, and treats it as an enemy whom it is necessary to conquer. It is by a decided victory over himself that he will prepare to conquer the world. He emerges a new being from the grotto of Manreze ; and this unlettered man has become so learned in divine things, that he requires only thirty days to compose the *Spiritual Exercises*, a wonderful book, which has brought back so many souls into the path of order, and restored them to God.

“ These Spiritual Exercises are the preludes to the noviciate, among the Jesuits. There are eight days' exercises for the commencement of the noviceship, and thirty days for the third year of probation ; but they may also be used as a preface to every Christian state. It is a labour of interior purification, from which there cannot fail to issue a good and generous will for any labour to which we may have to apply. It is the grotto of Manreze for every aspirant to evangelical regeneration. Xavier de Revignan lays down the Spiritual Exercises on the threshold of an evangelical life.”

Our author now gives a resumé of the processes by which a pious aspirant, entering on his noviciate, comes to conquer his own irregular desires and propensities, breaks the yoke of the world's spirit and customs which formerly oppressed him, resigns his own proper will, and thinks only of what may be the will of his Creator in any future action or proceeding. Aided by meditation on the mysteries of the life of our Lord, he is decided to follow where the standard of the Cross leads the way. He selects the Saviour as his captain in the war he is compelled to wage against himself, the devil, and the world. Led by a heavenly call received in prayer and meditation, he embraces the station appointed for him ; and determining to acquire, through grace, a pure and disinterested love of his incarnate Saviour, all his thoughts, aspirations, and actions will have only one object—THE GREATER GLORY OF GOD.

Hear what Xavier de Ravignan says of his experiences of the new life he is about to embrace :—

“ A man tired of the world quits it ; he searches for a shelter ; he entertains a profound desire to take revenge on himself and his life, by labours profitable to his neighbours.

“ He believes that the great evil of the age is want of obedience. Feeling the utter worthlessness of what is called independence, he thirsts to be in subjection, knowing it to be the only safeguard to man’s dignity, and the assurance of true liberty, the emancipation of the soul.

“ The performance of the *Spiritual Exercises* brought the light and pointed out the way. He knocked at the gate of the company of Jesus.

“ What first struck him was the profound peace which prevailed in the religious abode, the silent halls, the order, the poverty which reigned everywhere, the kindly welcome given by the good brother who introduced him, the mild gravity of the father who received him. * * * He felt himself in an atmosphere breathing of goodness, of devotion, of the presence of God.

“ Still on the threshold, he will know the extent of his duties in his new life, and be penetrated with its spirit.

‘Are you ready to renounce the world, the possession and the hope of temporal goods ? Are you ready to beg your bread from door to door, if necessary, for the love of Jesus Christ ?’ ‘I am.’

‘Are you disposed to live in any part of the world, and in any employ which your superiors may judge to conduce to the greater glory of God, and the salvation of souls ?’ ‘I am.’

‘Are you resolved to obey your superiors as God’s viceregents, in every matter where your conscience detects no sin ?’ ‘I am.’

‘Are you sincerely determined to repulse with horror, all that the slaves of worldly prejudices love and embrace ; and do you feel disposed to desire and accept whatever Jesus Christ our Lord loved and embraced ?’ ‘I am.’

‘Do you consent to wear the livery of ignominy which He bore ; and through love and respect for him, to suffer as he did, abuse, reproaches, and false testimonies, without having in any way merited them ?’ ‘I do.’”

The noviciate of a Jesuit lasts two years ; and as the main object is to imbue him with a thorough spirit of devotion and obedience, human learning forms no part of his occupation, which wholly consists of exercises of meditation, self-denial, humility, and severity to self. A *Religious* being a man dead to the world, the agents to induce this spiritual death are merely grace, faith, persevering energy.

Xavier had probably less struggle with himself in conquering pride, self will, and bondage to the outward world, than others. He owned no attachments beyond the walls, except such as

are rendered holy by our natural relations, and betook himself with genuine zest to the lowest occupation, sweeping and performing other menial offices, with the humility of a saint and the vigour of a labourer. This is the daily occupation of a novice.

"The Novices rise at 4 o'clock, and their first duty is a visit to the Holy Sacrament, which lasts a quarter of an hour: this is followed by an hour of meditation. At half-past 5, they make their beds, and sweep their chamber: they then hear Mass, and afterwards take breakfast. What are called exterior labors exercise them a certain time; these are the ordinary household duties which would be performed in families by servants or helpers. The remainder of the time till dinner is occupied by a conference on the duties of a religious life, by an exercise in reading, which holds half an hour, and by a recitation of verses from the New Testament, particularly the Epistles of St. Paul. The dinner, which is taken at mid-day, is followed by three-quarters of an hour of recreation. Meditation, the recital of the Rosary, and the *Preparation*, occupy the intervening time to supper.

"Once a week they have an exercise in humility, when the Novices make sincere though charitable remarks on the defects and imperfections of each other. On Monday they have an exercise in oratorical pronunciation, and speaking in public, taking for subject, a religious truth or the life of a saint. On Wednesday catechism is taught, and perfect liberty of remark is left to the class, in order to put the knowledge and temper of the catechist to the proof."

Our Novice's duty was that of monitor. He transmitted orders from the superiors, saw them executed, and appointed comrades (three by three) when walks were allowed. Their promenades sometimes extended to Meudon, and the weak or inactive found him a rough conductor, for he took no account of mud, cold, heat, frost, or snow. When the exercises of humility had place, no one was found to make a single remark on his manners, but when he read or made an oration, he was listened to as a master of tone and delivery.

"A noviciate without study was surely a great idea. To know one's self and to know God, to have triumphed over one's self, and to be accustomed to the rigorous performance of duty before opening a book or entering on the career of letters or human knowledge—what an effective and perfect preparation! A novice arrives at his studies with peace of soul, that peace so rare and so fertile, arising from the subjugation of evil propensities. He feels a keener relish for truth; and as his interior light has become clearer, he makes a better use of the gifts of nature. * * * The moral worth of a man confers additional value on his talents, while as long as the passions are allowed to obscure the soul, the greatest genius is

never in full possession of his powers. On removal from the noviciate, during which the renewal of the man was perfected, the postulant is in the most favorable disposition to receive light, instruction, and elevation of the soul. When the barrier is removed, the intelligence springs forward with delight into the field of study so long closed to it. Xavier de Ravignan found such vivid pleasures in the acquisition of knowledge, that he probably reproached himself for the indulgence.

“ Study holds an important place in the apprenticeship of the company of Jesus. They devote to rhetoric and literature, the first two years which follow the noviciate ; after this, three years or sometimes more, are given to philosophy, the physical sciences, and mathematics. * * * Then the Religious is reduced from the rank of master, which he had held, to that of pupil—to wit in theology. He not only studies Dogmatic Theology and Moral philosophy, but also the Holy Scripture, Canon Law, Ecclesiastical history, and the Oriental languages. To these he devotes four years and sometimes more, being subject to strict yearly examinations. This long course of study is terminated by a general examination, in which he must have three favorable suffrages out of four, in order to gain admittance to the *Profesion*.

“ To a heart so truly Christian and an intelligence of such elevation as that of Xavier de Ravignan, what a world to reconnoitre and explore ! in these regions of theology, where the foundations of religion are revealed, where divine truths are established in their rigorous exactitude, where the whole sublime edifice of Catholic faith expands before us. What a science is that of the Divine Scriptures ! where nearly every word contains a wonder or mystery, a science not yet exhausted by the brightest geniuses, and whose whole secrets will never be penetrated by man. For him who prepares himself for combats and apostolical works, what an appropriate study is that of the history of the Church ! ever pursued and ever victorious ; ever reckoned among the things which have been or which have lost their power, and yet stretching from shore to shore, and advancing with its cross and its martyrs to the extreme boundaries of the universe. Who can help admiring this Church ! Mother of the greatest nations and the most durable monarchies—indestructible Pillar in the midst of such a mass of ruins ! Vessel constructed by the divine hand, steering with all sails spread through an ocean strewn with wrecks, and out of which, as from the ark, comes from time to time whatever is to renew the life of the world. These later studies occupied our candidate from November 1824, to July 1826.

“ During the summer of 1827, he was preparing to receive sub-deaconship and deaconship, these holy bonds which will link him inviolably to the sanctuary. He thus writes to his family concerning the expected event, 13th August 1827.

“ “ As I am informed by the superior, I will shortly have an additional consolation and a powerful means for intercession for you before God. * * * Pray all for me ; and if you can obtain for me the blessing of becoming a holy priest, you shall have an abundant share of efficacious prayers and fervent sacrifices. Thus it is that God invites to himself even the most unworthy.’ ”

The most touching, tender, and edifying letters were written during these studies to his mother, brother, and sisters. The burthen of nearly the whole being, renunciation of our own proper will, cheerful acceptance of the will of the Creator, the nothingness of this short span of life except the opportunity it affords of gaining a blissful eternity, love of the crucified Saviour, and the great benefit of meditating on the mysteries of his divine life. His mother not being reconciled, even at the end of his probation, to the selection he has made, he takes great pains to shew that it would be sinful to have resisted the gently drawing grace that induced him to embrace it, and that he will shortly be of more service by using his privilege of presenting the Holy Sacrifice for her weal here and hereafter. To her he is still the loving and respectful *Gustave*, though he has long laid aside that name to all his other correspondents. He is now, in 1828, thirty-three years old, having for the last six years, renounced the world, its honors, its pleasures, and its occupations. Before enjoying sacerdotal functions in perfection, he will have yet to spend five years as professor of Dogmatic Theology.

He gave his first lectures at Acheul, near Amiens, where he had fifty novices under his charge. In his lessons he was remarkable for the luminous precision of his explanations. He allowed no turning back or starting to one side, but kept his pupils within the circle traced out by the terms of the question before them.

Passing, much against our will, his letters to his relatives, redolent of piety, consolation, and submission to the Divine will, we approach the days of July, 1830. A sketch of the general state of the Society in France for some time previous, will not be amiss at this point of our notice.

Two months after the publication of the Bull, *Sollicitudo*, of Pius VII., 6th August, 1814, which re-established the Jesuits in the Christian world, an ordonnance of Louis XVIII. authorised the Archbishops and Bishops of the realm to erect ecclesiastical schools, of which they were to appoint the heads and the teachers. The Jesuits, under the inoffensive name of *Fathers of the Faith*, answered to the call of many of the Bishops, and were entrusted with the charge of these ecclesiastical schools. Bourdeaux, Soissons, Forcalquier, Montmorillon, Amiens, and Sainte-Anne d'Auray, were the first cities in France that gave welcome to these worthy successors of

the Jouvencys and the Porées. To the work of youthful instruction they joined, as opportunity offered, the functions of home missionaries, preached, and heard confessions.

The famous congregation of which the valiant people of France were so afraid, while they ignored the very existence of republican clubs, whose hands were already on their throats, had for founder, in the beginning of the Empire, the Father Delpuits, and for director under the Restoration, Father Ronsin. While religion was acquiring something like liberty, the Abbé Legris Duval founded the *Society of Good Works*, who took the prisons, the hospitals, and the little Savoyards under their protection. The *Society des Bonnes Etudes* also flourished as a branch of the congregation. The Association of St. Francis Regis, established by a councillor of the Cour Royale, M. Gossin of pious memory, also arose to lend its aid for the effectually carrying on of the work of God in France.

“But it was the unholy mission of part of the public press of the era of the restoration, to mock, to insult, to invent evil against Catholicity under the convenient name of Jesuitism. They could not put the servants of God in the dungeon or under the axe, but they tortured them with railleries, and lying inventions. They could not expose them to the horrors of the circus; so they inflicted a daily flagellation on them before an excited public. They treated them somewhat like those early martyrs whose faces and bodies were smeared with honey, and then exposed under a burning sun to be tormented by mosquitos.

“The most blood-thirsty of their foes, could hardly avoid laughing among themselves, at the game they were playing:—men prepared to blow out the lamp of civilization and bring back the night of ignorance and anarchy! They represented them, poignard in hand, lying in wait for the lives of kings. Ah! if such were the designs of the Jesuits, their accusers would be only too willing to let them accomplish their purpose.”

While the tempest was raging, the Bishop of Hermopolis, (formerly M. Frayssinous, already honorably mentioned) on 26th May, 1826, contended that French priests were authorised by the Charter to submit themselves to particular rules in community; and mentioned, without looking closely at the consequences, that eight petit seminaries were presided over by members of the Society. Many devout and generous hearts were rejoiced at the avowal; but the liberal (?) papers sounded the alarm, and proclaimed the *country in danger*. A certain Count Montlossier, wearied with a lonely chateau life in Auvergne, and wishing to hear himself spoken of, now attacked

the body in a bitter pamphlet, representing them as engaged in a conspiracy to overturn society, religion, and government. His brochure occupied the attention of the Cour Royale, which pronounced itself incompetent to try the question. The Chamber of Peers appointed an unfriendly commission, which referred the statement to the President of the Council. The Duke Fitzjames spoke vigorously against the views of Montlossier, and gave an instance of the wisdom he once exhibited in a plan to drive out the Jacobins, when he was an emigré during the old revolution. He collected his friends together one day, and proposed that all the Capuchins in Europe should be summoned to enter France in procession, bearing before them the Cross as their standard, and Jacobinism would cease to exist.

The Bishop of Hermopolis, minister of ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction, examined, with the firm impartiality of an historian, the praises and the accusations of which the Society had been the object for three centuries, dwelt on its re-establishment by Pius VII., and the re-entry into France of a certain number of its members under the buckler of the *Liberty of Worship*. His efforts were in vain ; a majority of 130 voices above 63 resigned the petition to the President of the Council. This was in January, 1827. A year after, a commission was appointed to examine measures necessary for the execution of the laws of the realm in regard to secondary ecclesiastical seminaries. From the report of these commissioners sprung the Ordonnances of June, 1828, which dispersed the eight colleges mentioned, and set restrictions on the rights of petit seminaries. The Bishop of Hermopolis gave in his resignation ; another Bishop, M. Feutrier, did not shrink from the heavy responsibility. The poor old King was obliged, against his own will, to temporize ; but it is not by concessions to injustice, but by vigor, that states can be upheld. Two years after the Ordonnances had effect, Charles X. and his family were on their way to exile in Holyrood.

The apostles of the new order of things had now everything their own way.

“ They persuaded the people, who are always ready to believe every thing but the truth, that the Jesuits were pestilent animals, whom it was necessary to extirpate from the face of the earth : and the Hercules of the people, armed with his club, appeared at the gate of the seminary of Acheul.

“ On this occasion, Hercules consisted of a few hundred wretches,

who learning that the insurrection of July had triumphed in Paris, determined to have a little campaign for themselves. The band had for chiefs, three traders clad in blouses, who knew the place well, for they had been pupils at the seminary, and had always shewed themselves impenetrable to every good influence. They had never forgiven the Jesuits for their endeavors to make them good members of society. Armed with cudgels and iron bars they arrived at Acheul about midnight. They found the gate closed, but they soon broke it in, and spread through the court with cries of 'Vive la Charte! Vive l'Empereur! Vive l'Enfer!'"

Father Ravignan addressed them from a balcony, but he was soon struck by a stone in the forehead, and obliged to retire. The address and courage of a student, a Breton by birth, delayed the destruction of the house, till a sudden recollection of the Oratory of the Sacred Heart passed through their ignoble heads. They repaired thither, they drank, they tore the books to pieces, and committed other depredations; but the report of a little band of soldiers marching to the rescue, soon dispersed the cowardly marauders. The three gents in blouses found something the reverse of a blessing attending their subsequent career.

There being no hope of surety in a further abode at Acheul, the students dispersed, the head of the establishment dividing his *riches*, amounting to five francs a head, among them.* The masters and students in Theology appointed a rendezvous at Brigue in Switzerland, where the Society of Jesus owned a small establishment.

Father Xavier found shelter in the house of a friend at Amiens, and watched and sheltered as well as circumstances allowed, his dispersed brethern. Few of his acquaintance of old days would suspect the shabby brown wrapper, and the equally shabby waistcoat and trowsers, to be the only suit of the once finely attired Gustave de Ravignan, the successful advocate.

At the end of September, masters and pupils were assembled in their house at Brigue in the Valais, on the left bank of the Rhone, and near the entrance to the Simplon. It had once been a citadel of Buonaparte's. With the mountains keeping out the sun from the dwelling, poor Xavier suffered enough from the

* Several years later, Father de Ravignan, coming home one day after holding a conference, found himself and his little community without a dinner or the means of procuring one, an evidence of the correctness of the popular notion of the riches of the Jesuits.

cold, but never complained. Grateful for the reception they met from the Valaisans, Father Xavier and his companions collected subscriptions, and built a little chapel on a neighbouring mountain, where the dispersed families of the country round might enjoy the comforts and aid of religion. Many of the letters he wrote at this period to console and fortify his friends, are given in the biography.

"The five years of *profession* being achieved, there remained the third year of probation, the last period of profound retreat and spiritual labors before entering on the fulfilment of the different employs and ministries of the Society of Jesus. It is at once a halt and a final effort of preparation before entering on the career. . . .

'The man* destined to the apostolic ministry spent two years in recollection and silence. Then came nine years of studies and five or six of teaching. He was ordained priest, and yet has never exercised priestly functions. He is probably thirty-three years of age, and fifteen or sixteen of these, have been spent in a religious life. The Religious, the Priest now re-enters the noviciate.

"He must now for an entire year renounce human studies and exterior human relations. He must apply to himself everything that can promote a sincere humility, a general abnegation of will, and even of judgment, a subjection of the inferior propensities of our nature, a more profound knowledge, and a greater love of God, so that he may be better enabled to assist others in their progress through the same paths for the greater glory of God, and of our Lord Jesus.

"This time of holy repose which will never return, passes too quickly: I have enjoyed it, and I never can enjoy it again during my earthly probation.

'Then the great career of the *Exercises* is again measured through; prayer and meditation are prolonged. The spirit of the Institute, the conditions of the apostolate, poverty, suffering, obedience, everything that constitutes the duties of a Religious, are again studied and sounded. Some teachings of catechism to children, some missions in the neighbourhood, vary the solitude, and serve as prelude to those ministries still more dear to the heart of an apostle.

'When the year is expired, the superiors enquire into the progress made in virtue and knowledge by the aspirant, and according to the judgment entered by the Father General himself on the report, the *gradus* is given; i. e. he is admitted to pronounce the latest vows of a *Spiritual Coadjutor* or a *Professed*. These two classes are equal in rank, neither privileged beyond the other; but the latter named are entitled to assist with the superiors at the provincial and general assemblies of the order. These reunions are very rare and limited to certain cases'. "†

* What follows is from the pen of Father de Ravignan.

† From the *Existence and Institute of the Jesuits*, by Father de Ravignan.

This last period of repose and preparation was passed by Father de Ravignan at Estavayer in the Canton of Fribourg, on the edge of the Lake of Neufchatel, where the order had a college of novices. Though seemingly inactive at the time, his mind must have been teeming with projects for the advancement of God's reign on earth.

"The Jesuit resembles a soldier ever on active service. When not on the field of battle, he is under the tent; he is always on duty, ever at his post, and dies without experiencing sickness. A learned and vigorous laborer of the seventeenth century, when advised to take some repose, exclaimed that he would have all eternity for repose. This has been for three centuries the answer of every Jesuit worthy of the name; it is the response of every one who devotes himself to the good fight, heroes of religion, apostles or sisters of charity. Man can always do more than he really effects; and it is oftentimes in the later season of life that the fairest flowers of genius spring out."

Apropos to the young ladies of several French families who were exiled to Fribourg by the glorious days of July, taking the veil in the convent of the Sacré Cœur, he said in one of his letters :

"How much do parents need to be instructed on the point of the vocation of their children! Let us never, by any means, infringe on their liberty, but by all means allow them liberty to devote themselves to God. Tender mothers, if your daughters feel a genuine vocation for a religious life, exhibit a real love, and remember that your authority does not extend to the choice of a state."

"And this prudent practice was ever followed by Father Xavier. His advise was, 'never exhort your children to the choice of a religious life: let them make a selection in perfect unrestraint. Such a wish may be felt in the secrecy of the heart, but expressed to God only.'"

During this *third year* he varied his interior studies and exercises by catechisings and missions among the country people of Champéry, Monthey, Saint Maurice, Outre Rhone, &c. He at last broke a silence of twelve years, and plunged into the work of the salvation of souls. "The time being come he made his vows of a *professed*, heard the bell of his active life ring, and never after reposed till he was received into the arms of his Lord."

The society in which our apostle was now incorporated, being deprived of the right of teaching, exercised themselves either with their novices or theological students, or on missions. In 1832, while the cholera raged, they were found at the bedsides of the sick and dying: their house at St. Acheul was

converted into a military hospital. It was at St. Evreux during a spiritual retreat, that Father de Ravignan first exercised his full powers as member of the company of Jesus. M. l'Abbé de Bouclon, in a notice of his life, thus describes the impression made on himself during the retreat given to the novices.

"We saw enter, and take his seat in the Chair of Theology, a meagre looking priest, austere in appearance, with penetrating deep set eyes, and the marks of long watchings about the lids, but with angelical sweetness breathing from his features. He began by saying, that he had not come to deliver a discourse, but to edify himself in our company, and profit of the graces which God had shed on our holy mansion, and to communicate whatever lights he had received from the HOLY SPIRIT for our benefit and spiritual advantage. Consequently, there was less need of preaching than of recollection, silence, and prayer; for God does not communicate himself except to those souls who pray, and who await his pleasure in silence; witness the apostles when awaiting the descent of the PARACLETE. We need a great tranquillity in the soul, a complete subjection of the passions, as God, according to the Scriptures, does not visit our souls when in a state of trouble.

"The pool of Siloé was still at first; and when its waters were troubled, it was to indicate that the Angel had descended into them. As it was the Holy Ghost who was to enlighten us in this retreat, he begged us to offer a holy violence by our prayers, that his words might be endued with power. He promised us nothing but familiar colloquies, and kept his promise too, for he sat in a corner of the pulpit,* from which he never stirred; and never used action when excited, except with one arm.

"His discourses were apparently simple in structure, but flashes of fervor broke forth at every instant. His phraseology, negligent in appearance, exhibited in reality diction of the purest character. The good *Religious* had deceived us; he was already a finished orator. He engraved in our hearts the most finished maxims of religious perfection. He discovered for us an entirely new world in the interior spiritual life;—in the life *hidden* in God, as St. Paul says. He preached one of the incomparable weeks of the *Exercises of Saint Ignatius*. From the second day of the retreat he brought our consciences into complete subjection: the whole seminary was at his feet.

"I went to confession like the rest, but among the last and least fervent. I found the prie-dieu on which I kneeled, literally wet with the tears of those who had preceded me. The charm of his discourses was forgotten in the unction of the relation of the good father with his penitents. 'Oh the happy fault!' he would say: 'you will henceforth be freed from pride.' Such was his sympathy and pity, that I

* Some continental pulpits are so constructed as to allow an earnest preacher, liberty to walk from end to end, and gesticulate according to his impulses.

fancied myself for the moment, transported into the arms of the mercy of Jesus Christ. I was about to lift my head, and seriously to ask him if he was not that Saint Ambrose, who wept the sins of his penitents, when themselves showed no compunction. Incredulous souls, who might have resisted his eloquence in the pulpit, could never have resisted his cordial sympathy in the confessional. * * *

He still asserted to us that he feared the gift of eloquence, lest it might damage the action of the HOLY GHOST in our souls. The fruits of a retreat preached by such a man may be guessed. From the silence of the house inhabited by a hundred and fifty young people, noisy enough at other times, you would say it was occupied by shadows.

"On an occasion when the Holy Sacrament was exposed, and he was consequently obliged to stand up, he spoke of the love of Jesus for all men, but particularly for those destined to continue and perpetuate his mission and sacrifice on the earth. The subject enkindled him. I have never heard such beautiful developments on a subject worthy of the meditations of an entire life. The great orator was at length revealed; and we afterwards heard without surprise, the triumphs of his eloquence.

"He quitted us at last, this man of God, from whom we no more wished to be ever separated, than St. Peter wished to descend from Thabor. But he left peace in our souls, divine grace in our hearts, and the most loving cordiality among the brothers. After his departure, the seminary appeared entirely renewed in a spirit of fervor, charity, love of the rule, and of study."

In this wise Father de Ravignan commenced his apostolical career. He went forth with the ardor of those who parted from Olivet, to subjugate the world to the peaceful yoke of the Gospel. He had left the retreat of Estavayer on the lake with an inextinguishable thirst for the salvation of souls; and his first efforts were directed to those young disciples who in time were to be at the head of those appointed to shew the way.

During the year 1835, Father de Ravignan remained at Acheul, and preached during the advent at Amiens, being his first season of public teaching. He was called on to preach during the next Lent at the church of St. Thomas Aquinas in Paris. His former acquaintances, noble magistrates and councillors, who had last seen him, some on the bench, others at a ball, others the admired centre of a salon, fourteen or fifteen years ago, dressed with elegance and refined taste, now recognised him in soutane and rochet, with forehead bald, hair short, countenance pale and meagre, but bearing the unmistakeable impress of the seal of the Divinity.

His presence was demanded at Bourdeaux for Advent in the same year. He had the happiness of joining his mother and

others of his family for some days before he made his preparatory retreat at the old chateau of Ravignan, which was now the family seat of his elder brother.

As might be expected, the accession of the citizen-king was attended by a decided indifference to religion ; but still there was a leaven of devotion among the people : they anxiously enquired was there nothing to be done ? and God sent the idea of re-establishing the Conferences at Notre Dame.

“ M. Frayssinous was no longer there. Years and adversity had passed over his head, and added to his glory ; but champions are never wanting to the good fight, and Providence bestows on them the gifts by which they are to succeed. The conferences were opened in the Metropolitan church of Paris by a young priest whose talents bore a lively, sparkling, and original stamp. He spoke, as few have spoken since orators first appeared on the earth. His object was to reconcile the people of his time to the religious idea ; and indeed he possessed every quality calculated to charm the young. Among the enemies of Christianity might then be encountered writers, whose style and imagination were adapted to mislead ; but the young orator proved himself more attractive still than these fantastic and erring seducers. They accused Christianity of hating liberty :—the young orator, formerly editor of *L'Avenir*, himself animated by a love of liberty, which he could scarcely keep within bounds, recalled to their minds that without the Gospel there never would have been any liberty for the people ; and repeated that if Christianity disappeared from the world, it would sink back into servitude. The Christian, on coming out of Notre Dame, found himself newly armed ; the unbeliever found himself obliged to reflect, and moderate the expression of his contempt. The Abbé Lacordaire, having gone on a visit to Rome, a successor was needed at Notre Dame : the illustrious Mgr. de Quelen nominated the Abbé De Ravignan.

“ Our *Religious* appeared for the first time in the pulpit of Notre Dame in the Lent of 1837. * * * Every look was fixed on the noble and austere countenance, which presented nothing of the world, but on which appeared, as if engraved, long habitudes of meditation and penitence. Before commencing, the preacher took a few moments of recollection, which infused a deep feeling of respect into the souls of his auditors : then he made the sign of the cross at the full extent of his arm, emblematic of the fullness of his faith ; and his first words, in the lull of a profound silence, had the effect of music in the vast nave. As the preacher advanced in his discourse, the audience became more and more subjected to his strong and calm convictions. They remarked the perfection of his diction and gestures, and no one dared to think it was art : they felt themselves in presence of an apostle. There was in his appearance such authority, and in his words such eloquence, that those present felt themselves as much influenced by what they saw as what they heard. But the word he spoke was truth itself. A great orator

had shewn himself without at all resembling his predecessor, and his deeply affected auditors repeated in whispers, 'He is a man of God.' Such was he the first day, and such they found him during the ten years of his holy career at Notre Dame. He retained the auditory of Father Lacordaire, and increased it by individuals from the highest ranks of French society, desirous of bringing order into their mode of life. They crowded to these Sunday conferences as to festivals. The understanding sought light, the heart repose, and the souls who aspired to ascend to God, laid up a provision of courage. The privilege of occupying a little space in the nave was not considered dear though purchased by long hours of waiting. Father Xavier, addressing himself to the nobler part of man, excelled in laying hold on his sense of honor, and when he became a Christian, he entered into possession of the most noble portion of himself."

The conferences lasted from 1837, to 1846 inclusive. M. Poujoulat gives a resumé of the subjects, p. p. 237 to 281 of the volume. As might be expected, they contain the essence and proofs of Catholic doctrine, and the full relations and duties, during this life, of a devout soul to its Creator. Our space would afford but the most meagre outline of matters, the full development of which is worthy of the most attentive perusal. We direct the reader's serious attention to the original, giving a few extracts taken almost at random.

"The man without Christianity will become an idolater, a worshipper of brute force: to say that there never was idolatry, is the same as to wish that it should still exist. Put away from before your eyes these temples, these idols, these names of impure divinities, and all the sombre veils of antiquity; pierce these clouds studded with errors, and what will you find in the heart of the idolater? —the same thing you would find in the individual of this present day —man like unto himself where he is destitute of faith. * * *

"One day a tree was felled in a wood; it was hewn and fashioned. This time it was not to be made into a god;—no, it was for something better. A man laden with griefs, ignominies, outrages, condemned by the cowardice of a prevaricating judge to an ignominious death, was to carry this cross. He took it on his shoulders; spent with fatigue, he dragged it to the top of the hill. There, his garments are torn off him with violence; he is fastened, nailed to the wood; the cross is fixed in earth, it stands upright;—the world is regenerated, changed, instructed for ever:—vain thoughts of men, where are you? * * * Men believe that to subject the world, brilliant armies and powerful geniuses are needed:—No, facts prove the contrary. Livid and bruised flesh, blood gushing forth with violence, a crown of thorns, an infamous and cruel death, a cross of wood:—Lord, behold your arms and the instruments of triumph prepared for the conquest of the universe. And all the stones of this temple were hewn, and chiselled, and set in their places, to do

homage to this truth. See the cross at the end of the sanctuary exalted above the altar : it says, ' this temple was built for me.'

" Statesmen have no fear of a church or religion which calls itself Pagan, Arian, Greek, Turkish, or Anglican. Catholics fear only their own church, and all separatists are equally in fear of it. Why so ? Because elsewhere the church and state are one ; i.e., the church is submissive to the state ; and this can never be the situation of the Catholic church. Its origin, its laws, its authority, its faith, forbid the fact. To fear and hate the priest and his mission, is to fear and hate the Gospel : history has well proved it. The Catholic church is the superior power which combats man's inferior propensities, and therefore he loves it not. He begins to love it when he shews a submissive spirit. But to believe, it is needful to be courageous at heart. The Church is a great school of reverence, it is also a great school of courage.

" One of the most useful of the conferences was the explanation of this dogma, *Out of the Church there is no salvation*. It enlightened the consciences, and disarmed the oppositions and prejudices of many. No one after hearing the exposition, ventured to say, that an error held in good faith would be punished by damnation. They learned ' that a genuine desire of the heart to belong to the TRUE CHURCH, would be sufficient in the eyes of God. HIMSELF alone is judge of the sincerity, the reality of this desire. * * So the Protestant in good faith, who sincerely believes himself in the way of truth, shall be saved, if he has not committed, without amends or repentance, any of these grave offences which exclude from salvation.

" ' An impossibility of distinguishing the church, which produces invincible ignorance, is not in itself a cause of damnation : the church has so defined against Baius, in proscribing that impious doctrine.

" ' That which brings condemnation is, voluntary and culpable error : this is the error which puts you out of the pale of the church, and excludes you from salvation. It is necessary to seek the TRUTH in sincerity. Comprised and defined in this way, the principle has nothing intolerant or cruel in it. We must beware of positively affirming the reprobation of any person in particular, whatever may have been his religion, his country, his era, his conduct even. At the last instant of life, on the threshold of eternity, mysteries of divine justice are doubtlessly wrought in the soul, but they are accompanied by the higher mysteries of mercy and love.' Beautiful and compassionate words ! inspired by a profound feeling of the goodness of God, and the weakness of man.

" ' Must Catholic faith be accused as exclusive ? Exclusive unity is the very character of TRUTH itself : it essentially excludes the FALSE. Religious truth is ONE because God is ONE. Still the Catholic church condemns resistance to KNOWN TRUTH *only*.'

" Some months before his death, the man of God addressed these lines to a venerated friend, ' I have just revised my *Conferences*. These poor Conferences are not written : I do not know how to write. After my death it will be judged whether there is anything in them worth publishing.' But these Conferences will, we hope, be published ; and it will then be seen that the study of them will be

judged eminently profitable. There will be discovered in them, a sound and well defined theology, solid information, well knit argumentation in the style of Bourdaloue, a turn of phrase lively and concise as the word of command, a certain military fashion of imparting doctrine, modified by the piety and mildness of the tone.

“ Another pencil than ours shall finish the portrait of the orator of Notre Dame. ‘ He has studied in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, science remarkable for its light, but still more remarkable for its heat ; and so, although he knew well enough how to convince, he knew better how to convert. His knowledge, full of unction, blazed only to warm. Flashes of flame issued from his mouth which penetrated to the inner folds of the heart. He knew well that heat penetrates farther than light ; one can only brush and gild the surface, while the other pierces the very entrails, thence to extract desirable fruits and inestimable riches. It is this general warmth which gave such divine efficacy to his saintly lectures. He has restored religion to the heart of society ; but do not suppose that he made use of disguise to render her more agreeable in the eyes of worldlings. He presented her in her natural garb, with her cross, her crown of thorns, her estrangement from the world, and her sufferings.’ These are the words of Bossuet : in painting St. Francis of Sales, he most accurately represented Father Xavier de Ravignan.”

On the 17th February, 1839, he had for listener his former preceptor and guide, Mgr. Frayssinous, now an aged man with white hair, and a venerable countenance, whose benevolent expression never yielded to the rudest trials. Allusions were made by the preacher to the former efforts of the good old bishop, and his own obligations to him. At the end of the discourse all eyes rested on the former conferencier, and a murmur of admiration and pleasure arose from the congregation. It will be recollected that the preacher received the tonsure from his auditor, 11th June, 1822, just seventeen years before.

For four years had Father Xavier held his conferences in Notre Dame, and the result seemed to himself only the conversion of a very small number of souls. He judged that a large proportion of his hearers came to see and be seen ; and that if religious principles were admitted, they were not followed up to their legitimate conclusions. A bold idea took possession of him—he would have a retreat for men during holy week at Saint Eustache. The success was great. Next year the retreat was held at Notre Dame. Being once established there was no falling off, but an increase in numbers and zeal from year to year ; the retreat in fine was the crowning of the conference.

Three or four times a day the good father addressed his

flock, and in the intervals was found in the confessionāl of the establishment Rue des Postes, or that of Rue de Sevres, or in a room off Notre Dame. His residence was in Rue de Sevres, and many a time during the few hours allowed for sleep, was he wakened up for the consolation of some untimely, or wayward, or impatient penitent. Scarcely would he have laid down his head to get a few moments' rest when steps would be heard in the corridor leading to his cell, and a new intruder be introduced.* He would be received as cordially as the rest, and having cleared his bosom of its "perilous stuff," and received divine instruction and consolation, he would soon be repacing the corridor to give place to some other restless spirit.

"A day came when the servant of God forgot all fatigue, and in his new found bliss, hardly seemed to touch the ground: it was the day of Paschal communion for the men. Who does not recall the seraphic radiance of his countenance, when on Easter morning he offered the holy sacrifice, and then, in concert with the Archbishop of Paris, distributed the BREAD OF ANGELS to these thousands of Christians! Those were the days of great consolation—his happiest days in fact. For two centuries France had not afforded such sights. There men of all ranks and all ages advanced in crowds to the altar, with arms crossed and eyes cast down, in an attitude of recollection, of dignity, and of strength, to receive under the veiled appearance of bread, the Incarnate God, who in the preceding century was openly outraged at the same place. It was a memorable event, and for sixteen years it has been annually renewed with increased blessings. A nation cannot be near its fall, when it can present to the world such cohorts armed for the good fight; when it can produce such an instrument for the salvation of souls as Xavier de Ravignan."

During the ten years of the conferences, Father Xavier had his spare time sufficiently taken up by retreats, Advent lectures, charity sermons, &c. in the various cities of France. One sermon

* One of the Protestant traditions (an expression borrowed from the *Rambler*) is the state of slavish subjection in which the Catholic laity is kept by their clergy. We wish that a convincing Protestant would accompany us some week morning to the church of * * * He would then see the benevolent Father P. obliged to make three long weary rounds of the sanctuary rails to administer the Holy Communion to about sixteen or twenty people, when a quarter of one circuit would have been more than sufficient, if it pleased those *slaves* to consider his convenience for a moment. This, and various other modes of "ingeniously tormenting" their spiritual fathers by unthinking and selfish Catholics, have decidedly convinced us that, compared with a really devoted Priest, the worst used of Mrs. Stowe's negroes may be considered a free, enlightened, and inquisitive Citizen of Boston.

for the construction of a church in Switzerland produced 10,000 francs. Along with the whole church in France, he mourned the loss of Mgr. Quelen, Archbishop of Paris, who passed to his rest, 31st December, 1839.

It was in 1840 that the circumstance occurred of himself and his community in the Rue des Postes being obliged to go without a dinner, while writers after M. Guizot's heart were proclaiming the endless riches possessed by the body.

In 1841 he lost a younger brother; the same year he was invited to Rome. He preached during the advent at the church of Saint Louis of France, and afterwards held a retreat at the church of Caravita. The Society of Saint Vincent de Paul was established the same year at Rome, and a few days after the retreat at Caravita, occurred the miraculous conversion of M. Ratisbon the Jew. The reception of Father de Ravignan by Pope Gregory XVI., was what might be expected; his pontifical blessing was given to the work of the conferences.

During the lent of 1843 he received news of his mother being dangerously ill. The retreat and confessions kept him away from her death bed:—This was part of his last letter to her.

“‘ I am in deep affliction for being prevented by the duties imposed on me by God himself from joining my brother and sister in their tenderness and cares for you. The Lord has sent you new and sharp sufferings: Oh, how I wish for power to bring solace for them! At least I can offer each day, at the sacred altar, the holy sacrifice of the Mass for my good and tender mother. The blood of our Lord Jesus will intercede for you better than I can. It will obtain for you the graces of resignation, strength, and confidence, which are so necessary for us all. Ah, yes! confidence in the boundless goodness of God. Receive my most tender and profound respects.’ This letter was written in large characters, so that the poor dying mother might be able to trace out the lines written by her son. It was signed *Gustave*, to give her still greater pleasure. The first moment duty permitted, he hastened to Bourdeaux, hoping still to see his mother alive. He found but her cold remains, and could only pray by her coffin. He followed to the tomb, her who had so lovingly watched his cradle, and whose life, dashed with bitterness, had been one long act of maternal devotedness.”

When the monopoly of the university in public instruction began to be assailed, they made (as our author remarks) powder out of Jesuitism, and scattered it on the charter, to prevent its rights being read out. A shower of pamphlets fell round the order, and in 1843, the evil passions of its enemies had infected the chamber of deputies. During the storm an eminent lawyer, M. de Vatimesnil, gave this as his opinion:

"The law has only to ascertain if men living in a common dwelling, and occupied about religious objects, contravene the article 291 of the penal code. When it is proved that there is no infraction of this particular article, the law takes no cognizance of their belief or of their rules. The members of religious associations do not form a legal corporation; they are only individuals living together, united by a purely civil contract or quasi contract, and subject to a common rule. No doubt but religion looks on the matter in another light, but human law can only consider it from this point of view."

Such was the veneration among all classes for Father de Ravignan, and such the good, it was considered, he could accomplish, that a friend thus addressed him—"Write something to explain what a Jesuit is, and say that you are a Jesuit yourself." The working out of this idea required a certain intrepidity, the very quality he possessed in perfection; and therefore it offered a greater charm for him. He published *The Existence and the Institute of the Jesuits*, and in a pamphlet shape, the letter of M. de Vatimesnil, with a brief on the legal status of unauthorised religious institutions in France; both productions bore his name on title-page.

From the introduction we quote a few passages.

"Prudence has its laws, its limits. In the lives of men there are circumstances, where precise explanations become a duty to be strictly fulfilled. * * * I am a Jesuit, that is, a member of the company of Jesus. This declaration I owe to myself, to my ministry, to my brothers in the priesthood, to the youth intrusted to us, to the faithful who honor us with their confidence; I owe it to the Church of God.

* * * Before I became Priest and Jesuit, I was a man of my time—a Frenchman, I am so still. In becoming a *Religious*, I did not intend to abdicate my country, nor to violate her laws, nor renounce the rights or duties of a citizen. * * * Has the charter proclaimed liberty of conscience—yes or no? Is evangelical perfection a right of conscience—yes or no? Well, the Religious state is Evangelical perfection in practice. I ask, by what right then do you prevent me from being a French Benedictine, Dominican, or Jesuit? I do not demand public and recognised existence, nor the smallest portion of the revenue of the state; I simply ask to breathe the free air of my country; I claim the privilege of making vows, and of observing in community with my brothers, rules approved by the Catholic Church. And in what respect, may I ask, does my liberty interfere with yours, or interfere with any one's? * * * What words coming from our mouths, have compromised public tranquillity or respect due to the laws? And yet from more than two hundred pulpits have our words gone forth in the most populous cities, in the most humble hamlets. If the sun shines for all the world, must justice and common sense extinguish their lights when we are in question?"

"Our author asks, 'why have those pages so affected us, and; why

does it appear so sad, that they should have to be written at all, and why does the accused appear so immeasurably superior to his accuser? It is because the language we have just heard, is that of innocence in the face of injustice. Innocence and truth have the same destiny on the earth—one meets injustice, the other calumny. Sisters from the beginning of the world, they have ever found fallen man their enemy, but neither has ever been totally crushed. Struck down to-day, they rise to-morrow, in twenty years, in a hundred years. What matters the number more or less? And this is the secret of the indestructible duration of the Society of Jesus.”

The Existence and Institute of the Jesuits consists of four chapters. The first includes a précis of the *Spiritual Exercises* with a sketch of the “four weeks” employed in recollection, and in purifying and elevating the soul. The second is taken up with the constitutions of the Society, which Richelieu called the master-piece of genius. It treats of the noviciate, the studies, the third year of trial, the different ministries discharged by the order, the government of the society, and the vow of obedience. “A divine light is shed on those things never mentioned by the irreligious and prejudiced except as gloomy mysteries. It is as if the Society had opened all its doors and gates, that the world might inspect its spirit and discipline at its entire convenience.” In this second chapter is also given the daily employment of a day by a Religious of the order; and our author hints that many among the detractors of the Society would probably feel a little embarrassment about publishing a *true* journal of an ordinary day in their own lives.

The third chapter is entitled *Doctrines of the Society of Jesus*. Father de Ravignan shews in this chapter that the Society entertains no peculiar opinions, but follows those universally received, particularly those enlarged on by St. Thomas; and that in open questions, there is thorough liberty to individuals to adopt either side without blame.

“The Jesuits have no peculiar doctrines; but every religious body has a spirit peculiar to itself; and the company of Jesus forms no exception. Its proper spirit is, zeal for the salvation of souls, defence of truth, and the propagation of the holy reign of the Gospel. In theology and philosophy it has a decided tendency to guard the rights of rational liberty and of reason; and therefore it has ever battled against the doctrines of Luther, of Calvin, and of Jansenius. • • • The glory and very life of the Church is its Apostolicity: the Jesuits are essentially Missionaries. Their first mission arrested Protestantism in Europe; and as Fenelon said in one of his finest sermons, ‘the company aided by the Portuguese, opened for the church at its birth, a new road to the Indies.’”

In the enumeration of the successful results of the missions of St. Francis Xavier and others of the body, occur the words spoken to Philip V. by the bishop of Buenos Ayres: "Sire, among these numerous tribes composed of Indians naturally prone to every kind of vice, there prevails such innocence, that to the best of my belief, no mortal sin is committed by any one."

The fourth chapter is dedicated to the subject of missions, and is written with great freedom, brilliancy, and convincing force; and at the conclusion, an appeal is made to the good feeling, common sense, and common justice of his countrymen.

The chamber of deputies were as insensible to the influence of the work, which, by the way, ran through several editions in a few months, as the ears of Esop's ass to the melody of the nightingale, or as our own Commons are to mere logical argument, when they have decided to vote for or against ministers. In May, 1845, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of M. Berryer for the cause of good faith and mere justice, the majority confided to the government the care of seeing the laws executed.

The unfortunate Executive did not well know how to set about the ungracious task of dispersing the dreaded though unresisting community.

"The cause of the Jesuits had assumed a name and a countenance—it was entitled 'Father Xavier de Ravignan.' The Government stood in his presence, and not before nameless phantoms. The prime-minister said to him: 'A great storm is blowing—I will meet it—I have spoken to the King—to the council—we cannot be guilty of such gross injustice—no measure has as yet been resolved on; we will let the flood go by.' . . . The court opened a negotiation with Rome. . . . The Pope felt it his duty not to submit to the demands of the government; and Father de Ravignan thus summed up the state of matters 12th July, 1845—'The Holy See has made no concession; the Father General believes it our duty to submit; and we will probably be obliged to disperse, and live here and there in little groups of threes and fours.'

"And this was the great victory achieved:—a community of poor priests instead of living together under the same roof, were obliged to separate and seek asylums, where two or three might live together unmolested. Humanity might fearlessly resume its march of glory, and the great of the earth enjoy untroubled sleep."

In February, 1845, he had to sympathise with his brother Hippolyte for the loss of his beloved wife. After the Lent of 1846 he found his constitution much shaken, but he continued

to discharge his missionary labours, visiting Toulouse, Avignon, Metz, Nancy, Lyons, Bourdeaux, and other cities.

We find him at the Eaux Bonnes in 1847, when he fancied he was recovering some of his old vigor. From his retreat at Vals, in August of the same year, he wrote a letter to a friend, from which we select a few extracts worthy of the serious consideration of the heads of families.

God has assigned to Christian fathers and mothers, the important mission of preparing and assuring, as far as in them lies, the future welfare of their children. The essential point is, that these children should, before God, be strongly convinced of the necessity and duty of occupation and labor.. My soul is sad, my heart afflicted, when I reflect that at this present day, and under the circumstances of the times, when every man, every Christian is called by God to fight for the good and the true, young persons do not arm themselves with zeal and courage to exercise a useful influence some day, and to exhibit in a sickly state of society, qualities of probity, devotedness, zeal, honor, faith. Ah! I beg of you to animate and urge on your sons in this good career."

In 1845, M. de Montalembert offered hospitality to Father Ravignan and his companions, when they were deprived of the right of living in community *in the name of the laws of the realm*. The invitation was not accepted, but the offer was gratefully remembered in connexion with the other struggles of that intrepid combatant of the Church.

" 'Let me return you,' wrote Father de Ravignan on the 10th of July 1846, 'the most hearty and enduring thanks in the names of the objects and persons most dear to me. May God sustain, preserve, and recompense you. Beautiful and rich will be the crown reserved for you in heaven.' When the vigorous and eloquent pamphlet on the *Duty of Catholics* appeared, no one did such ample justice to the author as Father de Ravignan. These devoted and generous pages produced in him the most profound emotion. He wrote to the Count on the 22nd of July, 1845: 'Rising from prayer, and sitting at my writing table, it seemed to me while reading your lines as if I was praying still. I return thanks to our all good and all powerful Lord for having raised up such a great soul for the defence of the liberty of the Church.' M. l'Abbé Dupanloup, afterwards consecrated Bishop of Orleans, being in Rome a little after the election of the present Pope, heard from the lips of Pius IX. the most cordial testimonies to the services of M. de Montalembert. Father de Ravignan deeply enjoyed this act of just gratitude rendered from so high a quarter to his worthy and religious friends."

A meeting of the Society being held in Rome in the winter of 1847, he journeyed thither at the suggestion of M. de Montalembert, backed by the advice of his medical attendants. He

felt the brewing of the coming storm, and wrote in very low spirits to the Count on the state of society in the city.—The Company of Jesus being called on for a profession of political faith, he answered :

“ Our Institute recognises acts of political faith no more than the Gospel or the Church recognises or teaches them. We are merely Christ’s apostles for all places, for all nations, and in presence of all forms of Government. We keep silence, we pray, we wait. This is our entire policy, and God forbids us to adopt any other.”

Our good father was received with marked kindness by the saintly Pius. He returned to Paris on the outburst of February, 1848, that being the post appointed him by order of the Father General. For some of his letters touching the disturbances in June and the death of the Archbishop of Paris, we refer to the original.

Our author taking up the subject of the liberty of Religious education at this point, gives a sketch of the relations of the Church and State in France on this subject, before the revolution, when neither the university nor the bishops had the exclusive monopoly of public instruction. When Buonaparte set about rebuilding society out of the ruins left by the revolution, he considered it essential that national education should be based on the precepts of the Catholic religion, and therefore selected the chief directors from among the clergy. No essential change occurred during the years of the Restoration ; but from 1830 to 1837 there was nothing done of a decisive character in favor either of the University or the Clergy. Thenceforward the struggle went on, the Abbé Dupanloup vigorously assailing the University, and maintaining the right of the Clergy to be allowed a share in the important concern of the education of youth. From the *Religious Pacification* published by him in 1845, we extract a passage in which he makes an unjust law speak in the exact spirit of its intention.

“ In the old Pagan times the judges thus addressed their victims : ‘ Seeing that you are Christians, you are no longer Roman Citizens ;’ our present rulers say to us, ‘ You are Regular clergy, consequently you cease to be French citizens. * * * If you are more than a mere Christian, than an ordinary Priest, if you are in fact, a Religious, begone ! We banish you from your own proper house. We have no objection that you be a Christian, aye, even a Priest, but to a certain degree of perfection only. Whoever passes that bound, ceases to be considered a citizen by us. As you despise the things of this earth in your aspirations after a heavenly country, it is but right that you should have no

enjoyment in this world, except under all the conditions and restrictions we choose to impose. We give you full liberty to breathe the common air, to practise meditation at your leisure, as long as the law takes no offence. In a word, your country must be considered in the light of a way-side inn, not a family abode. A home, citizens' rights, rights of nature, native country, none of these things are for *Perfect Christians*. They may seek them elsewhere if it please them."

Catholic exertions for the liberty of religious education required a central point of action. Father de Ravignan turned his earnest attention to the matter, and a committee was organized in 1844. A great deal of good was done by the publication of Episcopal charges, and other useful writings; and additional service was rendered to religious liberty by M. Le Baron Cauchy, who in a work on the religious orders, gathered into the compass of a few pages, all the claims possessed by the Jesuits to the respect and gratitude of the Christian world. But strange as it may appear, it was not till after the proclamation of a republic in 1848, that the good object was attained.

The Abbé Dupanloup was associated in the prosecution of the great work, with no less a name than M. Thiers. Our biographer gives all due praise to the diligence and devotedness of this remarkable man in the new phase of his public career; but the reader feels that he is surprised at the zeal of one whose antecedents were such as the world knows well enough. One expression of the Abbe's during the discussion is worth recording.

"With the pretended right of the State to fashion childhood and youth to its own image, he was well content, as long as it called itself by the name of St. Louis, but what would be the result, if the name of the State for the time being, happened to be Sardanapalus or Proudhon?" Father de Ravignan had said early Mass for his friend, on the day when this pious and valiant defender of Religious liberty, weighed down by private sorrow at the time, was to speak on such a momentous subject. 'God has assisted me,' said he with humility, on passing out of the assembly."

On the 15th of March 1850, the liberty of religious instruction was established, after a ten years incessant struggle.

The most fervent piety and most strenuous and unflagging exertions for the promotion of God's kingdom on earth, could not exempt Father de Ravignan from family sorrows and trials. His sister lost her husband Count Excelmans by a violent death, and was bereaved of her daughter soon after. His brother followed the remains of a beloved wife and daughter to the tomb within a short space of time. He gave all the consola-

tion that could be drawn from religious sources, to the survivors, but his own tender disposition was deeply affected by the losses and the affliction of the survivors.

In the Lent of 1850 he appeared again at Notre Dame, not to lead the conferences, for he was now unable to preach for any length, but to hold a retreat. According as he felt his voice strengthening, he lent himself to the cause of every charitable work that solicited his co-operation. He visited London during the great exhibition of 1851, at the invitation of Cardinal Wiseman.

“Bossuet writing to Lord Perth, *High Chancellor* of Scotland, who was converted to the Catholic faith after reading the *Exposition*, said, ‘You must now be aware, after reading through my letters, of the tender love which I feel for England and Scotland, on account of all the saints who have flourished in these realms, and of the faith which has produced such excellent fruits. A hundred and a hundred times I have longed for the opportunity of laboring for the reconciliation of that great island, for which my earnest prayers shall never cease to ascend to Heaven.’”

Our unworldly father looked on the matchless collection of the Crystal Palace, only as a gorgeous instance of the worship of matter ; but said he in a letter to a friend :

“‘There is something better in this country : it is a grave and serious movement towards the Catholic Faith. It is not general, indeed, but it is very evident and marked among thinking people. . . . I believe that one element of the power of this country, is the share taken by young men of birth in public affairs. All the traditions of the past are still here in full vigour. They respect authority, the law, the constitution. The landed aristocracy is rich and powerful. Meanwhile they speak of the progress and influence of the middle class.’ He gave conferences during the months of May and June, and the French chapel being too small, they were removed to a concert room. Himself was a living refutation of so many errors and calumnies heaped on the church. The Englishman given up to worldly enjoyments, and entertaining a very strange idea of our priests, was astonished by the involuntary respect he was obliged to feel in presence of the apostle. A certain atmosphere of sanctity in which he was enveloped, did more than the most invincible argument, or the most powerful genius.”

In the early part of 1852, he was believed to be at the point of death ; and the doors of the house in the Rue de Sevres was constantly beset by people of every condition. The prayers of such an earnest multitude prevailed with God ; and in May we find him convalescent at Versailles, with strict injunctions from his medical adviser, Dr. Cruveilhier, to relax and take

rest. Like every fervent soldier of Christ he naturally regretted the loss of the forces necessary to carry on the holy war, but devout submission still kept him reconciled to God's good appointments. On the 9th of September, the first festival held in honor of blessed Peter Clauer, he wrote a long letter to his old attached friend, Mgr. Dupanloup, lamenting his inability to be present at the happy solemnity.

In June, 1853, he attended the meeting of the Society in Rome for the election of a successor to Father Roothan, lately deceased. Some votes were given for himself, but Father Beekx was elected. The quasi-liberal journalists of Turin could not let such an opportunity pass without spreading mis-statements and lies respecting the election ; we extract in preference, some lines from Father de Ravignan to Count Montalembert, dated 1st August, 1853.

" There was neither a French party, an Italian party, nor a Belgian party ; not a shade of division nor of ill-feeling. We endeavoured to sound the dispositions of those judged worthy to fill the office of Father general. Prayer and peace have preceded every move, and have brought about the happy result. Our choice was decided a month ago, and we are now labouring for the perfection of the rule, and for the accommodation of ourselves to the exigencies of the times, and for the consolidation and increase of the good we hope yet to do. Aid us to thank Heaven for the concord that reigns amongst us, and for the entire liberty we enjoy in settling every matter according to our constitutions. The sovereign Pontiff has been much pleased with the election of Father Beekx. He has spoken to me at large on the state of the Church in France. He can well appreciate all the good that has been done ; he mentioned the Bishop of Orleans in a manner most gratifying to my feelings."

The father expresses most feelingly in the suite of this letter, the deep gratitude felt by the father of the Society and all its members to the Count, the strenuous defender of their rights, and of the general liberties of the church.

It must have afforded Father de Ravignan great consolation (let not this be mistaken for gratified spiritual pride or vanity.) to have been the instrument chosen by God in effecting so many tardy conversions. A young woman once presented herself at the parlor of the house Rue de Sevres, and though the father was occupied, and several obstacles came in the way, she persisted, saw him, acknowledged to not having ever received Baptism about which she had heard him preach, persevered in her good purpose, and became a fervent Christian.

An old actress sent for Father Ravignan in her last illness,

acknowledged that she knew nothing of the nature of religion, but that she had heard him once preach without paying much attention, that during her present pains she was strongly reminded of him, and was urged by some interior influence to send for him, that she supposed it was what the Christians call grace, and that she wished to make her confession. She did become a true penitent indeed, endured all her tortures patiently, and even desired their continuance by way of penance. She expired after severe sufferings, with a heavenly smile on her face; her pious decease was a source of true pleasure to her father confessor.

He devoted much of his later years to holding retreats in the house of the Sacred Heart, Rue de Varennes, as the failure of his voice prevented him from holding conferences. The ladies of the Fauborg St. Germain were obliged to keep a sharp look out for tickets as the chapel was not large. In 1851, being disagreeably affected by perceiving a growing spirit of negligence prevailing in the society of the day, he held forth to his high bred audience in a style the reverse of complimentary.

“He spoke to these ladies of the employment of their time, of their toilettes, of their expenses, of the manner of their educating their daughters, of the reading of frivolous or evil books, visits where nothings succeed to nothings in the happy cases of the absence of back-biting. So pass these days which should be filled with useful employment. A severe account of them will be exacted, for time is given us to obtain merit before God. And the toilettes! with what sadness of heart did the man of God represent their luxury and their style of dress at evening parties! With what delicacy of expression he knew how to speak disagreeable things! ‘Ladies, how are you attired? Shall I tell you? You are attired just like—Truth herself.’ He also denounced those dances which might have suited Pagan times, but were unfit for Christian people.

‘Do you suppose, ladies, when your daughters’ bouquets are found faded at the end of these dances, that the lilies of their souls are not equally faded?’ The holy man did not spare those mothers, little watchful over the faith and innocence of their daughters, and many a queenly brow was bent to the earth. Passing to other subjects he pointed out the abyss opened under the feet of people by lavish expense. He produced a startling effect in their souls by the mode in which he proposed the simple question, ‘Ladies, do you pay your debts?’ He laid his hand on hidden but smarting sores, and lifted veils which concealed the causes of shame and ruin. . . . In consequence of the good impressions made, there began to appear in the evening reunions, the kerchiefs which soon got the name of

the *Ravignans*. About two hundred years before, modesty warned and corrected, had imagined the *Bourdaloües*." *

Our author next gives an outline of the course of instructions imparted during these retreats at the Maison du Sacré Cœur, to which we direct the careful attention of the devout in or outside the cloister. It is followed by sundry letters of comfort, encouragement, and direction to some individuals who had particular claims to his attention. To those dispirited souls who seemed to have no worldly comfort in their future prospects, he pointed out the long series of suffering and endurance borne by our Crucified Redeemer, and the mere reasonableness of our being prepared to bear his cross during this short scene of trial, that we may then enter into the participation of his glory.

Father Roothan shortly before his death, had enjoined it as a duty on Father de Ravignan to write a history of the Pontificates of Clement XIII. and Clement XIV. We will touch slightly upon the subject of the work, regretting our all too narrow space for the treating of this and other deeply interesting subjects.

In 1761, Voltaire writing to Helvetius made use of the well known horrible expression springing out of his hatred to the Jesuits for being the foremost champions of Christianity.

"Infidel Philosophy, in order to destroy the Christian religion, had enrolled Jansenism in its ranks, on account of its fixed determination to destroy the Society of Jesus. The Jansenists, occupied with their own proper quarrel with the Jesuits, little thought of the disturbance they would cause in the moral order by extinguishing them ; but the Philosophers were fully aware of the vacancy that would spread round the banner of Catholicism, when that wished for consummation would take place. St. Alphonsus de Liguori called the Institute of St. Ignatius, the bulwark of the Church of God, and Voltaire and his school were of the same opinion. Twenty thousand Jesuits scattered through the world as instructors of youth, directors of souls, preachers, writers, apostles of civilization, and martyrs at need, bathed the earth with their sweat and blood. . . . The order never required reformation. Lord Bacon applied to the members the words of an Ancient, 'being such as you are, would to God that you were ours!'"

* Oh for a month of Father de Ravignan once more ! at Notre Dame, St. George's, Southwark, or St. Francis Xavier's, Dublin, to moderate the dimensions of hoops, or trundle them into the Liffey or the Red Sea.

The most terrible catastrophes of history arise from the blunders of minds without faith, and the depravation of morals. For forty years before the Revolution the Kings of the South of Europe lent their hands to their own destruction. By the sides of these weak or wicked kings, were found ministers unable to prevent the evil or prompt to work it. Choiseul in France, Pombal in Portugal, Wall and D'Aranda in Spain, and Tanucci in Naples, went before the breeze of innovation, and rejoiced in the work of iniquity.

"Pombal, one of the most odious creatures ever known, planned the destruction of Catholicity in Portugal, provided himself with monstrous accusations against the Jesuits, struck them without proofs, without trial, without any avowable motives, and crowned his tyrannical measures by the cruelty of their execution. Mme. de Pompadour, finding them intractable with respect to her own weaknesses, demanded their expulsion from France. Choiseul, the minister, was only too happy to second her hatred in denouncing them to the Parliament. Charles III. of Spain was devout, but he was influenced by an atrocious calumny, by which the honor of his mother and his own legitimacy were compromised, and he signed an order for their banishment. Six thousand priests, with nothing but their breviaries and a change of clothes, were hurried on board with barbarous precipitation. Naples, Parma, and Malta, rivalled Spain in the evil work. Pope Clement XIII. whose reign of ten and a-half years was one scene of struggle and protest, wrote to Joseph I. of Portugal in the words of Scripture—'Have pity, my son, on the gray hairs of your father, and do not afflict him in the last days of his life.' At the approach of the storm, he exhorted Louis XV. to be firm in defence of the interests of Religion, and to the Bishops, to co-operate with him."

All except three did their duty. When the parliament issued its decree in 1762 the Pope in consistory, declared the decree of parliament null and void. The modest king advised the Head of the Church to be silent on the merits of the order after the impudent proceedings of the parliament in 1764; the Bull, *Apostolicum*, was condemned and prohibited, but the Bishops of France gave it their unanimous adhesion, and addressed vigorous reclamations to the court in favor of the proscribed company.

Clement XIII. at bay before the Courts of France, Spain, and Naples, declared to the Ambassador of Spain that like some of his predecessors, he preferred exile to the betrayal of the cause of Religion and the Church. He would not wait for a reply, but ordered the doors to be opened in order to end the conference. The occupation of Avignon, of Beneventum, and of Ponte Corvo, did not turn him from his resolve. He shewed this heroic determination though assailed from without by those who ought to have shewn themselves his affectionate and duti-

ful children, and oppressed with the infirmities of age. He was released by death from his sufferings, and his hapless successor, Clement XIV. was required, as the dreaded sons of St. Ignatius were now expelled from four kingdoms, that he should banish them from the world entire——extinguish them altogether. For four years he temporised; he lived from day to day hearing nothing but injunctions and threats; and after every sleepless night, he commenced another day of misery and anguish. At last the *poor Pope*, as the pious witnesses of his torments called him, signed for the **SAKE OF PEACE**, the Brief of Abolition, 21st July, 1773, and on the 22nd September, 1774, the anguish of his soul brought him to the tomb. In the process of the Canonization of St Alphonsus de Liguori it was proved on unquestionable evidence, that the venerable servant of God living at Arienzo, a little town of his diocese, was found by his domestics in a species of trance which endured for a part of two days, 21st and 22nd September, 1774, and that on his awaking from it, he announced the death of the Pope whose last moments he had been allowed in spirit to sustain.

The literary and religious world are aware of the existence of Father Theiner's History of these transactions, written in an unfriendly spirit to the Society of Jesus. Father de Ravignan was enjoined by the General, as already mentioned, to go over the same ground, with the object of making a better apology for the Pontiff who had suppressed the Company. Aided by the researches of Father Montezon, he laboured from February, 1853, to July 1854, when the work, under the title of "*Clement XIII. and Clement XIV.*," appeared in one volume. A supplementary volume by way of appendix was afterwards issued. He wants nothing to be believed on his own word: he gives transcripts from original documents to prove the heroic resistance made by Clement XIII, and the harassing, goading, and threatening, that at last forced his successor to sign for the *Peace of Christendom*, the death warrant of the supporters of the Faith. The Historian had to deal between the love for his order, and the reverence due to the Head of the Church; but he seemed more anxious, as far as truth allowed, to apologize for the signing of the cruel mandate under the pressure of necessity, than to excite sympathy for, or justify his own brotherhood.

"What a mass of mighty works perished in Europe, in America, and in Asia, on the suppression of the Jesuits, and what a spectacle was presented by that silent obedience to the Pontifical Brief!

Works, the most important and precious, sunk in silence, and not a murmur escaped from the heap of ruins. No one in our days can overlook the breach made in the defences of religion and society : the Jesuits fell, but their downfall crushed the world."

The number of converts distinguished by their piety, learning or birth, won over to the Catholic Faith, and many of them through conferences held with himself, consoled the Father in a great degree for his later inability to preach, or endure the rough life of an active missionary. His biographer devotes a chapter to the Oxford movement, and to the visits of Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Allies, and others, to the cell of the zealous missionary. The first step generally taken by devout Anglicans uneasy about their spiritual state, was to go over to Paris, and visit the Churches and Hospitals, where a zealous young guide (M Auguste Cochin) generally secured them, and conducted them either to Sister Rosalie or Father De Ravignan. He read but could not speak English, and many of his visitors were in the same predicament as regarded French ; but their hearts were possessed by a devout spirit, and they simply and earnestly sought the true path of life in which they might walk with safety. There was a power of attractive piety about their spiritual counsellor, by which, under God, their understandings were enlightened, and their hearts filled with holy desire for that full communication with CHRIST, his Blessed Mother and his Saints, which can be found alone in Catholic Communion. Rev. Wm. Allies gives an account of his visits to Father Ravignan in his delightful and interesting Journal of a visit to France and Italy : to this work we have great pleasure in referring our readers. These conversions were very seldom brought about by discussion. His hearers were earnestly desirous of truth ; he affirmed such or such doctrines ; their hearts were moved by grace, and they unhesitatingly welcomed the guidance of that Church, within which confidence reposes, and the troubles of religious doubt and disquiet are unknown.

In the Lent of 1855, Father de Ravignan preached in the Chapel of the Tuilleries before the great of the earth, and was not afraid to speak of the necessity and difficulty of self-government, of sin, and of hell. To suppress any self-glorification, as we may suppose, that might arise from having held forth before the High Powers, he next preached a retreat to poor old men of one of the houses of the *Petites-Sœurs des Pauvres*. 'I am not able now to do much,' said he to the Lady Superior ; 'do

me the favor of confiding this little work to me.' His identity was kept a secret to his audience, who little suspected they were listening to the great orator of Notre Dame.

Father de Ravignan had received from Heaven, along with the power of turning the hearts of his hearers to God, the gifts of being well qualified to direct their steps in the way of Christian perfection, for he was well acquainted with the spiritual life and its sacred depths. This habitude of guiding souls, had given him wonderful light for distinguishing true vocations. He attached himself with a paternal tenderness to those young spirits, who on considering the things of the earth, had found them unworthy of their attachment, and had set forward on their road to Heaven through the quiet paths of prayer and the cloister. He took particular interest in those, who had renounced rank, brilliant prospects, or the enjoyments attending wealth, youth, and beauty. We insert extracts from his letters to a young Carmelite, who had renounced high station, and its accompanying seductions, for the close gratings of the daughters of St. Theresa. These letters date from the 2nd November, 1856.

" Oh! how I long to revisit our dear Carmel of the Rue de Messine! There it pleased God to send me true consolation. Courage, my child, for self-conquest, prayer, then death! May we tend with one accord to this perfection, which is the only way traced for us by the Divine hand. You commence your religious life nearly at the same time of year, in which thirty-four years ago, on All Souls' day, without a word to any one but the venerable priest my director, I went alone at foot, to knock at the door of our noviciate of Montrouge. I was then twenty-seven years old, and now I have arrived at old age. I had lived too eagerly the life of the world: I brought away deep wounds which left sharp pains behind them. And now, poor laborer of the eleventh hour, faithless disciple of God who had long since called me, I felt myself thenceforward drawn to the interior life, the principle of such unspeakable happiness. And after the promises of these early days, what have I done? However, God be blessed that I have still found myself drawn to prayer, to recollection. I have always found in them, remedies for my misery, and living grace for my efficient help. You, my child, will do better than your father. You will courageously embrace this life of immolation and prayer. In the perfect renunciation of yourself, and in an inviolable fidelity to prayer, you will meet with strength and peace. How happy will I be to behold the fruits. Advance then to the cross of your master like MARY, your mother and your queen. . . Aspire, as you can and ought—aspire, I say, to that life of prayer which your blessed mother, St. Theresa, has bequeathed to her daughters, as their peculiar inheritance. Let no bitternesses, distractions, obscurities, or any temptations whatever, stop your progress. God has appointed your place in the way to the garden of

delights, where you will indeed have to drink his chalice and bear his cross, but still with unspeakable comfort. Doubtlessly our lot is to die and immolate ourselves—to die to ourselves and to everything which holds us to the earth, in order to enjoy life in a higher sphere.

“This is the proper day to congratulate you on the fruits of your retreat, and the holy resolutions with which our Lord has inspired you. Bless him with your whole heart for the attraction you feel towards the Divine Infancy. Nothing can be better. You will there comprehend the simplicity as well as the entire generosity of the immolation. . . . Holy prayer will bring you through the crucible of Divine Love. All is well when we wish to die, in order to live only by grace, for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

“Saint John of the Cross, the admirable disciple of your admirable mother, has marked out the way. It is encumbered with obstacles, the struggle will be long; but what joys are found in the very pains, when God has seized on the heart to attach it inviolably to himself! Your heart, dear child, is wholly given up to your Divine Master: May he be ever blessed!

“Prayer, my daughter, is the life of Carmel: it is a world without limit, it is Heaven upon earth. In spite of repugnances, spiritual droughts, and continual distraction, the heart devoted with constancy to the holy exercise of prayer, finds therein a peace, a comfort surpassing all sensible pleasure. It is the intimate friendly relation with God, with a father always tender, notwithstanding his apparent rigor, and the rough trials he sends. Embrace prayer, courageously persevere, and your soul shall be strengthened, elevated, blessed. Can anything be better than to think and to live for God alone, and to love him without interruption? Ah! this way is rough, beset with briars and thorns: we are sometimes torn, sometimes thrown down, but with courage we rise and proceed. The life of Carmel, life of a victim immolated for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, is an arduous course, at the end of which are beautiful crowns, prizes for the victors: we must run and patiently struggle to obtain them.

“It is necessary to fight valiantly in order to live this life of devoted and vigilant love, which your mother St. Theresa obtained as a grant for herself and her daughters. The hour of your profession approaches. Oh! prepare the victim by the desires of your heart ever united to the heart of your loving master.”

His last apostolical labors were devoted to a retreat given to the Carmelites of the Rue de Messine. It commenced 12th November, 1857, at 4 o'clock in the evening, and ended 20th of the same month. He came on foot, notwithstanding the season and the distance from the house Rue de Sevres; and discoursed four times in the day, seated in a straw chair in the parlor, and with his face turned towards the veiled nuns, who listened from behind the grilles. He took a slight repast at 12 o'clock, and returned home on foot at 6 in the evening. It is a happy circumstance that the substance of the discourses has been preserved: an outline is given p. p. 479. 502.

Early in December he fell ill.* He was able to celebrate Mass on the festival of the Immaculate Conception; but it was his last on earth.

They brought him the Holy Communion at 5 o'clock every morning; and Mass was celebrated in his chamber by permission of the Archbishop. His left lung only was now remaining, and that much affected since 1852; and in consequence he suffered much in his breathing. He sometimes desired death, at others thought of convalescence, and the labors it would refit him for; but dreaded a recovery unattended with powers to be useful to his fellow mortals. Till the 10th of February, 1858, he was able to rise and sit for a few hours in an easy chair near the fire. It would require more space than we can afford, to mention the numerous relics that were sent from Germany, Italy, and England, which, though convinced of his approaching death, he piously wore about his person; the Novenas that were offered up for his recovery; the crosses, &c. that were sent to receive his benediction. His illness caused a profound sensation through every part of Christendom, where devotion still retained any influence.

From the 21st, of February an inflammation of the bowels was added to his other sufferings. On the 25th, the forerunners of death were evident—the restless and cold hands, feeble, short, and abrupt breathing, and the cold perspiration streaming down the countenance. For the circumstantial diary of the last hours of his well spent life, and his heavenly communications with his devoted brothers in the ministry, who read for him, prayed with him, and rendered all the solace in their power to his bodily sufferings, we refer to the work. They are more suited to the pages of a book on ascetic devotion than to those of a secular journal. Suffice it to say, that the same severity to self, the same ardent love of his Saviour, and the same zeal for his neighbour's salvation, that were so evident during his active career, prevailed during these trying hours: we supply a few passages from the latest moments of his trials, supplied by Father Pontlevoy.

* The account of his illness and happy death was obtained from Father P. de Pontlevoy.

"It was one hour after midnight. I found the good Father in his agony : a feeble and panting breath escaped with difficulty from his breast ; he was bathed in a cold perspiration, and his poor hands were as if frozen. 'Dear Father, do you know me?' said I. 'I do, I do.' 'You are going to expire.' 'But I have not suffered enough yet.' 'Do you wish to gain the jubilee before dying?' 'Most earnestly.' 'Then kiss this crucifix.' I presented him a venerated crucifix which himself had brought from Rome. 'Make an act of charity. Offer to our Lord Jesus Christ the sacrifice of your life.' 'With my whole heart.' 'Ask pardon from God for all the faults of your life.' He joined his hands, raised his eyes to heaven, and cried with a loud voice, 'My God, pardon all the iniquities of my life! My father, beseech God that he may grant me pardon.' He then received the last absolution. . . . The Father Provincial said, 'would you wish that we recite the prayers of those in their last agony?' 'Oh, with great pleasure.' While we repeated these prayers aloud, he evidently united his intentions to ours. He expired on the 26th of February, 1858, at half past One in the morning, with his eyes intensely fixed on the crucifix before him, and giving three long sighs at the name of the Saviour of the world. He was sixty-two years, two months, and twenty-three days old. Thus died Father de Ravignan : thus die all the saints.

His last days were in some measure a resumé of his life. His soul, his character, were evident during these solemn hours. Ardent faith, humility, obedience, delicacy, goodness of heart, unalterable peace, resolution, immovable firmness—all were there."

There was grief and profound emotion through the whole city of Paris, when the death of Father de Ravignan was announced. His body, clothed in his Religious habit, was laid on a bed in a lower room of the house, Rue de Sevres, for three days ; and the populace of the city, ever in extremes, crowded from Wednesday to Sunday to look their last on the remains of him who had labored so much for their salvation, and whom they looked on now as a saint.

It was wished that the grandest of obsequies should be celebrated over his remains in Notre Dame ; but the Father Provincial preferred that it should be otherwise, and that he should be borne to his resting place on a poor hearse as a simple Religious. His old and attached friend, Mgr. Dupanloup, summoned by telegraph from Orleans, delivered an improvised funeral sermon in St. Sulpice, which was filled to overflowing. The unstudied discourse affected himself and his audience to tears, and thousands were obliged to content themselves with stations on the steps and in the yard. .

Even as conversions from vicious courses are more seldom wrought by severe measures, than by mildness and patience, so as already observed, conversions to Catholic faith and practice are more the result (humanly speaking) of friendly inter-communications with Catholics of devout lives, and the study of devotional books, than of the perusal of controversial works or of holding viva-voce discussions. We therefore welcome the life of this good and great man, as calculated for the spread of piety among Catholics, and the partial removal of the prejudices against the Society of Jesus, and the Church of which it forms one of the strongest bulwarks. Should it be said that he was an exception, we repeat in the words of his biographer, that he was a Jesuit to his heart's core ; and from ourselves, that his heroic character, his love of his kind, his severity to himself, his zeal for the salvation of souls, his stainless life, and ardent piety, are common to him with thousands and thousands of his brethren ; and that though many may lack his human abilities, the amount of good, spiritual and temporal, wrought by their quiet and silent efforts is incalculable, and will not be known in its grand proportions till they are called to receive their reward at the last day in the presence of the angels and of the whole of Adam's race.

We are not altogether pleased with the execution of the portrait accompanying the volume. Intellect and penetration are abundantly expressed in the ample forehead and eagle eyes, and resolute firmness in the lower part of the face, but there is a hard quality about the mouth, which we are sure did not belong to the living features. Though denying to himself, he was charity itself to all others.

M. Poujoulat is well known in the literary world of Paris by his share with M. Michaud in the "History of the Crusades," his "Letters from the East," "History of Jerusalem," and other works relative chiefly to Palestine and Egypt. He has contributed largely to *Le Correspondent* and other Catholic journals, and has all the ease and skill of a practised writer. It is very desirable that a translation should be presented to the English reading public, for as our readers may perceive, even from our meagre sketch, there is a considerable amount of historic information to be got, in addition to the edifying life of the subject of the work ; and the outlines of the retreats and conferences would be most acceptable to every devoutly inclined person

whether in community, or battling for salvation amid the turmoils of the exterior life.*

* In the *Past and Present* of Thomas Carlyle there is a most delightful and spirit-stirring picture of the talents, the struggles, the self-denials, the heroism and the exertions of a monk of the dark ages, for the weal of his little community—what may be called his “little world.” Would that the Jesuit in *Devereux* could subject this German-souled and genial Pantheist to the mesmeric trance, if mesmerism itself was not a humbug and if the practice was not interdicted by the Church. Having put him in rapport with himself, he might for the time, imbue him with a Christian spirit, give him pen and paper, nor allow him liberty, till he had sketched the subject of this memoir in his own peculiar spirit and fashion. Then would a matchless picture be given to the world, for which under present circumstances it will have long to wait.

ART. VI.—THE DEAF AND THE DUMB.

1. *The Lost Senses.* By the late John Kitto, D.D.F.S.A. Editor of the "Pictorial Bible," and "The Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature." London: Cox, 1857.
2. *Catholic Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. Twelfth Annual Report.* Dublin: 1858.

Varied as the ideas may have been relative to the privations endured by the deaf mute or those deprived of sight, popular opinion at all times leaned to the side of the blind, and regarded the combined loss of the two senses of hearing and speech as comparatively more easy borne than that of not being able to behold all the beauties which Nature and Art present to charm our vision, combined with the still more hallowed pleasure of regarding the dearest objects of domestic life; these considerations present themselves so palpably before the mind as to exclude the idea of any loss being comparable in extent to that experienced by the blind. We are free to acknowledge that we indulged in similar theories, and it was not until we had studied with deep interest and much attention the very instructive little volume which has, we may say, been bequeathed to us, by one who experiencing the loss of one of those senses, devoted himself to the study of all the others, that our illusions have been dispelled; and so clearly has he pointed out the various sources of enjoyment open to the blind (in the intellectual not the material world,) that we, sceptics as we admit ourselves to have been, have had the scales removed from our eyes, and sad as the choice may seem, pronounce in favor of the blind.

In order, however, to prove the truth of this axiom which may at first glance startle our readers, we think the best mode of convincing, is to adopt that which convinced ourselves, namely, the proofs presented by the experience of Dr. Kitto in his most interesting work entitled *The Lost Senses*, a book which we would fain see on the table of every philanthropist who sympathizes in the sorrows and privations of his fellow man, or who, in any way is desirous of ameliorating his condition.

Without further prelude we shall lay before our readers, as much of the spirit of the work as we can condense

in the brief space allotted to us; we perused it with both pleasure and profit, and trust it will afford equal gratification to those who may be tempted to glance over this resumé.

Dr. Kitto has left us a short but most interesting sketch of the feelings and sensations experienced by him on the total deprivation of hearing, a calamity which occurred to him in his twelfth year. The circumstances of his early life held forth no promise of a future of affluence; his father, who was a master builder, commenced life under rather advantageous auspices, in connection with an elder brother, an engineer of great repute; the road to fortune was open to him, but unhappily, like many others of equal or even superior genius, prosperity destroyed both brothers, and after a few years they were reduced to comparative poverty; and the father of our author had to earn his bread as a jobbing mason, in which precarious employment his little boy was called on to assist him. The accident, to which it may be he owed all the mental culture of his after life, occurred on his father's birth day in the year 1817; and twenty-eight years after he writes a succinct account of all he thought, felt, or remembered of that to him most momentous day; we give it in his own words:—

“The circumstances of that day—the last of twelve years of hearing, and the first of twenty-eight years of deafness, have left a more distinct impression upon my mind than those of any previous, or almost any subsequent, day of my life. It was a day to be remembered. The last day on which any customary labour ceases,—the last day on which any customary privilege is enjoyed,—the last day on which we do the things we have done daily, are always marked days in the calendar of life; how much, therefore, must the mind not linger in the memories of a day which was the last of many blessed things, and in which one stroke of action and suffering,—one moment of time, wrought a greater change of condition, than any sudden loss of wealth or honours ever made in the state of man. Wealth may be recovered, and new honours won, or happiness may be secured without them; but there is no recovery, no adequate compensation, for such a loss as was on that day sustained. The wealth of sweet and pleasurable sounds with which the Almighty has filled the world,—of sounds modulated by affection, sympathy, and earnestness,—can be appreciated only by one who has so long been thus poor indeed in the want of them, and who for so many weary years has sat in utter silence amid the busy hum of populous cities, the music of the woods and mountains, and, more than all, of the voices sweeter than music, which are in the winter season heard around the domestic hearth.

On the day in question my father and another man, attended by

myself, were engaged in new slating the roof of a house, the ladder ascending to which was fixed in a small court paved with flag stones. The access to this court from the street was by a paved passage, through which ran a gutter, whereby waste water was conducted from the yard into the street.

Three things occupied my mind that day. One was that the town-crier, who occupied part of the house in which we lived, had been the previous evening prevailed upon to entrust me with a book, for which I had long been worrying him, and with the contents of which I was most eager to become acquainted. I think it was 'Kirby's Wonderful Magazine;' and I now dwell the rather upon this circumstance, as, with other facts of the same kind, it helps to satisfy me that I was already a most voracious reader, and that the calamity which befel me did not create in me the literary appetite, but only threw me more entirely upon the resources which it offered.

The other circumstance was that my grandmother had finished, all but the buttons, a new smock-frock, which I had hoped to have assumed that very day, but which was faithfully promised for the morrow. As this was the first time that I should have worn that article of attire, the event was contemplated with something of that interest and solicitude with which the assumption of the toga virilis may be supposed to have been contemplated by the Roman youth.

The last circumstance, and the one perhaps which had some effect upon what ensued, was this. In one of the apartments of the house in which we were at work, a young sailor, of whom I had some knowledge, had died after a lingering illness, which had been attended with circumstances which the doctors could not well understand. It was, therefore, concluded that the body should be opened to ascertain the cause of death. I knew this was to be done, but not the time appointed for the operation. But on passing from the street into the yard, with a load of slates which I was to take to the house-top, my attention was drawn to a stream of blood, or rather, I suppose, bloody water, flowing through the gutter by which the passage was traversed. The idea that this was the blood of the dead youth, whom I had so lately seen alive, and that the doctors were then at work cutting him up and groping at his inside, made me shudder, and gave what I should now call a shock to my nerves, although I was very innocent of all knowledge about nerves at that time. I cannot but think it was owing to this that I lost much of the presence of mind and collectedness so important to me at that moment; for when I had ascended to the top of the ladder, and was in the critical act of stepping from it on to the roof, I lost my footing, and fell backward, from a height of about thirty-five feet, into the paved court below.

Of what followed I know nothing: and as this is the record of my own sensations, I can here report nothing but that which I myself know. For one moment, indeed; I awoke from that death-like state, and then found that my father, attended by a crowd of people, was bearing me homeward in his arms: but I had then no recollection of what had happened, and at once relapsed into a state of unconsciousness.

In this state I remained for a fortnight as I afterwards learned. These days were a blank in my life, I could never bring any recollections to bear upon them; and when I awoke one morning to consciousness, it was as from a night of sleep. I saw that it was at least two hours later than my usual time of rising, and marvelled that I had been suffered to sleep so late. I attempted to spring up in bed, and was astonished to find that I could not even move. The utter prostration of my strength subdued all curiosity within me. I experienced no pain, but I felt that I was weak; I saw that I was treated as an invalid, and acquiesced in my condition, though some time passed—more time than the reader would imagine—before I could piece together my broken recollections so as to comprehend it.

I was very slow in learning that my hearing was entirely gone. The unusual stillness of all things was grateful to me in my utter exhaustion; and if in this half-awakened state, a thought of the matter entered my mind, I ascribed it to the unusual care and success of my friends in preserving silence around me. I saw them talking indeed to one another, and thought that, out of regard to my feeble condition, they spoke in whispers, because I heard them not. The truth was revealed to me in consequence of my solicitude about the book which had so much interested me in the day of my fall. It had, it seems, been reclaimed by the good old man who had sent it to me, and who doubtless concluded, that I should have no more need of books in this life. He was wrong; for there has been nothing in this life which I have needed more. I asked for this book with much earnestness, and was answered by signs which I could not comprehend.

‘Why do you not speak?’ I cried; ‘Pray let me have the book.’

This seemed to create some confusion; and at length some one, more clever than the rest, hit upon the happy expedient of writing upon a slate, that the book had been reclaimed by the owner, and that I could not in my weak state be allowed to read.

‘But,’ I said in great astonishment, ‘Why do you write to me, why not speak? Speak, speak.’

Those who stood around the bed exchanged significant looks of concern, and the writer soon displayed upon his slate the awful words—‘YOU ARE DEAF.’”

His first sensations on this announcement were not very overpowering; he was too young to know the extent of his calamity, and if he thought at all on the subject merely considered his deafness as temporary, but such alas! was not the case, and every experiment that medical skill could suggest was tried in vain to restore the lost faculty, and he seems to dwell with peculiar feeling on that sad phase of his existence, and the innumerable tortures he had to undergo: but medical art was of no avail; and sorely puzzled, the doctors had at length to desist, having come to the conclusion that the auditory nerve was completely paralyzed. He pays a very kind tribute to the exertions used by Mr. Snow Harriss in putting him through an electrical operation, but all was useless.

It was some time before his general health regained a proper tone, and during those hours of weakness and uninterrupted quiet, the base of his after life was fixed ; he had no resource but reading, and the book to which he so feelingly referred was re-borrowed for him, and he attributes much of the habits of his future career, to the avidity and interest with which he read this book, "Kirby's Wonderful Magazine;" it drew his attention to books as a source of pleasure and information.

At the period of which he has written, education was not as general in the class in which he then moved as in the present day. Many, it is true, could read, but it was not considered a necessary attainment ; and books were so extravagant in price as to be scarcely within reach of those whose means were limited. Religious literature was consequently that most in vogue amongst the poorer classes, who not being able to purchase the current literature, wished at all events to have something of substantial and permanent worth for their money ; thus, the works eagerly read by young Kitto were of a character to form the structure of good and sound mental training ; he assures us in his short biographical sketch that he never saw a newspaper to read till he was near twenty. At a later period he indulged his literary predilections for books of a different class, and went through a range of metaphysics, poetry, history, and even novels ; but amid all this heterogeneous mass of reading, the theological bias given by his earlier reading returned with redoubled ardour, and whatever he had learned or whatever talent he had cultivated, eventually proved most useful, an instance of which he mentions for the benefit of the young as it involves instruction to them by proving that mental culture, no matter how apparently useless or it may be abstruse, is sure eventually to benefit the possessor. Having acquired the Hebrew language with no higher view than that of qualifying himself to teach that language to the sons of a friend whose tuition he had undertaken, the knowledge became in after life one of the most useful acquirements he ever made.

We now close his brief biography, which led us away by the interest we felt in all concerning this gifted man from the subject in hand.

He conceives that there is more connexion between the organs of hearing and of speech than is usually supposed ; the general impression being, that dumbness is occasioned by the inability of hearing the human voice, which precludes the possibility of

one born deaf acquiring language ; this, in the abstract, is mainly correct ; still, Kitto contends that apart from this, and physically connected with deafness, there is a sort of *inability* to utter articulate sounds. The impressions of one who has had, himself, practical experience is almost an irrefragable proof of the truth of this reasoning ; the hearing being the more delicate organ is utterly extinguished by that which may only impede the vocal organs, leaving them sufficient vitality to be partially awakened under artificial training ; thus, the deaf may be taught to speak as it were mechanically, but there still exists difficulty or pain in the use of this acquired art, which is another proof, if such were necessary, of the almost physical impossibility of speech with one born deaf.

To explain this theory more practically we need only point to our author, who says, that before the accident which deprived him of hearing, his pronunciation was clear and distinct, but that after that event, he spoke with pain and difficulty, and in a voice not easily to be understood, and though at a later period he was unconscious of having felt thus, those who watched him with interest at the time, remembered his having complained of pain, and remarked the peculiar change in his voice, which had become similar in intonation *to that of one born deaf and dumb, but who had been taught to speak*. This appears to be corroborative of his former assertion relative to the affinity between the organs of hearing and speech.

So strong was the disinclination which he felt to speak that, for many years after his becoming deaf, he communicated his thoughts by writing to avoid the occasion of speech ; he sometimes expressed his wishes by a slight motion or gesture, and rejoiced in the protection afforded him by the impression that may entertained of his being deaf and dumb, and he would have eventually become so, from disuse of the vocal organs, were it not for the intervention of some kind and judicious friends.

When going to the Mediterranean, he was fortunate enough to have for companions on his voyage a German physician named Dr. Korck, and one or two other well-informed and kind-hearted men, who soon perceiving how the matter stood, entered into a conspiracy with the captain of the ship not to understand a word he said except orally ; this they persevered in so well that before the end of the voyage he relinquished the habit of communicating by writing, and never after resumed it ; in fact practice rendered him so perfect that his language became sufficiently clear to be understood even by foreigners.

It is a remarkable fact that on thus again, as we might say, having obtained the use of speech, his language became more copious, and he used words far more choice than any he had heard previous to his calamity ; this was occasioned by forming his language on books which rendered him sometimes doubtful as to the true pronunciation ; a few of his words were pronounced in the provincial dialect, such as *tay* for tea. This, though an error which he immediately detected, seemed to afford him a species of pleasure, as it appeared to give his language a *living* character.

He had at all times a singular reluctance to use any superfluous words, complimentary phrases, or even terms of endearment. Of this he was on one occasion touchingly reminded, when one of his little boys suddenly quitted his study, and ran off to tell his mother that his father had for the first time called him "Dear." This avoidance of all unnecessary expletives rendered his language dry and hard ; his voice was unusually loud, but not articulate except to those very near, and it was sometimes amusing, at others annoying, to see the sudden start and turning round of persons in the street at the almost unearthly sound of his voice ; this was merely in the sound, as those to whom he spoke could understand him perfectly,

The play of the mouth or muscles enabled him to form a very distinct idea of the sound of the voice or even the laugh, and he formed a very accurate idea of the distinctive characters of both in various persons ; this he attributed to the experience he acquired during the days of his hearing, and does not conceive it possible for one born deaf to distinguish one voice from another.

Though many anecdotes have been recorded of what has been termed mouth reading, he appears sceptical on this point, and did not attach the same amount of importance to this practice that others have done ; he considers the greater portion of it guess work, which may be correct, or may not, according to the quickness of perception in the parties under its influence.

There is he considers a peculiar susceptibility of the whole frame to tangible percussion ; this kind of vibration which on some occasions seems to pervade the whole frame to the very bones and marrow, is not, he conceives, in anything different from the feeling experienced by persons who are in possession of their hearing, but the sensation is more concentrated, and consequently more acutely felt.

The loudest thunder was perfectly inaudible to him, and he gives a touching instance of a peal of bells, which he recollected in childhood as having imparted to his young soul a strange and inexplicable delight; he made vigorous efforts to catch even the faintest intimation of that dear old sound, but in vain; at no time, and under no circumstances, could he even recover the slightest trace of that familiar voice, which he describes as the music of his childhood. When he placed himself in direct contact with the tower, he became conscious of a dull percussion over head, like that of blows struck upon the wall above him. The tower was both lofty and solid, composed of granite and limestone, which may perhaps account for the indistinctness of the impression.

He describes a strange sensation which he experienced whilst shewing St. Paul's to a young friend from the country; they chanced to be examining the clock at the very time it began to strike, and the vibration imparted to his whole frame the feeling as if heavy blows had been struck on the building where he stood, and communicated through the medium of his feet, diffused over his whole body. He conceived a faint idea at the time of having heard a dull metallic sound, but after reflection induced him to believe this was only occasioned by early recollections, and was consequently merely an association of ideas.

He has given very minute details of the painful shocks felt by his entire nervous system, at what persons possessed of hearing would pass almost unnoticed, such as the moving of furniture, as tables, or sofas over the floor, either above or below him; being unprepared by any preliminary sound they startled him dreadfully, and the vibration being diffused through the feet over the entire frame, affected him sensibly. He compares the moving of a table to the combined noise and vibration of a mail coach drawn over a wooden floor; the feet of children, like the tramp of horses on the same floor; and the shutting of a door like a thunder-clap shaking the very house. These sensations, though intensely painful, would have been utterly indescribable by one born deaf; it is only by having once heard them, that they are capable of illustration.

It is a strange anomaly that the percussions which made the strongest and most painful impressions were those experienced from another room of the same floor; the fall of a book for instance causing a painfully distinct percussion, as occurring

upon the very boards where he stood. The loudest knocking at the door was perfectly inaudible, whilst shutting the same door caused a distressing sensation ; he was not altogether insensible of the beating upon the door of the room in which he happened to be ; this he describes so feelingly as to induce us to give the extract in its entirety :—

“ Having business in London, I went in upon the previous afternoon, that I might have the whole of the following day before me in which to go through it, and took up my quarters for the night at an inn. I locked the door before going to bed ; but the bed being strange, some time passed before I could get to sleep. My meditations were not of a very pleasing character. I reflected that I was now apart from those who would know perfectly well how to act towards me in any emergency that arose, and whose first care would be to arouse me in case of fire or any like accident. But here I was among strangers who probably only regarded me as “hard of hearing,” and who, under that impression, would make no other effort to attract my attention than by uselessly thumping at the door, which I had unadvisedly locked. The fatal fire at an inn in Oxford Street, not far from the spot where I then lay, had been sufficiently recent to give an agreeable pungency to these considerations. It was clear that I ought not to have fastened my door. Then why not get out and unlock it ? It was very cold ; and by this time I was warm in bed : and as I had from my youth up abominated cold beyond all other evils of life, it was a serious and nicely balanced question—whether it were better to risk the *possibility* of being roasted alive, or to incur the dead *certainly* of a chill by turning out to unfasten the door. Before I could make up my mind, I fell asleep ; and in the morning I awoke safe and sound. Apprehending, however, that I should not be able to distinguish the knock of the attendant when he should bring my warm water at the hour I had directed, I now unfastened the door and returned to the bed,—concluding that after having knocked, and finding that I did not answer, he would come in without more ceremony. I lay awake and watchful, when presently I became conscious of a tremendous thundering at the door, which I think would have sufficed to awaken me had I been asleep. I cried, “ Come in ! ” and in came the warm water, the bearer of it looking quite naturally, as if nothing particular had happened. This discovery gave me greater satisfaction than anything connected with my physical condition which had occurred for many years, as it showed that in one important class of matters I was not so entirely helpless as I had previously imagined.

Alas ! alas ! This pretty discovery has, after all, come to nothing : and yet I suffer the page which records it to remain ; as the explanation which I have now obtained, with reference to the fact on which this satisfaction was founded, serves better than almost anything I could state, to illustrate the uncertainty of the impressions derived from the source under consideration ; and this is one of the points which it is the object of this chapter to demonstrate.

Having some misgiving that, after all, there might be some mistake in the conclusions to which I had arrived, I read the above paragraph to my wife, to whom I had not previously described the circumstances with the same degree of minuteness and coherence. She shook her head, and doubted much, affirming that she had often knocked at room doors in vain, to attract my attention. "If the head of the bed had been on the same side with the door, and some part of it had touched against the wall, I could understand it better: but as you state that the head of the bed was against the side of the room opposite the door, it is at variance with all my own observations, and requires further proof." Then why not prove it at once?

Accordingly, a loud knocking at the door of the room in which I write this, was speedily produced, but I could distinguish nothing. "The room is too large, let us try another." This was done, in a very small room, still without effect. "It is clear to me," quoth my wife, "that what you took for a 'knocking' at the door, was a stamping upon the floor. In all probability the attendant had been knocking in vain, and then as a last resort, to avoid coming in upon you unannounced, bethought himself of stamping upon the floor." To prove this she went out; and presently I distinguished the very percussion, which at the inn I had mistaken for a knocking at the door. She had merely stamped on the floor outside; and the identity of the sensation produced, with that which I had previously experienced, at once settled the whole question."

He details with almost painful sensitiveness the various degrees of pain experienced by the deaf occasioned by shocks to the nervous system of which those blest with hearing are happily ignorant; they amount at times almost to torture. After all that has been stated it could scarcely be supposed that music could impart any gratification; such is not however quite the fact, as we shall see by his own admission.

On one occasion he mentions his having been in a church in the west of England, the organ of which was considered the finest in that part of the country; whilst in the body of the church he was quite insensible to its tones, yet in the gallery he experienced a strong vibration but without any metallic sound, and more like the distant singing of a congregation, where only the very higher notes could be caught, than anything else to which the sensation might be compared.

A piano playing even in the same room was quite inaudible. One day however, very many years before he wrote his work, he happened to place his hand upon a piano when it was in the act of being played, and became conscious of a more pleasurable sensation from the higher notes, than any he had felt since his deafness. On further experimentalising he discovered, that the notes were more distinct when his fingers rested on the

wood over which the wires were placed and to which they were attached. He could then make out with tolerable distinctness all the high notes, and if he knew a tune, so as to be able to supply the low notes from imagination, he obtained a considerable degree of enjoyment in the music ; the loud notes however were more suitable to his capabilities.

He seemed to feel particular interest about a lad both blind and deaf of whom he had been reading, and whose principal enjoyment seemed to be derived from striking a small key upon his teeth ; as we shall give a more lengthened detail of this poor lad's sad condition before concluding this paper, we merely mention it here, in order to illustrate a similarity of sensation, which Dr. Kitto discovered on reading this, and of which he was unconscious before ; namely, the habit he had acquired of striking the back of his thumb nail, or the point of a pen-knife, upon the edge of his teeth ; he also describes a pleasure he experienced without being conscious of the reason, in vibrating a knife or spoon upon the edge of a dish or plate, or against an empty tumbler or wine-glass. He seems desirous to extend the knowledge of this slight but pleasurable feeling, as of some value to those whose range of sensations is limited.

Keener perception, or strong ervisual powers, are considered by the many, as the essential prerogative of the deaf.

From this proposition Dr. Kitto altogether dissents ; he admits, it is true, a keener perception of the beautiful whether in nature or art as being perfectly possible, but the mere attribute of discovering objects at a distance, or retaining sight to a later period than ordinary and more gifted mortals he altogether disclaims.

To the danger, which he seem to apprehend, of losing, to him, the only charm of existence, sight, he pathetically alludes, and here he draws the first picture of the relative positions of the blind and deaf ; the former he describes as enjoying all the intellectual and social intercourse of a cheerful fireside, combined with the higher mental culture afforded by lectures, sermons, and the reading aloud of others ; the community of feeling thus imparted, informs the understand, and supplies food for thought. But to conceive the situation of one who has lost both these senses, the horror is too great to dwell upon, and could only be felt in its most acute sense by those who once enjoyed their possession.

A more refined and exquisite sense of the beautiful is how-

ever developed in a stronger degree in those deprived of the other senses ; this is to them a source of the deepest and most agreeable emotions. It is well however that the range of pleasurable is far more extensive than that of unpleasurable perceptions, for each is felt with like keenness and discrimination.

The latter sensation, Dr. Kitto describes as having become almost morbid with him, and relates the thoroughly miserable feeling he experienced when in the same room with a man exhibiting distorted or imperfect features, or displaying any sinister or malignant expression in his countenance. "I used," he says, "to feel a strong inclination to fly at them, and drive them from me, but found it more safe and prudent to quit their presence, which I uniformly did as soon as possible."

He gives a painful instance of the bad effects of placing about young people in any position of authority any one possessing a marked deformity ; this remark holds good in reference to all young persons, whether labouring under the painful disabilities of the deaf mute, or in full possession of all their faculties.

"There was," he says, "placed over me a man whose nose had been destroyed and his upper lip disfigured by cancer. This was a terrible infliction on me. It happened that this man's temper and conduct justified the horror and aversion with which his presence inspired me ; and by this combination of qualities he acquired a strange influence over me, such as no man ever before, or ever since possessed. He seemed as my evil genius. I dreaded, hated, loathed him ; and became in all things the slave of his will, obeying the slightest motion of his finger, and the faintest twinkle of his small eyes. He has many years been dead, but I see him now, and dream of him sometimes."

All grand and beautiful objects in nature gladdened and filled his heart, he knew not why or how.. The "great boundless ocean," the wooded mountain, and even the quiet town, possessed for him a peculiar charm at all times, but when lighted by the pale radiance of the moon he became perfectly enraptured by them.

An exquisitely keen perception of the beautiful in trees, though developed at rather a late period in life, amounted in him almost to a passion, and to destroy one appeared to him an awful act. He acknowledges that, entertaining those views, he considered the slaughtering of a tree as infinitely worse than that of an animal, whose years would be but comparatively few.

Paintings, particularly in bright and vivid colors, were to him a source of intellectual enjoyment; and he refers to the many happy hours he spent in the London National Gallery as tending to form and purify his taste, and to invigorate his perceptions. He looked on a picture as an object of sensation, and formed his judgment of it according to the degree of enjoyment it afforded him. This, though an instinctive perception, was generally correct, as it uniformly happened that he singled for his admiration the paintings which he afterwards learned were first-rate works of art.

One of the most remarkable traits of visual organs possessed by a deaf mute, is that of seeking and knowing the character of persons by their countenance. Thus it is true, to a certain extent, that every one deaf must be more or less a physiognomist, not by any rules of art, but merely as a matter of impression, and these impressions are almost invariably correct.

Darkness, or even twilight, to a deaf mute is peculiarly irksome: the reason is obvious. No book can be read, no communication carried on, a gesture of assent or dissent cannot even be perceived, and the play of the countenance, which sometimes betrays the inward thoughts, is altogether shrouded. There are other inconveniences to which darkness exposes the deaf; they cannot stir out after nightfall, or even during twilight, as their incapability of hearing would render it almost impossible for them to avoid accidents: their own deafness preventing them from hearing the sound of carriage wheels, and the dim light concealing them from the driver, precludes all possibility of escape by any other means than staying at home.

Though deafness must be admitted as a sad disqualification for almost every high pursuit in life, yet we have an instance in the gifted man who has afforded us so much useful and interesting information, that all avenues are not closed upon those so severely tried; and that he trod the path of literature, and acquired a just celebrity, is too well known to need elucidation here. Yet had he much to contend with in his upward path, for literature is not all closet work; it involves, or should involve, intimacy with men of similar pursuits, and business often of a delicate and perplexing nature; and when he goes forth into the world, in which so many other men find their element, his strength departs from him.

The consciousness of his deafness renders him almost morbidly sensitive, and neutralizes many of the advantages which belong to his position. He is in a manner debarred of those personal friendships in which other men find strength and solace; no new ideas are started, or brightened by friction with dissenting minds,—no hints gathered. This utter self-dependence is in itself a serious disadvantage, when it is remembered how much a man's career is influenced by personal intercourse with studious men. All this has to be combated, and the deaf man must work his own way, unaided and unencouraged.

Serious and sad as those disqualifications may appear, there are influences even more detrimental than mere intellectual or social intercourse. Where business is to be transacted the man of letters has much to contend with: conscious of his inability to convey his ideas, he will depart, leaving his business unfinished, or engross too much of the time of the man of business, and be thus considered a bore: thus literature, though presenting less impediments to the progress of the deaf man, has, nevertheless, its disadvantages.

Kitto was six years deaf before he was even aware that there existed any mode of communication with the fingers. A gentleman happening to accost him through this medium, and discovering his complete ignorance of it, taught him on the spot. This mode of communication was not, however, as general at that period as it has since become.

He alludes in very touching terms to his children, even during infancy, attempting to address him by these means, and seems to have felt more acutely the privation of never having heard their infantine prattle than almost any thing to which deafness had subjected him. Finger talking, however, seems to have afforded him vast sources of enjoyment, as he speaks in glowing terms of the cheerful and instructive intercourse carried on with friends, as they rode side by side for months together, whilst travelling over the plains of Asia.

The really practised finger speaker prefers that mode of communication to writing, being a more rapid mode of conveying ideas. The perfection of a dactylogist is to form characters with rapidity and distinctness: the acquisition of this knowledge is difficult. The main causes of this indistinctness arise from the set signs used to represent the alphabet; some of them are too much alike to be distinguishable in rapid movement. Upon the whole, he considers the system as very

defective, and capable of great improvement ; there would be danger and difficulty, however, in altering an established usage. The best mode of improvement, without disturbing existing arrangements, would be to establish a set of arbitrary signs expressing familiar phrases, such as "and" and "the," and terms of common import might also be taught thus.

Talking in the air is also a mode used by those who are ignorant of finger talk ; but this is even more liable to mistakes, and can only be required in the open air, and when at a distance from writing materials. Of *signs*, as a medium, he appears to have had but a limited acquaintance. The born deaf and dumb, however well instructed to speak, to write, or to use the fingers, will, through choice, resort to signs in their intercourse with each other, for signs are their natural language.

It so happened that before his own deafness he had a boyish acquaintance with a born deaf mute who was running wild about the streets and entirely uninstructed ; after a lapse of some years he came again into contact with him, and found that though he had undergone a course of training, he could better express his ideas, or understand those of others, by signs than any other mode. The signs were of his own devising, and generally indicated some peculiarity of the person whom he wished to point out ; for example, to avoid a perplexing multiplicity of signs, females and young people were for the most part designated in reference to their relationship to the head of the family, and translated into words would stand thus :—the wife of Longnose ; the first, second, or third son, or daughter of Longnose, &c.

The knowledge of signs which he thus acquired proved useful to him when in foreign parts, where the habit of substituting signs for oral language was regarded as want of knowledge of their particular tongue, rather than deafness. The signs used by the orientals were somewhat similar to those used by his former friend the deaf mute ; some however were founded on national or local customs ; those were more difficult to be acquired, and were not mastered till he had been for sometime a resident in the east. Travel, however, to a deaf man, notwithstanding all the help of signs, is sometimes dangerous. We cannot better exhibit the truth of this, than by giving in his own words a little incident which bears on the subject :—

" I was staying at the village of Orta Khoi on the Bosphorus, about six miles above Constantinople, of which it is one of the suburbs, and was in the frequent habit of going down to the city and return-

ing by water. One morning on which I had determined to go, it threatened to rain; but I took my umbrella and departed. On arriving at the beach, it appeared that all the boats were gone, and there was no alternative but to abandon my intention, or to proceed on foot along a road which manifestly led in the right direction, at the back of the buildings and yards which line the Bosphorus. I had not proceeded far before it began to rain, and I put up my umbrella and trudged on, followed, at some distance behind, by an old Turk in the same predicament with myself: for it should be observed, that, at and about Constantinople, the people are so much in the habit of relying upon water conveyance, that there is less use of horses than in any Eastern town with which I am acquainted. Nothing occurred till I arrived at the back of the handsome country palace of Dolma Caktche, the front of which had often engaged my attention in passing up and down by water. Here the sentinel at the gate motioned to me in a very peculiar manner, which I could not comprehend. He had probably called previously, and in vain. Finding that I heeded him not, he was hastening towards me in a very violent manner, with his fixed bayonet pointed direct at my body, when the good-natured Turk behind me, who had by this time come up, assailed me very unceremoniously from behind, by pulling down my umbrella. After some words to the sentinel, I was suffered to pass on under his protection, till we had passed the precincts of the imperial residence, where he put up his own umbrella, and motioned me to do the same. By this act, and by the signs which he had used in explanation of this strange affair, I clearly understood that it was all on account of the umbrella. This article, so useful and common in rainy climates, is an ensign of royalty in the East; and although the use of it for common purposes has crept in at Constantinople, the sovereign is supposed to be ignorant of the fact, and it may not on any account be displayed in his presence, or in passing any of the royal residences.

That day I was detained in Pera longer than I expected; and darkness had set in by the time the wherry in which I returned reached Orta Khoi. After I had paid the fare, and was walking up the beach, the boatmen followed and endeavoured to impress something upon me, with much emphasis of manner, but without disrespect. My impression was that they wanted to exact more than their fare; and as I knew that I had given the right sum, I, with John Bullish hatred of imposition, buckled up my mind against giving one para more. Presently the contest between us brought over some Nizam soldiers from the guard-house, who took the same side with the boatmen; for when I attempted to make my way on, they refused to allow me to proceed. Here I was in a regular dilemma, and was beginning to suspect that there was something more than the fare in question; when a Turk, of apparently high authority, came up, and after a few words had been exchanged between him and the soldiers, I was suffered to proceed.

As I went on, up the principal street of the village, I was greatly startled to perceive a heavy earthen vessel, which had fallen with great force from above, dashed in pieces on the pavement, at my

feet. Presently, such vessels descended, thick as hail, as I passed along, and were broken to sherds on every side of me. It is a marvel how I escaped having my brains dashed out; but I got off with only a smart blow between the shoulders. A rain of cats and dogs, is a thing of which we have some knowledge; but a rain of potter's vessels was very much beyond the limits of European experience. On reaching the hospitable roof which was then my shelter, I learned that this was the night which the Armenians, by whom the place was chiefly inhabited, devoted to the expurgation of their houses from evil spirits, which act they accompanied or testified by throwing earthen vessels out of their windows, with certain cries which served as warnings to the passengers: but that the streets were notwithstanding still so dangerous that scarcely any one ventured out while the operation was in progress. From not hearing these cries, my danger was of course two-fold, and my escape seemed something more than remarkable: and I must confess that I was of the same opinion when the next morning disclosed the vast quantities of broken pottery with which the streets were strewn.

It seems probable that the adventure on the beach had originated in the kind wish of the boatmen and soldiers to prevent me from exposing myself to this danger. But there was also a regulation preventing any one from being in the streets at night without a lantern: and the intention may possibly have been to enforce this observance, especially as a lantern would this night have been a safeguard to me, by apprising the pot-breakers of my presence in the street."

Signs he considers the natural language of the deaf mute, as it is the mode adopted by persons ignorant of each other's language, and virtually dumb to each other. "The Indians, Tartars, or aboriginal inhabitants of the country west of the Mississippi, consist, he informs us, of different nations or tribes, who each speaking different languages, or dialects of the same language, hold converse without speaking, having adopted a language of signs."

Some of the signs employed by the Indians, have a peculiarity arising from their savage customs; but there are others more universally applicable, and are the same as those used in the schools for the deaf and dumb, after the method of the celebrated Abbé Sicard.

He conceives it probable that some vague rumours concerning this people, led the Abbé to conceive the possible existence of a nation of deaf mutes. The following passage from one of his books is cited in Dr. Orpen's "Anecdotes and Annals:—" "May there not exist in some corner of the world an entire people of deaf-mutes? Well, suppose these individuals were so degraded, do you think that they would remain without communication and without intelligence? They would have

without any manner of doubt, a language of signs, and possibly more rich than our own ; it would be certainly unequivocal, always the faithful portrait of the affections of the soul ; and then, what should hinder them from being civilized ? Why should they not have laws, a government, a police, very probably less involved in obscurity than our own ?”

This gifted and excellent man was clearly of opinion that signs were the proper language of the deaf mutes. This opinion is borne out by others and particularly by mutes themselves, if the instructed deaf-mutes may be accepted as the exponents of their own feelings on this matter. In the sixth report of the American Asylum at Hartford, Connecticut, the following is given as the answer of a deaf mute to the question—“ Which do you consider preferable—the language of speech or of signs ?” Answer—“ I consider to prefer the language of signs best of it, because the language of signs is capable of to give me elucidation and understanding well. I am fond of talking with the deaf and dumb persons by signs, quickly, about the subjects, without having the troubles of voice : therefore the language of signs is more still and calm than the language of speech, which is full of falsehood and troubles.”

Kitto is of opinion also, that signs will be their constant means of intercourse amongst themselves ; writing, reading, and the fingers, their instruments of acquiring knowledge, will be merely used in correspondence or communication with those beyond their own class ; speech learned with so much difficulty, and used with such pain and reluctance, can never be of much intrinsic value to them. This opinion he deduces from his own experience, for when he felt so much reluctance to speak, and such difficulty in speaking, how much more irksome must not the effort be to those born deaf and dumb, and he appears to be thoroughly convinced that writing and signs are sufficient for all the intercourse of which a deaf mute is capable.

The Abbé Sicard unites in this opinion. Few of his pupils were taught to speak. His predecessor, the good old Abbé de l'Epée whose views were not so expanded though his heart was as large as Sicard's, indulged in the vain hope of restoring deaf mutes entirely to society. This was an idle dream. Deafness—the same cause which cut Dr. Kitto off from society, though so eminently qualified for its enjoyment—would alone, as he says, though they “ spoke with the tongues of angels,” suffice to exclude them from it. His own facility of speech was of comparatively little use to him beyond the walls of his own house.

The following letter written in English by Laurent Clerc, one of the pupils of Abbé Sicard, and afterwards engaged to teach in the American Asylum at Hartford, corroborates this opinion. It was addressed to Dr. Orpen, the founder of the Irish Asylum :—

“ *Connecticut Asylum, Hartford,*
“ *September 30, 1818.*

“ We have received the report you forwarded us. I ought not simply to thank you for this complaisance, but for the opportunity you have thus afforded us of augmenting the number of our acquaintance with men of benevolence. The report is excellent, and the time we have employed in reading it has certainly been profitable to us. It has excited our wish to pursue the object of increasing our library. Send us then an account of all you may hereafter do ; it will be a new obligation which we shall owe you.

“ The eulogy which you have given to my master's mode of instruction has sensibly affected me ; and the answers of my friend Massieu, which you have mentioned in your address, are exactly the same as I saw him write ; and I think them so correct and so precise, that they themselves prove the excellency of Monsieur Sicard's system. *I therefore wish very much that you would follow the same, and lay aside the useless task of teaching the Deaf and Dumb to articulate sounds, or I cannot expect to see your pupils forward enough to understand abstract ideas.* If I have not mistaken the contents of your Report, it appears that — and — of — and — have not been very kind to you ; you ought, nevertheless, not to be sorry for it, for whoever declines to communicate his secrets gives a proof of their sterility.

“ Adieu ! The task which you have embraced is a very good one. May the Lord bless you, and keep you, make his love to shine upon you, and be gracious unto you, lift up his countenance upon you, and give you courage and light, and reward you above, for the good you are doing to my poor companions in misfortune.

“ Your humble servant,
“ LAURENT CLERC.”

We give another specimen of letter writing ; though not by any means so well composed as the first, it is so graphic that we cannot omit it. It was written by a pupil of the Claremont Asylum near Dublin, to no less a personage than George IV. The writer appears to have been considered the best specimen of the instruction imparted in that institution. He was much excited by the visit of George the IV. to Dublin, and wrote him the following letter, which the King actually received, and to which he responded in the shape of a draft for ten pounds, with which he was afterwards apprenticed to the printer of this Review.

“ Wednesday, July 4, 1821.

“ My Dear George,

“ I hope I will see you when you come here to see the deaf and dumb pupils. I am very sorry that you never did come here to see them. I never saw you ; you ought to see the deaf and dumb boys and girls. I will be very glad to see you, if you come here often to see me. Did you ever see the deaf and dumb in London ? In what country did you ever see the deaf and dumb ? The boys and girls are very much improving, and very comfortable here. Are you interested in seeing the deaf and dumb ? All the soldiers in the armies belong to you ; the King of England gives a great deal of money to them. You must write a letter to me soon. I am very much pleased with writing a letter to you. I want to get a letter from you. I am much polite and very fond of you. How many brothers and sisters have you ? Would you like to see me at Claremont ? I could not go to London, because there is too much money to pay to the captain of a ship for me. I am an orphan, and a very poor boy. God will bless you. I love God very much, because he is the Creator of all things, and sent his Son to save us from sin ; He supports us and gives us everything, and makes us alive in the world. Do you know Grammar, Geography, Bible, Arithmetic, Astronomy, and Dictionary ? I know them very little. Claremont is a very beautiful place ; it has a great deal of meadows, ponds, lakes, trees, flowers, gardens, a horse, and an ass. I am thinking of everything, and to be polite to every one. Some of the deaf and dumb boys are always working in our garden, with my brother. I have been at school for four years and a half. I am sixteen years of my age. I am very delighted that I am improving very much. Perhaps I will be an Assistant of the Deaf and Dumb School. There are forty-one pupils at Claremont. Where were you born ? I was born in Dublin. I am quite deaf and dumb, and can speak very well. Would you like to correspond with me ? I would be very fond of you. You ought to write a long letter to me soon. What profession are you of ? I never saw you ; I am very, very anxious to see you indeed, and would like to see the King of England very much. We want a new school-room, and we want more deaf and dumb boys and girls at Claremont ; but we have not money enough to buy clothes and food for them. Will you send us some deaf and dumb children, and give us money to pay for educating them.

“ I am your affectionate Friend,

“ T. C.”

Society, to the deaf man, is rather an infliction than an enjoyment ; the consciousness of his utter isolation wounds him deeply, as he becomes painfully aware of the depressing influence his presence must create in the social circle ; with them, though not of them, he feels like one thrown amongst a foreign race, where unknown tongues are recounting matters which to him, the uninitiated, seem fraught with the deepest interest, and yet, of which he is totally ignorant.

The almost morbid desire with which the deaf mute craves to know all that passes around him, is to the observer a subject of deep pain ; the mere commonplaces, which form the staple matter of general conversation, become so vapid by repetition, that the deaf man can be scarcely persuaded that he is accurately informed when the twice told tale meets his perception ; having watched the play of feature, the varied interest, or pleasure, or enthusiasm with which those around him have listened to what to him seemed so dull and stale, makes the deaf man immediately conscious that the principal charm has been the play of conversation, and not the matter to which it related. Dr. Kitto alludes most touchingly to that ardent desire he experienced to hear the nameless nothings which nobody thinks worth repeating to one who is deaf ; he longed to hear the talk of children to each other, and often marvelled at the little interest apparent in the streets to hear the passing conversation ; speculating, as he said, within himself, on all the useful knowledge that could be gleaned from the casual expressions which strike the ear on all sides.

He gives an anecdote from the first Report of the Dublin Asylum, which so painfully illustrates the facts we have noted, that we cannot withhold it :—

“ Thomas Collins (a pupil whose progress was afterwards considered remarkable), being present where some gentlemen were conversing on a subject that interested them deeply, he watched the varying expressions of their countenances, with the most minute and anxious attention, as if endeavouring to catch some knowledge of what seemed to afford them so much entertainment, and striving, as it were, to burst the bonds which withheld him from the social circle. He repeatedly asked by signs to be informed of what was the source of their obvious gratification, but the subject of their conversation being beyond the range of his attainments at that time, he could receive no answer that was calculated to satisfy his curiosity. Finding all his efforts to participate in their pleasure fruitless, and productive only of disappointment, the poor child at length, turned away his head, with a countenance expressive of the deepest regret and dejection, and almost bursting into tears, made use of the few words which he had at that time learned to use and to understand, to say, ‘ Deaf and Dumb is bad,—is bad,—is bad ! ’ ”

Kitto describes with painful interest his sensations on witnessing a public meeting held at Exeter Hall for the Niger Expedition. Prince Albert was president on the occasion, and being his first appearance in public naturally attracted a vast assemblage of illustrious persons. It was something to see

together, as he remarks, on one platform, such men as the Bishops of Winchester, Exeter, and Chichester, Archdeacon Wilberforce, M. Guizot, Earl of Ripon, Daniel O'Connell, Lord Howick, Lord Ashley, Sir R. Peel, S. Gurney, Dr. Bowring, and many other famous personages. He watched the speakers with deep interest, men of political and historical fame, and took much pleasure in comparing the relative oratorical powers of the speakers lay and clerical, and admitted that the balance of impressive and graceful manners was evidently in favor of the political speakers.

He admits having felt a strange desire to observe the motions of the speakers, though utterly unconscious of a word they uttered, and watched with deep interest the enthusiasm of applause with which a favorite orator was greeted; there was much scope for his imagination, as he was acquainted with the usual style of the most eminent of the speakers from the political and religious papers of the day. He describes vividly the feeling he experienced on reading the speeches next day, and his disappointment on perceiving how seemingly poor and meagre they appeared when contrasted with the enthusiasm with which they were delivered. This, however, he attributed to the fault of the reporters.

Of the many essential differences between the blind and deaf Dr. Kitto enumerates, in a particular manner, the prominent tendency to the poetical in the former and the almost utter absence of such tendency in the deaf, at least as far as rhyme or poetical numbers; this he explains very simply; in the first place the deaf man wants language, and then he has in a painfully literal sense *no ear* for numbers. It is consequently nothing remarkable that deaf mutes, who either become deaf in childhood or have been born so, never attempt to contend with these difficulties. With regard to those who have become deaf at a later period the case may be different, though he does not seem to know of any case worth recording; he made, himself, some slight attempts in the poetical way, but does not appear to attach much importance to his effusions in that line. We give here a specimen of his poetical talent, not selecting it as altogether the best, but the shortest:—

ALTERNATIVES.

Were all the beams that ever shone
From all the stars of day and night,

Collected in one single cone,
 Unutterably bright ;—
 I'd give them for one glance of heaven
 Which might but hint of sin forgiven.

Could all the voices and glad sounds
 Which have *not* fallen on my sense,
 Be rendered up in one hour's bounds—
 A gift immense ;—
 I'd for one whisper to my heart
 Give all the joy this might impart.

If the great deep now offered all
 The treasures in her bosom stored,
 And to my feet I could now call
 That mighty hoard ;—
 I'd spurn it utterly for some
 Small treasure in the world to come.

If the sweet scents of every flower—
 Each one of which cheers more than wine—
 One plant could from its petals pour,
 And that were mine ;—
 I would give up that glorious prize
 For one faint breath from Paradise.

Were all the pleasures I have known,
 " So few, so very far between,"
 Into one great sensation thrown—
 Not *then* all mean ;—
 I'd give it freely for one smile
 From Him who died for me erewhile.

Though deficient in poetical talent, as regards rhyme or metre, the deaf mute possesses an inherent feeling of poetry, which pervades occasionally his entire nature, and renders his mute language almost sublime. Massieu, the celebrated pupil of the Abbé Sicard, furnishes one or two instances of true poetical feeling, though expressed in prose. Of his life, though truly interesting, our space will not admit further mention than merely to record his answers to questions put to him at different periods; the first we give relates to the earlier portion of his life, before he had the good fortune of knowing his kind master, the Abbé Sicard :—

" What were you thinking about while your father made you remain on your knees ?"

" About the heavens."

" With what view did you address to it a prayer ?"

" To make it descend at night to the earth, in order that the plants

which I had planted might grow, and that the sick might be restored to health."

"Was it with ideas, words, or sentiments, that you composed your prayer?"

"It was the heart that made it. I did not yet know either words or their meaning, or value."

"What did you feel in your heart?"

"Joy, when I found that the plants and fruits grew. Grief, when I saw their injury by the hail, and that my parents still remained sick."

At these last words of his answer, Massieu made many signs, which expressed anger and menaces. The fact, as I have been informed (says the narrator), was, that during his mother's illness, he used to go out every evening to pray to a particular star, that he had selected for its beauty, for her restoration; but finding that she got worse he was enraged, and pelted stones at the star.

"Is it possible that you menaced the heavens?" said we, with astonishment.

"Yes."

"But from what motive?"

"Because I thought that I could not get at it to beat it and kill it, for causing all these disasters, and not curing my parents."

"Had you no fear of irritating it?"

"I was not then acquainted with my good master Sicard, and I was ignorant what this heaven was. It was not until a year after my education was commenced that I had any fear of being punished by it."

"What is hope?"

"Hope is the blossom of happiness."

"What is the difference between hope and desire?"

"Desire is a tree in leaf, hope is a tree in blossom, enjoyment is a tree in fruit."

"What is gratitude?"

"Gratitude is the memory of the heart."

"What is time?"

"A line that has two ends,—a path that begins in the cradle and ends in the tomb."

"What is eternity?"

"A day without yesterday or to-morrow; a line that has no end."

"What is God?"

"The necessary Being, the sun of eternity, the mechanist of nature, the eye of justice, the watchmaker of the universe, the soul of the universe."

The acute and dangerous question, "Does God reason?" is said to have been put to him by Sir James Mackintosh. The answer was—

"Man reasons, because he doubts; he deliberates, he decides. God is omniscient; he never doubts; he therefore never reasons."

Persons born deaf rarely obtain the use of hearing; the recovery of the blind is not so unfrequent; even thus are the blind

solaced by a hopeful feeling, that their case is not irremediable ; and vain as that hope may eventually prove, it still possesses a charm of which the deaf are totally bereft. Thus, the more a person reflects on the relative privations of the blind and deaf, the more will he become imbued with the feeling, that dreadful as the loss of sight is, (and we do not want to prove aught that might seem to lessen the sympathy we all feel for those deprived of the golden glories of the day,) yet, as all sorrows and joys are comparative, the loss of hearing tends more to sadden the social happiness of our being than the loss of sight.

Dr Kitto gives several reasons for expressing this opinion in which we have coincided. He accords to the blind a higher degree of mental culture, which is, in itself, a source of the purest pleasure, and appeals to the fact that the memory may be taxed in vain to recollect the name of a single deaf person of any note either in past or present times, whilst, as he says, a host of blind men distinguished in every branch of knowledge rushes on the mind ; even in optics they have been distinguished. Blind James Wilson says truly :—

“ In the pursuit of knowledge the blind have been very successful ; and many of them have acquired the first literary honours, which their own or foreign universities could bestow. In the different branches of philosophy, if they have not excelled, they have been equal to any of their contemporaries, but more particularly in the science of mathematics ; many of them have been able to solve the most abstruse problems in algebra. In poetry they have been equally distinguished. Two of the greatest men that ever courted the muses, laboured under the deprivation of sight : Homer, the venerable father of Epic poetry ; and the inimitable author of ‘ Paradise Lost.’ In philosophy Saunderson and Euler appear in the most conspicuous point of view ; the former lost his sight when only twelve months old, but was enabled by the strength of his comprehensive genius, to delineate the phenomena of the rainbow with all the variegated beauty of colors, and to clear up several dark and mysterious passages which appeared in Newton’s ‘ Principia ;’ and although the latter did not lose his sight till he had arrived at the years of manhood, yet from that period he was able to astonish the world by his labours in the rich fields of science, where he earned those laurels which still continue to flourish in unfaded bloom. In mechanics the blind have gone to a considerable length, almost to surpass the bounds of probability, were the facts not supported by evidence of unquestionable authority. Here we find architects building bridges, drawing plans of new roads, and executing them to the satisfaction of the commissioners. These roads are still to be seen through the counties of York and Lancaster, where they have been carried through the most difficult parts of the county, once bogs and mountains. Indeed there are few branches of mechanics in which the blind have been excelled.”

It is a strange fact that the conductor of an Asylum for the Blind, and the principal of a Deaf and Dumb Asylum, having respectively written on this subject should both agree as to the superior advantages of the blind over the deaf. Dr. Guillee, the director and physician of the institution for the blind at Paris, wrote as follows :—

“ Which are the most unhappy, the deaf-mutes or the blind? People ask us this every day. We shall resolve it to the advantage of the blind, because we think them in fact less unhappy. Strangers to all that passes around them, the deaf-mutes, who see everything, enjoy nothing. Like Tantalus, whom the fable represents to us as devoured by unextinguishable thirst in the midst of water, they are continually subjected to cruel privations. An insurmountable barrier separates them from the rest of men ; they are alone in the midst of us, unless we know that artificial language which the talent and charity of their ingenious teacher have created for them. The custom which they have of reading the physiognomy is very often a subject of ever additional anxiety to them ; they do not always divine aright ; doubt and uncertainty increase their anxiety and suspicions ; a serious cast, which resembles sadness, then invades their countenance, and proves that with us they are in their state of real privation. Obligated to concentrate themselves within themselves, the activity of their imagination is thus greatly augmented ; and as attention and judgment follow necessarily the perception of ideas, they exhaust themselves immensely. Therefore one sees few deaf-mutes in the lists of longevity, because the frictions are too lively, and to use an expression common but exact, ‘ the sword wears away the scabbard.’ ”

“ More favoured than these melancholy children of silence, the blind enjoy all the means of conversation with other men : no obstacle hinders them from hearing or being heard, since the ear, which has been so philosophically defined as the vestibule of the soul, is always open for them. The exchange is rapidly made, because they speak the vulgar language. It would be easy to prove that the blind have several other advantages over the deaf-mutes ; but it would be exposing myself without much advantage to repeat what I have already said. Besides, would it not be idle to dwell too long upon a parallel between deafness and blindness, when it is not permitted us to choose between these two afflicted mutilations, which we can only alleviate as to their consequences where they do exist? ”

Dr. Watson, the able manager of the Kent-road Asylum, fully coincides with the opinions we have placed before the reader, and to elucidate the matter more clearly he brings it to the test thus by actual comparison :—

“ Take, it may be said, a boy of nine or ten years of age, who has never seen the light, and you will find him conversable, and ready to give long narratives of past occurrences, &c. Place by his side a bo

of the same age, who has had the misfortune to be born deaf, and observe the contrast. The latter is insensible to all you say: he smiles, perhaps, and his countenance is brightened by the beams of 'holy light;' he enjoys the face of nature, nay, reads with attention your features, and by sympathy reflects your smile or frown. But he remains mute: he gives no account of past experience or of future hope.—You attempt to draw something of this sort from him; he tries to understand, and to make himself understood; but he cannot. He becomes embarrassed—you feel for him, and turn away from a scene too trying, under the impression, that of these two children of misfortune, the comparison is greatly in favour of the blind, who appears by his language to enter into all your feelings and conceptions, while the unfortunate deaf-mute can hardly be regarded as a rational being. Yet he possesses all the advantages of visual information as direct sensation. All this is true. But the cause of this apparent superiority of intelligence in the blind is seldom properly understood. It is not that the blind possess a greater or anything like an equal stock of materials for mental operations, that is, sensations, as already described. No, but they possess an invaluable engine for forwarding these operations, however scanty the materials to operate upon—artificial language. Language we have defined to be the expression of thought; so it is, but it is moreover, when refined and methodised, the medium of thinking. Its value to a man is nearly equivalent to that of his reasoning faculties; without it he would hardly be rational."

Much as we have adduced (and infinitely more could be said) in proof of the privations which the deaf mute endures, and sad as is the condition of the blind, yet all fall far short of the intensity of suffering, and the fearful privations experienced by those who are unhappily deprived of the three senses. Cases of this description are, thank God, happily rare, and up to the present century, no instance of this awful calamity was recorded. Dr. Watson, writing in 1809, appears to be ignorant of the existence of such a combination of privations; but his book had hardly been printed when he became acquainted with one or two examples. James Mitchel, to whom we have before alluded, furnished a sad instance of so dire a misfortune. Dr. Kitto gives a letter which he received from Mr. (afterwards Sir) Astley Cooper; this letter describes so accurately, yet so concisely, the boy's state, that we subjoin it:—

"MY DEAR SIR,

"The boy whom I mentioned to you as having been born deaf and blind from congenital cataracts, was brought to my house by Mr. Saunders, oculist. When he was led into my parlour he put his hand to the wall, and felt around the room until he met a chair, on which he placed himself. A key was given to him, with which he immediately began to strike his teeth, and from which he seemed to derive

great satisfaction. In lieu of the key a piece of wood was put into his hand ; he struck his teeth two or three times with it, and threw it from him with a whining noise, and with frequent lateral motion of the body, expressive of uneasiness and disappointment ; but upon a key being again presented to him, he beat his teeth with great apparent pleasure, and seemed to wish to continue the gratification for a length of time.

"I wrote to Mr. Saunders for further information, and he gave me the following particulars :—

"The lad's name is Mitchell, son of the Rev. James Mitchell of Ardelach, Inverness. His age, I think, about ten years ; very strong, and apparently healthy. He was tractable, and his father and friends managed him very easily ; for after being gently patted on the head, he would readily submit to their direction and guidance for the accomplishment of any ordinary purpose.

"As soon as he came into the room he walked around it, feeling every article of furniture. He had the custom of feeling everyone, and of running his hands up and down their limbs, as if to judge of their stature. If anything pleased him he patted his stomach, as if that organ had, in the course of his existence, given him most pleasure, and he instinctively referred to it for the expression of delight. His principal amusement consisted in hammering his teeth with some elastic substance, as a key, and was very angry when checked by the substitution of some other substance incapable of vibration. When I attempted the operation for the cataract, his friends lost their power of managing him ; but when liberated from the restraint necessary on that occasion, he was equally tractable as before, and seemed perfectly free from sulkiness. He would not however suffer me to approach him afterwards without great difficulty, possibly distinguishing me by the nose.

"I am yours, very truly,

ASTLEY COOPER."

Dugald Stewart, the man most competent to give an opinion on this phenomenon, read an interesting paper on the matter in the year 1812, from which, and other additional facts communicated by Doctors Wardrop, Gordon, and Spurzheim, the following details have been elicited. James Mitchel was born on the 11th of November, 1795 ; his mother was very soon aware of his blindness, by noticing that he never turned his eyes to the light, or to any bright object ; of his deafness she was also soon made aware, as noise, no matter how great, never disturbed him ; his deafness was altogether complete, but his sense of vision was not quite so imperfect. When sufficiently grown to distinguish colors, he was attracted by those that were bright and dazzling, and seemed to enjoy a strange pleasure in holding between his eye and luminous objects, such bodies as he found capable of increasing the quantity of light ; and his chief amusement consisted in concentrating the sun's

rays by means of a bit of glass or a transparent pebble, which he would occasionally break into whatever shape he pleased between his teeth. He adopted even stranger modes to gratify his fondness for light. He would retire to an outhouse or room, shut the doors and windows, and remain there for a considerable time, with his eyes fixed on some small chink or hole which admitted the sun's rays, and catch eagerly the gleam of light thus concentrated. He also on dark nights kindled a light for his amusement ; and it was strange to behold the intense happiness he seemed to experience in realizing thus some undefined though pleasurable sensation.

His perception of shining colors has been attributed to the efforts of an operation performed on him in the year 1810, by Mr. Wardrop, who, having fixed his head by machinery, operated on his right eye, with such manifest improvement as could scarcely be hoped for ; the death of his father during the next year unfortunately put an end to all further attempts for his relief. The result of Mr. Wardrop's operation however enabled him to discern surrounding objects if not very minute. With regard to colors, red seemed to attract him most, next came white, then yellow ; the flowers he gathered in the fields were uniformly of those colors.

He possessed in a peculiar degree the senses of touch and of smell. When a stranger arrived, his smell invariably informed him of the circumstance and attracted him towards the newcomer ; he then proceeded to *survey* him by the sense of touch ; and in order to form an accurate idea, the first thing he did was to examine his boots, if he wore any ; he next went to the lobby to feel his whip, and after that scrutiny proceeded to the stable, handling his horse with great care and apparent attention. If visitors arrived in a carriage he took particular pains in examining it ; in all this he was undoubtedly guided by smell and touch alone.

Mr. Wardrop, who watched this trait with peculiar interest, says, " When a stranger approached him, he eagerly began to touch some part of his body, commonly his sleeve, which he held near his nose, and after two or three strong inspirations through his nostrils, appeared decided in his opinion. If it happened to be unfavourable, he suddenly went to a distance with every appearance of disgust ; if favourable, he showed a disposition to become more intimate, and expressed by his countenance more or less satisfaction."

We have, in an earlier part of this paper, alluded to a strange habit he had acquired from childhood, and which seemed to impart a singular feeling of pleasure; this habit was that of striking his teeth with a key or any instrument that emitted a sharp sound, and this he would do for hours together. Dr. Gordon records, "that when a bunch of keys was given to him he would select from amongst them the one which sounded to him most pleasingly;" this was a strange phenomenon. Mr. (now Lord) Brougham having observed this circumstance, brought him a musical snuff-box, and placed it between his teeth. This, not only excited his wonder, but appeared to afford him intense delight. Whilst the instrument continued to play, he held it tight between his teeth, and when the airs were concluded, continued to hold the box to his mouth, examining it closely with his fingers, and expressing the most intense curiosity.

This poor fellow, though thus tried, was possessed of a warm and kindly nature, and was ardently attached to his family; of young children he was particularly fond, but never associated with, or attempted to join in the amusement of boys of his own age. The feelings he evinced at his father's death and burial, in 1811, have been variously represented; we are, however, from the uniform strength of affection he always exhibited for those he loved, particularly his relatives, inclined to give more credence to the testimony of the Rev. T. Macfarlane than to any of the others. Mr. Macfarlane states that:—

"When the coffin which enclosed his father's corpse was brought from the house and placed upon chairs in the court before the manse previous to the interment, I approached to the coffin, and soon after saw James Mitchell come from the house in considerable agitation. He turned about rapidly, and snuffed very much, evidently guiding himself by the smell. He directly approached the coffin, smelled it most eagerly for several seconds, then laid himself down upon the lid on his face and embraced the coffin, while his countenance exhibited marks of the most lively sorrow. I stood close by him, and after a short time patted his head once or twice, upon which he rose and returned into the house. This occurred immediately upon the coffin being brought out, and about twenty-minutes before it was lifted in order to be removed to the churchyard. As the accuracy on this subject has been disputed, I purposely delayed writing to you till I should have an opportunity of conversing with the Rev. Pryce Campbell, brother-in-law to Mrs. Mitchell, who was present at the funeral, and by whose direction everything was conducted. I fell in with this gentleman. I took an opportunity of asking him if he observed any marks of sorrow about James Mitchell on the day of

his father's funeral. He replied that he observed the most unequivocal marks of grief in his countenance, and added a circumstance which escaped my notice, that when the coffin was about to be lifted in order to be conveyed to the churchyard, James Mitchell clung to it, endeavouring to prevent its being carried away, and he (Mr. Campbell) was obliged to remove him from it by force."

James was blessed with an excellent sister, who made her afflicted brother the sole object of her sisterly care, and her solicitude enabled her to devise various means of communication with him. Her approbation or displeasure were intimated by touch; this she did in several ways. For instance, when signifying her highest approbation, she patted him on the head, back, or hand, with great cordiality. This expression bestowed more sparing, merely intimated assent; and she had only to refuse him those tokens, or repel him gently, to convey, in the most effectual manner, her sense of displeasure. On one occasion when his mother was from home, this kind and thoughtful sister endeavoured to allay his anxiety for her return, by intimating to him how long she would be absent; this she did, in the following simple but touching manner, by laying his head gently down upon a pillow, once for each night that his mother would be away, thus implying that he would sleep so many times before her return.

He proved his sense of the kindness bestowed on him by this devoted sister, in the unselfishness with which he resigned, in her favor, the care of a favorite aunt to whom he had become much attached during a severe illness in 1814. His sister having taken ill before he recovered, he insisted on his aunt leaving him to attend to her, though he felt her loss exceedingly, and never rested till he gained his point; this affection and consideration for others was not exemplified in this case alone; he evinced it to many for whom he did not feel the same amount of affection as for his much loved sister. An anecdote replete with this kind and thoughtful feeling for others is recorded of him. He at one time had a severe wound in his foot which confined him for a lengthened period; during his convalescence he had to keep his foot resting on a low stool. About a year afterwards a servant boy with whom he had been in the habit of playing, met a similar accident. James having noticed his remaining in the same attitude longer than was usual with him, examined him attentively, and perceiving by the bandages how matters stood, mounted at once to a garret where the little

foot-stool had been stowed away, and selecting it, by touch, from amongst other furniture, brought it down in his hand to the kitchen and laid the poor boy's foot gently on it.

James always possessed a gay and cheerful disposition, and was particularly fond of practical jokes, the success of which invariably threw him into ecstasies of enjoyment, laughing and jumping about in the most hilarious spirits. His favorite joke was locking persons up as prisoners in rooms and stables. He had strange instinctive perceptions with regard to property ; on one occasion he met a person riding near the manse, and on feeling the animal seemed to recognise it as belonging to his mother. The rider, who had purchased the horse a few weeks previous from his mother, dismounted to watch what the lad would do, and was much amused to see him deliberately lead the horse home, take off the saddle and bridle, place corn before him, and then lock the stable-door, putting the key in his pocket.

With regard to his religious feelings, we can form no correct idea. It is true he accompanied his family to church, and behaved there decorously, and even knelt at family prayers, but whether he was conscious of the existence of a superior Being, or that these outward acts were merely mechanical or the force of habit, we cannot vouch. That James Mitchell possessed a sound and rational mind there is every evidence to prove ; his acts never indicated incoherence or fatuity, and we know not what *might* have been done in his case, had any attempts been made to impart education. Laura Bridgman, of whom we hope to treat in a future number, was far more unpromising than James Mitchell, and yet with all the disadvantages attending her case, she has attained to a degree of culture which in the blind and deaf might be almost considered impossible.

Purposing in a future number to devote a paper to the Blind, we shall reserve Laura Bridgman's case, as she may as reasonably be classed amongst the blind as the deaf.*

Thus far we have written generally, of the condition of the deaf and dumb, and we now turn to the consideration of the

* Printing is an excellent trade for the Deaf and Dumb. We saw, last summer, in the town of Zabley, in Wurtemberg, a Printing establishment lately opened by M. Theodise Helgerad. All the compositors and pressmen to the number of 160 are deaf and dumb, and have been educated at M. Helgerad's own expense to the employment they are now engaged in. The King has conferred on him a large gold medal for this reclamation from the social and moral waste.

facts relating to the efforts made in Ireland, for the education, moral and physical, of those afflicted beings.

In May, 1816, "The National Association for the Education of Deaf and Dumb children of the Poor in Ireland," was opened at Claremont, near Glasnevin.

This was, and still is, a most excellent Institution ; but unfortunately for its usefulness, it was strictly, and exclusively Protestant ; and Catholic parents who sent their children for instruction to this establishment were fully aware that those children in gaining knowledge, abandoned faith. That is, the child should learn the Protestant religion, or leave the school. This system rendered Claremont unpopular, and it became as exclusively Protestant as the Blue-coat schools are, and as the Endowed schools were supposed to be.

At length the Catholics resolved that they would help themselves, and after many struggles they were enabled to open an Institution for deaf and dumb girls, under the care of the ladies of St. Mary's, at Cabra, in the year 1846. The eleventh of January in that year, Agnes Beedem, aged eight years, and Maryanne Dogherty, aged nine, were admitted.

The first annual meeting was held, May 3rd, 1847, the late Archbishop Murray in the chair ; Michael Staunton, then Lord Mayor, was the second chairman, and the honorary secretaries were the Rev. Thomas M'Namara, the Rev. S. A. Farrell, and the late W. Nugent Shelly.

From the *Report* read to this meeting we learn that when the Nuns at St. Mary's had consented to take the management of the school, it was resolved that two of the sisters should be sent to the Institution of Le Bon Sauveur, at Caen, in Normandy, to learn the system of instruction of the deaf and dumb there so successfully pursued. It was, after some further consideration, determined to send with the two sisters, two of the deaf mutes from Cabra, "that they might from the commencement, have an opportunity of reducing to practice the system of education which they themselves would receive."

Referring to these topics, the Rev. M. Furon, the chaplain of "Le Bon Sauveur," thus writes, and his letter is most interesting :—

"Caen, 31st December, 1845.

"DEAR SIR AND BROTHER,

"I have deferred so long to write to you, because I was desirous to procure some precise information concerning the most approved-of books in England which relate to the instruction of deaf mutes.

M. Gruel has had the goodness to write to a Professor of the School at Paris, who has taught in an English school, and who is well acquainted with the best works on the instruction of deaf mutes : but as this person has not as yet replied, and as time presses on me, I at length put my hand to the pen to write to you these few lines.

“Our community await with patience the arrival of the two Irish Religious, whom they shall have the pleasure and the happiness to initiate and to train in the good work, in which they employ themselves with much consolation and success. Our Religious highly approve of the idea suggested by M. Gruel, of sending with the two Sisters who are to come, two or three deaf mutes who may be intelligent, and who have not as yet received instruction. These children shall be associated with our fifty deaf mutes, and shall not have any difficulty in accustoming themselves to them. You may rest assured that our Superioress shall not offer any difficulty on the subject of the pension to be paid for the young Irish. It is certain that this shall be a very efficacious means of training your Religious in the art of instruction, since they shall thus be themselves able to apply, from the very first day, the principles and the rules, which we shall be eager to impart to them.

“If you know of any good English elementary books used for the instruction of deaf mutes, we shall be much obliged to you if you send them to us ; this would, in a great degree, facilitate the good work which we undertake. It is needless for me to tell you, that as these works are Protestant, it is not with the intention of putting them into the hands of the pupils or preceptresses that we ask you for them, but *solely* for our own use, to extract from them that which we shall find worth taking. We shall be also very glad to have one of your *little catechisms* for the use of children. You will understand, in fact, that it would be more convenient to have these small elementary treatises in English, than to be obliged to translate the French works of this kind which we possess. It would be very *apropos* (as M. Gruel tells you in the note enclosed) if an Irish Priest were appointed as director of the school that you propose to establish in Dublin, as it is very difficult for the Religious alone to conduct an establishment of this kind : besides, the poor children must have a confessor, and although the confessions are made in writing, it is very important, notwithstanding, that the confessor be initiated in the knowledge of signs, and even in the instruction of the deaf mutes, in order to understand them when they are not as yet sufficiently instructed to express themselves in a manner clear and correct. Moreover, are there not many deaf mutes, who have not dispositions enough, or who have not been left sufficiently long at school, to be able to express themselves in a manner altogether correct ? But, it is *especially* for the purpose of teaching them to confess properly, that the knowledge of the instruction is useful and even necessary for the confessor. Once accustomed to confess, the deaf mutes, even though very little instructed, can express themselves in a manner so as to be understood by any Priest : but, it is always necessary, for this very purpose, that they should have had, at the commencement, a confessor initiated into our method of instruction.

“ You need not occupy yourself, however, with this charge at present. The two Religious, whom you will send to us, shall be very well able, on their return to Dublin, to prepare a Priest for the direction of their instruction, by communicating to him that which they shall have seen and learned at ‘ Le Bon Sauveur.’

“ I think that he could do the same for religious men, who would wish to charge themselves with the training and direction of the school of Boys. It would suffice for them to see the Religious employed, to become initiated in their method, in order to be able, together with the aid of their own thoughts, to qualify themselves in training their deaf mutes in the knowledge of those things that are of importance for them to know.

“ I await with impatience the letter in which you have promised to communicate to us the precise period of the arrival of your two dear Sisters. You may be assured that everything shall be ready for their reception, and that the hearts of all the members of our numerous community shall be open to them, at the same time as the gates of the establishment of ‘ Le Bon Sauveur.’

“ Receive, Sir and dear Brother, with my kind wishes for the new year, the assurance of my entire devotion.

(Signed),

“ FURON.”

The Report thus continues :—

It is further due to this admirable community to add, that nothing could exceed the personal attention and regard they rendered to our Irish nuns during their sojourn amongst them, admiring and encouraging the zeal which induced them, for the time, to become exiles from their sisterhood and their country, in order to qualify themselves for the enterprise of charity they had so zealously and meritoriously undertaken ; and, on their return, the Rev. M. Furon, extending his kind services as far as possible, accompanied them and their two young pupils, till he saw them restored to the bosom of their own community.

Having thus provided for the instruction of one branch of this Institution, your committee had to deliberate upon the best mode of commencing the good work. Considering the amount of funds in hand, and looking to their prospects, clouded by all that was gloomy in the calamitous state of the country ; finding also a difficulty in procuring a suitable establishment for the Institution, and, finally, thinking that they would be better consulting for good order, as well as the educational improvement of their pupils, by receiving a small number in the first instance, your committee deemed it more advisable to avail themselves of a provisional arrangement proposed by the community of St. Mary's, at Cabra, to accommodate, in connexion with their convent, a limited number of pupils, until a permanent establishment could be provided for the Institution.

By reference to the list of the children received by your committee, it will be observed, that they were admitted without any local preferences, your committee having solely in view the Catholic and national character they were so desirous to impart to the Institution.

Your Committee have, therefore, the great satisfaction of report-

ing that, through God's blessing, one branch of the Institution has been put in operation, and that fifteen of these poor creatures, whose sad condition enlists universal sympathy, are already in course of training, under the happy auspices of a religious community.

Looking forward to the prospects of this Institution, your committee confidently trust that it will every day engage increasing interest and support. There are **FOUR THOUSAND** deaf mutes in Ireland!! This simple announcement should seem enough to arouse a nation's sympathy. There are **FOUR THOUSAND** of our fellow-creatures living amongst us, who are debarred the advantages of social commerce with their fellow-men, though capable to a great degree of enjoying them. But if their social disabilities entitle them to public commiseration, how much more are they to be pitied on account of their *spiritual* miseries! Created by the same God as we, destined for the same glorious end as we, redeemed by the same adorable blood as we, they are doomed, alas! to remain "seated in darkness and the shadow of death"—(*Luke i, 79*) unless public charity shall stretch forth the hand of deliverance!

But this infant Institution has a further mission of charity to perform.—It has to combat a system of proselytism, that is aimed against these poor souls, a system, as unprincipled as it is comprehensive and effective, extending its operations over the entire country, and employing every effort of terror and imposition to bring every individual deaf mute throughout the land within its grasp. Your committee have collected their information from numerous facts, that came under their own observation since the commencement of their labours, and from undoubted reports that have been made to them from various parts of the country. These facts and these reports go to prove that the unhappy children who become the victims of these proselytising endeavours, are taught more the specious objections founded upon a misrepresentation of the Catholic Religion, than they are taught the principal truths of Christianity, and more pains are taken to infuse into their hearts a horror for all that is held sacred and venerable in Catholicity, than to train them up in the love of God and of their fellow-man. As an illustration of the soul-destroying effects of this nefarious system, your committee have been furnished with the following report of a case from one of the remotest parts of Ireland:—

"We cannot avoid giving an instance to establish the justness of our remark regarding the Deaf and Dumb Institution for some time established in Dublin. A pupil of that school returned to the residence of her parents in Westport: her health was declining so fast, her parents thought it proper to send for their clergyman to see their dying child. On the arrival of the Rev. gentleman, she asked (by writing on a slate) who that was: when told, (in the same manner), she said she knew it, for he had the mark of the beast on his forehead; and that he was Antichrist! that the Priests would not allow the Bible to be read, &c."

The donations for the year ending May 1st, 1847, amounted to £1,298 9s.; the annual subscriptions received were £116

5s. ; and the collections by cards came to the large sum of £95. 5s. 3d. ; making the total receipts £1,509. 19s. 3d. The travelling expenses, of going to and returning from France, of the two nuns and two pupils, with the cost of support there, amounted to £92. 0s. 6d. ; and the entire expenditure for the year, was, including this latter sum, £477 11s. 3d. ; leaving a balance of £1,032 8s. 0d.

Fifteen girls were admitted from the 11th of January, 1846, to the 19th of April, 1847 ; of these the youngest was eight years old, the eldest eleven.

Well might the committee write, referring to the woful times in which they commenced their labors, and in the midst of which £1,509. 19s. 3d., were subscribed to save the faith and to improve the condition of the Catholic Deaf Mutes:—

“Your Committee deem it unnecessary to observe, that the difficulties which under ordinary circumstances should have encompassed so arduous an undertaking, have been vastly heightened and multiplied by the awful calamity with which it has pleased the Almighty to visit this country. Due regard, however, being had to this appalling visitation, and the consequent pressure upon all charitable resources in order to save from perishing, as far as it was possible, our famishing poor, your committee conceive there is much reason for congratulation on the progress they have been enabled to make.”

During all the years since its establishment this institution has made the most remarkable progress, and now the original idea of the founders is completed, by the establishment of a Male School, at St. Joseph's, Cabra, under the care of the Christian Brothers.

The twelfth annual meeting was held the 2nd of July, 1858, Sir John Bradstreet, Bart., in the chair ; the Very Rev. Canon Grimley, acting as Secretary.

The *Report* read to the meeting is so very admirable, and so extremely interesting, that we shall, with some little condensation, place it before the reader:—

Let the friends of charity recollect that so late as twelve short years ago, so lamentable was the condition of our deaf mutes, that there was not an asylum in the British dominions in which they could be taught the Catholic faith ; and now look for an instant at this noble building, this monument of the charity of our people, and surely they will acknowledge “the finger of God is here.” Since within twelve short years so much has been accomplished for the glory of God and the salvation of his destitute children, what, with

his divine aid, may we not expect for the future? But twelve short years ago and we had neither house, nor teachers, nor pupils; to-day, we impart the knowledge of eternal life to 167 deaf and dumb children. Anxious that the supporters of the Institution should have an accurate idea of the state of each branch, we will, in the first place, enter into the details of St. Mary's, Cabra*.

Your Committee need not report that our female mutes enjoy the singular privilege of being educated by the nuns of Cabra Convent. Under the ever-watchful eyes of those angels in human form, can we be surprised at progress in literature or advancement in virtue? Alluding to the unceasing labours of the good nuns, we only regret that words could not convey even a remote idea of the debt of gratitude this Institution owes to those indefatigable ladies. As it is only to another world they look for their reward, it is our consolation to believe that brilliant indeed must be their crowns of justice. The Institution at St. Mary's now numbers 80 females, 21 of whom were admitted during the past year. On the feast of the Good Shepherd, eight mutes had the happiness of approaching, for the first time, the most Holy Eucharist. There are now 28 monthly communicants. Twelve received Confirmation. Your Committee are exceedingly happy to state that the most gratifying accounts have reached them of the children who have left the Institution; many of them continue to correspond with the nuns and with their former companions. The following letters are specimens of the affection which the pupils who have left still entertain for the Institution to which they are indebted for the inestimable blessings of education:—

* The following is the regulation of time at

ST. MARY'S.

- 6 Rising.—"Angelus Domini."—Washing.
- 6½ Morning prayer
- 6½ Meditation
- 6½ Study
- 7½ Mass
- 8 Dormitory arrangements
- 8½ Breakfast
- 8½ Walking
- 9½ School
- 11 Visit to Chapel.—Walking
- 11½ Needlework
- 12 "Angelus Domini"
- 1 School
- 2 Writing
- 2½ Dinner
- 3 Recreation
- 4 Needlework
- 5 Study
- 6 "Angelus Domini"
- 6½ Supper
- 7 Recreation
- 8 Night Prayer.—Bed.

*" Youkers, Westchester County, U.S.
May, 4th, 1858.*

" MY DEAR MRS. M——

" I received your kind letter, which gave me great pleasure. I was so glad to hear from you and all the nuns and pupils. You must excuse me for not writing before now, but mother was not very well. I wrote some time since to Maria Kieran. She did not answer me yet. I go to Confession and to Holy Communion every month. All the girls that go to school to the sisters of Charity (and I am one) received Holy Communion at Easter; we all had white veils and medals with blue ribbon. There are no deaf-mute girls at school with me. Father Lynch is very kind to me. My mother is sorry she did not leave me another year at Cabra; for there is no deaf-mute school in this State except a Protestant one, and she would not put me there. I help mother in the house, but she does not like to send me out for anything. It troubles her to think something would happen to me. I am most thankful for the very nice picture you sent me. My dear Mrs. M——, my sister Rose is married, and has got a baby son. I am sorry my sister Anne did not come here with me, and we would be altogether then. I like to live with my mother. I enclose a picture for Anne M'Closkey, and hope you will let her write to me. I send my fondest love to all the nuns and to all the deaf-mutes. How is Rev. Father Burke? I hope he is in good health. My mother and sister send their regards to you. Pray for me, your affectionate child,

" SARAH CAHILL.

" P.S.—Please write soon again. '

" Kilkenny, June 8th, 1858.

" MY DEAR MRS. M——

" It is a very long time since you heard from me. I am very uneasy, because I have no pious person to instruct me in religion the same as you used to do. I am very much afraid. I have confidence in your prayers. I know you like to hear from me. I met a deaf mute named Helen Haly about a month ago. I was astonished to see her make the same signs as I make, and I thought she had learned at Cabragh, but it was Miss O'Sullivan who taught her. She spoke to me about Mary Hartnett, Anne M'Carthy, the nuns at Cabragh, &c. &c. I wish my sister Ellen had gone to Cabragh three years ago. I hope she is quite well. I will write to her in a month. Will you please tell me about Jerry and Ellen? My mother is uneasy about them. She is so fond of them. I will continue to pray for you and all the nuns. I am most unhappy now because I would like to remain in the convent for ever. I often think of God, and take great care in my prayers. You will ask Mary Mahony to study religion well, and teach me when she comes home to Cork. I love poor persons very much, because they are the same as our Lord Jesus Christ. I wish to imitate Him. I hope you will write to me soon, and tell me all the news about Cabragh. I remain, your affectionate

" HONORA MURPHY."

Since our last meeting, one of the mutes, who had been a pupil teacher, departed this life. Her companions wrote a sketch of her life, one specimen of which will be gratifying to the benefactors and friends of the Institution.

“ A little Sketch of the Life of one of our dear companions, who died on the 4th of last May, in the 18th year of her age.

“ I was not in the Institution when dear Anne Smyth came to it ; she was one of the first pupils ; but two or three of my companions, who were here, have told me she was a nice little girl, with blue eyes and auburn hair. She was born at Annamoe, in Wicklow, and lost her speech and hearing by scarlatina, at the age of three years. Father Clarke, then Parish Priest of Annamoe, took a great interest in her, and got her admitted into the Institution when she was eight years of age. She was then very wild, and often told many funny things she used to do at home. Her greatest amusement was to stand before a looking-glass and make signs, being quite sure her reflection was another little deaf and dumb child. When her mother brought her here, she thought this place was a prison, and that she would have to remain here for ever ; therefore, she fretted when her mother left her, but her sorrow was soon forgotten, and ever after she liked Cabra very much. She was greatly surprised to see that there were four other deaf mutes here, for she thought that herself and the little girl in the looking-glass were the only deaf mutes in the world. After one year and a half she was so steady, and knew her catechism so well, that she was permitted to make her first communion on the feast of Corpus Christi, 1848. Nothing could equal her joy on that happy day, when she received, for the first time, our Divine Lord in the Blessed Eucharist.

“ In a few weeks after she was confirmed by the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, and was invested in the blue scapular. About five years ago she was promoted to be a class teacher. She taught her pupils very well. We shall never forget how sweet-tempered, gay, and obliging dear Anne was, and how she used to make us laugh at recreation. She took great pleasure in assisting the nuns when she saw them busy. Last summer she became very delicate, and was sent home for some months, which time she spent most happily. On the feast of St. Kevin she went to Glendalough with her sisters, and amused herself on the beautiful mountains there. Her native air having made her much better, she returned here after vacation. Last January one of her sisters died ; Anne felt it greatly ; and though she bore it with great resignation to the Divine will, I remarked that from that time she began to look very delicate, and was no longer as active and cheerful as before. She was obliged to give up teaching her class in February. On the 18th of March she went home with her father. The day she left us we cried much, and she too was very sad ; she said she thought she would not live long, and asked the nun who has care of us to teach her some aspirations to say, when she would be receiving Extreme Unction, and said she would not forget to have the indulgenced cross and blessed candle in her hand when dying. Her health did not improve at home, and she shortly after received the last sacrament, and was invested in the

scapular of Mount Carmel. Her sister wrote an account to the nuns of her death, and said that she suffered very much for about a week before she died, but was most patient, and never complained; and when asked was she able to pray, she said—'Yes; I am praying; I am making acts of the love of God, of contrition, and of resignation.' Her sister used sometimes say to her—'Are you resigned to die?' She would answer—'I am resigned to whatever God pleases.' Rev. Mr. Coleman, her Parish Priest, was most attentive to her during her illness. She presented to him a large statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which she had bought previous to her leaving Cabra. Her death was a most happy one. It had been her constant prayer that she might die in the month of Mary;—her request was granted. Our dear Immaculate Mother took her to herself on the evening of the 4th of May. In a composition which she wrote on heaven, a few months before she left the Convent, she said—'The first thing I will do when I enter heaven will be to prostrate myself at the feet of the B. V. Mary.' I trust she is there now listening to the sweet voice of our Blessed Lady, and praying for each of us. We will all try to imitate our dear companion, who was so pious, docile, and gentle; we will not complain that we are more afflicted than others, and deprived of many enjoyments in this world, because we know that the most afflicted of God's children here will be the nearest to Him and to the Comfortress of the Afflicted in heaven.*

"CHARLOTTE MARY KELLY."

* This last paragraph reminds us of the very exquisite lines by Mrs. Sigourney, entitled *Alice, in Heaven, to her Family, left on Earth*. The poem was composed on the death of a highly interesting deaf and dumb young lady, of rare intellectual endowments. Her attachment to her father was remarkably ardent. Immediately after his death, she said, in her own strong language of gesture, "her heart had so grown to his that they could not be separated." In a few days she was suddenly called to follow him. She is here represented as having arrived at the mansions of bliss, and, meeting her father, thus apostrophises those fond objects of her affection, whom she had left on earth:—

I.

Sisters! there's music here!
 From countless harps it flows,
 Throughout this bright celestial sphere,
 Nor pause nor discord knows:
 The seal is melted from my ear
 By love divine,
 And what thro' life I pined to hear,
 Is mine! is mine!
 The warbling of an ever-tuneful choir,
 And the full deep response of David's sacred lyre.
 Did kind earth hide from me
 Her broken harmony,
 That thus the melodies of Heaven might roll,
 And whelm in deeper tides of bliss, my rapt, my wondering soul?

In the Male School there are eighty-seven boys, under the care, as already stated, of the Christian Brothers, who give the following valuable *Report* :—

St. Joseph's, Cabra, June 20th, 1858.

GENTLEMEN—At the close of this the first academic period, through

II.

Joy! I am mute no more ;
 My sad and silent years,
 With all their loneliness, are o'er ;
 Sweet Sisters! dry your tears.
 Listen, at hush of eve—listen, at dawn of day—
 List, at the hour of prayer—*Can you not hear my lay?*
 Untaught, uncheck'd it came,
 As light from chaos beamed,
 Praising his everlasting name,
 Whose blood from Calvary stream'd,
 And still it swells that highest strain, the song of the redeem'd.

III.

Brother!—my only one!
 Belov'd from childhood's hours,
 With whom, beneath the vernal sun,
 I wander'd, when our task was done,
 To gather early flow'rs,—
 I cannot come to thee,
 Though 'twas so sweet to rest
 Upon thy gently guiding arm,
 Thy sympathising breast,—
 'Tis better here to be.

IV.

No disappointments shroud
 The angel bow'rs of joy ;
 Our knowledge hath no cloud,
 Our pleasures no alloy ;
 The fearful words—*to part*,
 Are never breath'd above ;
 Heaven hath no broken heart—
 Call me not hence—my love !

V.

Oh Mother ! He is here,
 To whom my soul so grew,
 That when Death's fatal spear
 Stretched him upon his bier,
 I fain must follow too.
 His smile my infant griefs restrain'd ;
 His image in my childish dream,
 And o'er my young affections reign'd,
 With gratitude unutter'd and supreme ;
 But yet, till these refulgent skies burst forth in radiant glow,
 I knew not half th' unmeasured debt a daughter's heart doth owe.

which we have conducted our afflicted but highly interesting charge, in compliance with your wishes, and according to the usual custom, we submit the following *resumé* of the proceedings of the past year for your consideration.

The very limited experience which we have had in Deaf and Dumb education, since the commencement of our connection with the Male Department in May, 1857, induces us to hope, with the Divine assistance, for the satisfactory accomplishment of the difficult undertaking in which we are now engaged.

Convinced that an acquaintance with the system pursued in the management of the several departments, educational and domestic, of both branches of the Institution, was necessary, and demanded our special attention, we commenced an attendance at Prospect and at St. Mary's, which extended over a period of six months, and afforded ample time for a good preliminary training.

To the good community of St. Mary's we are deeply indebted for the handsome manner in which they placed every facility at our disposal for acquiring a knowledge of all that related to the Deaf and Dumb which their excellent establishment afforded.

Our thanks are also, in a special manner, due to the Rev. J. B. Burke, of the Vincentian Fathers, for his efficient aid, which he was so well qualified to impart from his long experience of the Deaf and Dumb.

The absence of a systematic course of instruction, as well as the many other disadvantages which the pupils of the Male Institution laboured under, must have rendered their education an extreme difficulty; and the gifted conductors of the Female Department, having acquired their knowledge of the system in France, will account for the similar want of a suitable educational series for the Deaf and Dumb, which they too regretted. But few works of British Institutions, were available, and, of these, none could be procured of a sufficiently elementary character to render them generally useful. In French, indeed, no such want could be said to exist; for the very excellent works of Sicard, Bebian, Jamet, and others, afford a great variety from which to select; but without incurring the expense of producing translations of these, or similar publications, in this country, no graduated course of instruction for Catholic deaf mutes could be procured.

Judging of the system pursued in the New York Institution, as

VI.

Ask ye, if still his heart returns its ardent glow?

Ask ye, if filial love

Embodied spirits prove?

Look! 'tis a little space, ere thou shalt rise to know:

I bend to soothe thy woes,

“*How near,*” thou canst not see;

I watch thy lone repose—

ALICE doth comfort thee;

To welcome thee I wait—blest Mother, come to me!

exemplified in its "Course of Instruction," we have no hesitation in allowing its superiority as an elementary course, to any other in our own language which we have become acquainted with, though some objections are to be found to adopting it generally in our Institution. The expense of such adoption might also deserve consideration, as, for about an equal amount, a similar "Course of Instruction," specially adapted to all our wants, could probably be produced in this country. The production of such a work, should it meet your approbation, could only be accomplished after such mature preparation, as would enable us to hope that in incurring the attendant responsibility, you were securing to us an object worthy of the considerable outlay which it would demand.

Of the very many interesting French publications for the Deaf and Dumb, as well as those published in connection with the Doncaster Institution, we have temporarily availed ourselves, though only to a limited extent; but should the initiatory system of the latter Institution approach in completeness its more advanced course, a knowledge of it would be desirable.

As in other similar institutions, the instruction of the pupils in all that is implied in affording them as great a facility in the use of written language as they can attain to, forms the leading object of our efforts; and this facility once attained, the other branches of ordinary education are open to them.

While occupying your attention with what concerns the condition of the Deaf and Dumb, we may be permitted, for the gratification of those who feel so particular an interest in the subject, to introduce the following observations of the President of an advanced existing Institution.

"The natural desire of parents and relatives to restore a deaf child to hearing and speech, certainly the best, and regarded by uninformed people as almost the only means of social intercourse and moral and religious cultivation, has ever been a fruitful source of quackery. It may be safely affirmed that there is no child deaf by disease or accident, or whose deafness is hoped to be curable, on whom twenty different remedies have not been tried, most of them absurd, some very painful, and some even dangerous. But the success has been far below the average in cases of empiricism. You all know that multitudes of cures, due solely to the recuberative powers of nature, have been ascribed to the last quack remedies that happened to be employed; but in cases of deafness, so marked as to occasion dumbness, recovery, spontaneous or otherwise, hardly happens once in ten thousand times."

"Nor hardly has better success attended the efforts of the profoundest science and the most enlarged experience. Obstructions in the auditory passage; may be cleared away; the tone of the nerves and of the system generally may be improved; and by these and other means partial deafness is often relieved. But as the internal parts of the ear lie beyond the ken of the physician, attempts to remedy the diseases or malstructure of those parts must be made very much in the dark, and the result, in a great number of instances reported, has been one case here and there more or less relieved, to some hundreds in which useless suffering was inflicted."

“ I believe post-mortem examinations, to ascertain the immediate causes of deafness, have been rare in this country (America), and comparatively few such are recorded in Europe. Dr. Itard, the late able and most distinguished physician of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb of Paris, who, perhaps, made more such examinations than any other man, believed that in most cases of profound deafness, the cause was paralysis of the auditory nerve. In other words, in most deaf mutes, the nerves of hearing are *dead*, and MEDICAL MEANS HAVE NO EFFECT ON THE DEAD.”

“ Still, there are generally to be found men who have full faith in the mysterious operation of certain remedies of their own, which, like a charmed gun, shooting in the dark, shall hit the mark; and there are still seldomer wanting men who have a much juster confidence in human credulity. Between these two classes the anxious parent will never want remedies, and flattering promises of cure to his deaf child, till the most tenacious hope and patience being at length wearied out by constant failures, he at last returns to the point, which, for the good of the child, should have been attended to long before, the means of alleviating its misfortune by education.”

After warning the parents and friends of deaf mutes against empiricism, the writer goes on to say, that “ they ought to pay more attention than they have yet done, to the far more important and infinitely surer means of remedying the misfortune of the deaf and dumb, by making their other senses, and especially that of sight, supply the probably irremediable loss of the hearing.”

The adoption in this country of the course intimated in the following paragraph, would deserve your consideration.

“ It is most true that the early education and training of deaf mute children, before they reach the proper age of entering the Institution, is too much neglected. Efforts have been made to remedy, in some degree, this evil, by publishing and widely circulating brief and plain directions to parents and friends of deaf mute children, for their early management, and for the first steps in their instruction. The advice, moreover, has been repeatedly given, and I would here again repeat it, that where the parents have not the leisure or ability to begin the deaf and dumb child's education at home, it should be sent along with its brothers and sisters who hear, to the district or primary school, where it may at least easily acquire the habit of order, the ability to imitate letters correctly with a pen, and the names of many common objects, which can be explained by pictures, or by merely pointing to them.”

Our morning exercises, commencing with prayer, include lessons in written language, Christian doctrine, and arithmetic. Resuming studies at half-past nine, till twelve A.M., object lessons, written language, grammatical and geographical exercises, with simple outlines of globes and astronomy, occupy the time. A few are occasionally exercised in simple algebraic propositions. Dictation by signs is occasionally introduced, and original composition is specially attended to.

The Afternoon Exercises, commencing at half-past twelve P.M., and ending at three P.M., are devoted to explanations of Christian

doctrine, arithmetic, &c., and a continuation of initiatory lessons, and lessons in written language. The Evening studies are chiefly a preparation for the business of the following day.

The literary exercises of the day commence and conclude with prayer, in the language of signs. Prayers are also signed at other stated hours.

Only a few alterations were necessary to adapt the ordinary distribution of time to our present routine; according to which the pupils at

6 A. M.	Rise and wash	
6½	„ Morning prayer	
7	„ Studies till 8 A. M.	
8	„ Breakfast, <i>ad libitum</i> ,	till 9½ A. M.
9½	„ Studies resumed	„ 12 „
12	„ Angelus—lunch and play	„ 12½ „
12½ P.M.	Studies	„ 3 „
3	„ Dinner and recreation	„ 5 „
5	„ Evening studies	„ 7 „
7	„ Supper and play	„ 7½ „
7½	„ Night prayer, and	
8	„ Bed.	

Wednesdays and Saturdays, being half days, a walk is substituted for the afternoon exercises of the former day; the latter is allotted to domestic arrangements.

On Sundays and Holydays the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass is offered in the domestic Chapel, and every facility is afforded the pupils for approaching the holy sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist.

Immediately after Mass, religious instruction is imparted in the Chapel by a Brother, in the language of signs. Religious instruction is again resumed on these days from 10 to 11 A.M., in the School; after which, lunch and a walk fill up the time until 3 P.M. Evening studies and devotions are resumed from 5½ to 6½ P.M.

Daily visits to the Library are also allowed, where the pupils are encouraged to make every effort to overcome those difficulties of language which usually deprive the deaf and dumb of all the pleasure to be derived from reading. For this purpose illustrated works are most suitable; and when arrangements are completed for procuring, at short intervals, such interesting publications as would be likely to excite the curiosity of the young, much will be accomplished towards rendering this department the great aid which it ought to become in the education of our mutes.

Cricket, football, two ball courts, a large play ground, and the gardens, afford ample opportunities for that physical development which is so justly a prominent consideration in the training of youth.

For recreative walking excursions we are left nothing to desire. The healthful advantages of the Phoenix Park are within a few minutes' walk; and the freedom of access to the Zoological Gardens, so kindly allowed to Institutions, has been repeatedly availed of. The other environs of the city, as well as the beautiful country surrounding the Institution, afford everything that could make such excursions gratifying.

As an encouragement to merit, on a recent festival, twenty-five of the most deserving boys were indulged in a short railway trip. They proceeded to Kingstown, and after enjoying all the beauties of that favored locality during the day, returned in the evening deeply grateful for the enjoyment which had been procured them.

On a recent occasion, the following expression of thanks was conveyed to the Very Rev. Mgr. Yore, by a pupil in the school of the Institution:—

St. Joseph's, Cabra.

VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,

We return you thanks for the very nice altars which you have given us. You are always very kind to us. We will often pray that God may grant you many graces, and that our Blessed Lady may also take care of you.

Asking your blessing and share in your prayers,

We remain, Very Rev. dear Sir, most gratefully,

Your obedient servants,

THE DEAF MUTES OF ST. JOSEPH'S.

During the past year the following pupils made their first Communion:—J. Carlan, Wm. O'Shaughnessy, Edwd. Tighe, Jn. Hornsby, Jas. Doherty, Pk. Kenney, Chr. Fitzpatrick. And of these, the following received Confirmation at the hands of his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen:—John Hornsby, Edward Tighe, Chr. Fitzpatrick, Wm. O'Shaughnessy. George Lacey and Bern. Loughran, having completed their education, left our Institution within the year.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, while gratefully acknowledging your considerate attention to all our suggestions, we have great pleasure in being able to state that the happiest evidences of physical, as well as mental and moral improvement, have already manifested themselves in our Mutes; a small earnest of the total reform which we hope to see effected in them, when the remaining desirable facilities in the management of the literary and domestic details of the Institution, which a more extended experience will enable us to introduce, shall have been completed.

We remain, Gentlemen, respectfully, &c.,

THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS.

The following letters are specimens of the boys' compositions:—

" St Joseph's, Cabra, June 22nd, 1858.

" MY DEAREST FATHER—On the 4th of January, the Very Rev. Canon Grimley, the Rev. Mr. Burke, Mr. Manning, Christian Brother, and the three boys, left the terminus of the Galway railway. The morning, though dark, was fine. We left at seven o'clock, and were glad to go in the train. We travelled very quickly, but as it was very dark we could not see anything until we were some miles from Dublin. The train stopped at Maynooth, where the great Catholic College is situated. We arrived at Mullingar at nine o'clock,

where we stayed for a short time. Mullingar is remarkable for being an excellent wool market. At eleven o'clock we arrived at Athlone, where we saw the Shannon flowing through the town. Athlone is called the centre of Ireland. I saw my native town of Ballinasloe, in the County Galway. About twelve o'clock we arrived at Galway, and attended the examinations shortly after. We had the pleasure of seeing the Right Rev. Dr. McEvilly, the Catholic Bishop of Galway, at the examination. We were examined in a great many things; in Christian doctrine, geography, grammar, arithmetic, &c. All persons present were much surprised at the manner in which we answered. We remained one night in Galway, and returned to Dublin by the train on the following day. We were much pleased at seeing Galway, its railway hotel, and its fine bay, but were surprised to see all the stones that were in the country about Galway.

"I remain, my dearest Father,

"Your affectionate Son,

"PETER PAUL QUINN."

"*St. Joseph's, Cabra, June 23rd, 1858.*

"MY DEAR FATHER—The boys rise every morning at 6 o'clock, and assemble in school for morning prayer at 6½ o'clock! At 8 o'clock all breakfast, and after breakfast the boys go to the playground until 9½ o'clock. At 9½ o'clock we all assemble in school and remain there until 12 A. M. We learn a great many things; grammar, composition, geography, globes, astronomy, &c. At 12 o'clock we sign the Angelus Domini and get lunch, and are allowed to play till 12½ o'clock. School begins again at 12½ o'clock, and lasts until 3 o'clock. We dine at 3 o'clock, and visit the library or play until 5 o'clock. Evening studies commence at 5 o'clock, and end at 7 o'clock, when we get supper and have play until 7½ o'clock. We then sign evening prayer and go to bed. We are allowed to walk on Wednesdays and Sundays. We often see the Phoenix Park and the Zoological Gardens. We can see the city, Howth, and the bay and mountains of Dublin, and we often see many ships and steamers coming in the bay. The railway passes very near to the Institution, and we often walk along the Royal Canal. The country about St. Joseph's is very beautiful, and the boys are very happy in having such a fine Institution.

"I remain, my dear Father,

"Your affectionate Son,

"JOHN WHELAN."

In concluding their Report, the Committee thus refer to the late lamented John O'Connell:—

"Your Committee, while submitting to the dispensations of Divine Providence, beg to express the great loss sustained by this Institution, in the death of one, who, as Hon. Secretary, assisted us by his advice, and cheered us on by his example in labouring for the amelioration of the deplorable condition of the poor deaf mute children of Ireland. In the annals of our

Institution the name of John O'Connell must always appear among its best benefactors.

“ It is our consolation to hope that his Christian and edifying life has merited for him the crown of justice ; and that in heaven his happiness will be consummated in seeing around him our poor deaf and dumb, for whose salvation he laboured so assiduously.”

The charge, as pension, for each Mute is £10 per annum, but the total average cost of each is £18 per annum. The youngest girl is 8 years old, the eldest 16 years : the youngest boy is 8, the eldest 15 years of age.

We have already given the tables showing the employment of time in each Institution ; the following are the Dietary, and abstract statement of accounts for both schools :—

DIETARY.

Dietary on	Breakfast.	Lunch.	Dinner.	Supper.
SUNDAY ...	Bread and Milk	Bread	{ Bread, Meat, } { and Vegetable }	Bread and Milk.
MONDAY ...	Bread and Milk	Bread	Bread and Broth	Bread and Milk.
TUESDAY ...	Stirabout and Milk	Bread	{ Bread, Meat, } { and Vegetable }	Bread and Milk.
WEDNESDAY	Bread and Milk	Bread	Bread and Broth	Bread and Milk.
THURSDAY	Stirabout and Milk	Bread	{ Bread, Meat, } { and Vegetable }	Bread and Milk.
FRIDAY ...	Bread and Milk	Bread	{ Bread, Butter, } { Fish or Eggs, } { and Vegetable }	Bread and Milk.
SATURDAY	Bread and Milk	Bread	Bread and Broth	Bread and Milk.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance from Cr. June, 1857, ...				557	2	6
„ Bequests received during the year, ...				156	7	0
„ Donations,				710	18	5

Ordinary Revenue of the year :—

„ Annual subscriptions,	767	4	8			
„ Pensions, &c., &c.	1262	19	7			
„ Card Collections,	121	15	5			
„ Interest on Government Stock, ...	77	10	6			
	<hr/>			2229	10	2
				<hr/>		
				£3653	18	1
				<hr/>		

DISBURSEMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By paid Maintenance of Children, ...				1797	13	2
„ Salaries to Masters,				180	0	0
„ Do. to Chaplain and Secretaries, ...				160	0	0
„ Do. to Collectors' Commission, ...						
and Travelling Expenses, &c., ...				153	14	6
„ Newspaper Advertisements; ...	71	10	6			
„ Printing and Engraving	56	3	3			
„ Furniture for New Institution, ...	345	5	5			
„ Rent of Institution, Auxiliary ...						
House and Committee Rooms, ...	100	0	0			
„ Law Expenses,	32	8	2			
„ Expenses of Missions,	31	6	0			
„ Do. attending the breaking up of ...						
former Institution,	135	0	0			
„ Officerquisites, Postage, Fuel, &c. ...	89	17	7			
	<hr/>			861	10	11
Balance,				500	19	6
				<hr/>		
				£3653	18	1
				<hr/>		

What these Institutions may yet become, time alone can show, but judging of the future by the experiences of the past twelve years, we may reasonably expect that managed as they are, they will become world-known and approved as are the great Schools of the Christian Brothers. Already the advantages offered are fully appreciated in the United States, and in the British possessions on the American Coast; and we understand that young children are sent hither from Canada for instruction. The male school at Cabra is one of the architectural sights of Dublin: but even whilst admiring its beauties, even whilst applauding the efforts hitherto made, and marked by so glorious a success, we should not forget that there are 4000 Deaf-mutes in Ireland, and that hundreds, anxious for admission to St. Joseph's and St. Mary's, are sent away desponding and disappointed; there are no funds to support a larger number than that already accommodated.

With these considerations, and with the facts above stated before him, we beg the earnest attention of the Catholic reader to the following, which is a copy of the circular just issued by the Committee:—

CATHOLIC INSTITUTION FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB.

“ Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful.”

LUKE vi. 36.

The Catholics of Ireland are respectfully informed that there are 4000 Deaf Mutes in Ireland; that without an education, suited to their wants, those poor children of affliction must live and die without knowing that a God exists. There are 200 poor children in the Institution, educated, supported, clothed, &c., &c. There are hundreds seeking admission, who, alas, must be excluded for no other reason than want of means to educate them. Will we permit those hundreds to live as heathens in the midst of us? Who will refuse to contribute to enable the Catholic Deaf Mutes to attain a knowledge of salvation? The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass is offered up every month, for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Subscribers to this most useful Institution. Also, the Holy Sacrifice is offered up every month for the repose of the souls of deceased Benefactors. On the first Sunday of each month, the Mutes

who approach the Sacraments, offer up their holy Communion for the above intentions. Each morning and evening the Deaf Mutes pray fervently for their Benefactors.

Mr. JOHN COGHLAN has been appointed to call on Subscribers and receive their contributions.

THOMAS GPIMLEY, CANON,
SECRETARY.

*Committee Rooms, 7, Wellington-quay,
Dublin, 1st November, 1858.*

ART. VII.—POETICAL BOOKS.

1. *The O' Donoghue of the Lakes, and other Poems.* By Nicholas J. Gannon. London : Bosworth and Harrison. 1858.
2. *The Traveller's Dream, and other Poems.* By Henrietta, Authoress of "Poetical Pieces on Religion and Nature." Dublin : John Robertson ; London : Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1858.
3. *Poetical Pieces on Religion and Nature.* By Henrietta. Dublin : Samuel B. Oldham. 1856.

Genius is the standard of the human intellect, and by which alone the operations of the mind can be accurately determined. The productions of genius are the only criteria whence they can be properly judged : there they are discovered in their excellence and consummation to the enquiry of the philosopher. It follows, then, that in reasoning of the powers and the faculties of the mind of man, genius and its works constitute the legitimate head and spring of demonstration and argument. But perhaps genius itself is only competent to the task. Be it so. Were this sentiment, however, to be adopted in its full extent, as it would be extreme vanity in any individual to assume to himself the given qualification and character, no matter of great moment would be undertaken, and the sublime efforts of mind must be fatally discouraged. Singularity would be the height of presumption, and no one could pretend to be original ; and by this the world would infallibly lose much. Many a discovery, many an invention, is indebted to a good guess. Singular opinions, if they do nothing more, produce scintillations of original thought, which by any other collision had never been emitted ;—and this is something ; not a matter of the most indifferent importance, but an object worthy of prosecution and regard. 'Tis a step to knowledge ; and "Fancy, ever the mother of deep Truth," may nurture her well even at the breast of Fiction.

But some will deny the possibility of an original idea. To them the mere assumption will be ridiculous. Locke affirms, that "all those sublime thoughts which tower above the clouds, and reach as high as heaven itself, in all that

great extent wherein the mind wanders in those remote speculations it may seem to be elevated with, it stirs not one jot beyond those ideas which sense or reflection have offered for its contemplation." We shall, nevertheless, contend for the *creative* faculty of genius in its literal signification, and assert its power of creation in the most extended sense; not only in the combination of ideas, but ideas themselves, primarily and underived, as its own absolute and independent production. "Ideas are things," says Berkeley. But we profess not metaphysics. If we did, and his position be correct, the creation we claim for genius is absolute indeed.

What is genius? Dr. Johnson defines it thus; "A mind of large general powers, accidentally determined by some particular direction." This position has been well combated by D'Israeli in his *Literary Character*. Seneca says, and, after him, Montaigne, that equality is the soul of equity; and it is so. We are all the same in the first principles of our conformation; but circumstance, "that inspiritual God," whose tyranny commences even before our birth, enlarges and contracts, develops and destroys. Education does much, and habit more. So far, and no farther, nature vindicates, without justifying, her universal justice in every diversity of body and of mind. As one body is weak, and another strong, so it is with different minds; there are gradations and characters in each. There is an idiosyncrasy of mind as well as of body; and as D'Israeli well observes, "If Locke or Newton had attempted, and persisted in the attempt, as some have, unluckily for themselves, to prevail in poetry, we should have lost two great philosophers, and obtained two supernumerary Poets."

Genius is an abstract term, and formed, as all abstract terms have been, from individual appellations. Certain individuals discover a genius or aptitude for certain particular attainments, and which in many instances, develops itself to a predominant character of intellectual power. Hence the term genius was adopted to express this aptitude in general, always implying the successful and predominant development. Dr. Johnson forgot the process by which we arrive at general terms, when he constructed his definition. Had he recollected this process, he would not have confounded the terms "mind" and "genius," and would have re-

versed the definition thus—"a determination in some particular direction, accidentally developed by a mind of large general powers." But how the mind of Johnson dilated and expanded, when, in the *Life of Pope* he describes the power of genius, and swells once more into that Ionian freedom and nobility of speech which marches to such sublime music, in that magnificent passage where, forsaking for a moment his jealous prejudices, he walks abroad in his soul's strength, to grasp the master mind of Gray, and point out to the world the pre-disposition and secret propensity of his ambitious genius! In the *Life of Pope* he describes "genius as that power which constitutes a poet, that quality without which judgment is cold, and knowledge is inert; that energy which collects, combines, amplifies, and animates." Common sense would say, that genius is what a man is born with; and perhaps, after all, we shall not improve the definition by explaining and amplifying it. We shall, however, define it thus: "That germ of native aptitude, born with, and borne in, the constitutional disposition of the human mind, which develops itself to a predominant character of intellectual power, breaks forth in the temper, moulds the habit, and is connatural and connate with the individual." This gift of Heaven—this incommunicable faculty—this preternatural conformation, indeed of the faculties of the soul, has ingenious and presumptuous sophistry endeavoured to create by accident, and originate by education,—influences that partake in its developement, and are themselves the creatures of the mind of man. It has appropriated to itself all the gifts of Heaven, and claimed the power of exerting whatever talent it *elects* to *acquire*. The *phenomena* of genius it has resolved into mere outward circumstance, forgetting that circumstance, though it may contract or enlarge, can never produce; and with Promethean audacity, deemed, by adopting the same means, to create the same aptitude; but its professors soon feel that they still want the spark of animation—that divine energy which pervades and exalts the inert materials of art, and gives life to its slumbering elements; and which, if they attempt to possess by dishonest violence, the vulture and the rock are but feeble emblems of their vexation and dismay! The same sophistry which would thus deprive genius of its original, and underived existence, would also deny to it its power of

creation. Nothing is more common than to speak of its creative power. Appeal to Philosophy, and she denies the fact, and metaphysicians define it all away into sensation and reflection, perception and combination. With them, the sentient is all—the spiritual nature of man, nothing. They profess to treat of his mind, and they confound it with the corporeal; they cannot conceive it abstracted from matter, and removed from sense. With them, all ideas are derived, and fancy and imagination phlegmatic imitators, or, at best, but quick collectors and appropriators of the good of others, the treasures of antiquity, the knowledge of the world; they communicate nothing, but derive all. According to them, the sublime and eloquent Barry mistook the operations of his own mind and the nature of art, when he vehemently broke forth, “Go home from the academy, light up your lamps, and exercise yourselves in the *creative* part of your art, with Homer, with Livy, and all the great characters, ancient and modern, for your companions and counsellors!”

Akenside exclaims,—

“Mind—mind alone! bear witness,
Heaven and Earth!
The living fountain in itself contains
Of beauteous and sublime!”

And so the mind does contain all these wonders in itself, and is truly the “vital spark of heavenly flame,” but every mind is not a poetic one, that is, poetic in the creative faculty. An age which, like the present, has produced several great poets, must be full of the spirit of poetry. Byron, Wordsworth, Scott, Southey, Coleridge, Campbell, and Moore, are above all this era, only by an excess of that power, in which many thousands participate. They are not beautiful and solitary flowers breathing in the desert, but are only conspicuous amongst other products of the soil by their richer bloom, and their finer fragrance. The whole of our worthy literature is more pregnant with imagination and passion. There seems to be at present a mingling and interfusing of the thoughts, sentiments, and opinions of men, of all kinds and degrees of power, that perhaps never existed before in this, or in any other country. Poets walk not in the light of their own imagination alone—but in the light shed around them, by the imagination of their brethren. Peculiar as was the genius of each of those poets we have named above,—peculiar as is the genius of our living poets, to him-

self, and opposite to each other their several theories of the art, yet may we observe frequent gleams and flashes of the one in the pages of the other, as they unconsciously lend or borrow splendour : however various their creed and professions of faith, yet they are all priests of one religion.

This stir and communion of thought, feeling and passion, is observable throughout that part of our literature which in former times was uninteresting and contemptible—we mean that poetry which is created by minds not in the first rank of poetical power. Our merest versifiers, now a days, may be set on an equality with men whom a former age considered true sons of Apollo, while we have among us not a few poetical writers, who, without aspiring to the very highest honors of the art, exhibit a familiar and profound knowledge of much of its subject matter, and are permitted, at times, to behold glimpses of the glory revealed in full only to the mightier prophets. To this interesting class of poets belong Mr. Gannon and the fair authoress of *The Traveller's Dream*.

We can fancy Mr. Gannon before us now, stepping out from a good breakfast at the *Lake*, upon that emerald lawn sloping down to the glorious sheet of water whence the hotel has its name. We can fancy him, with four oars, Kerry O'Leary for guide, and Mat Foley for bugler, not "doing," but actually studying the Lake. We can hear his shouts of laughter at Kerry's jovial stories of the "Killarney wake" and "the Quaker's hunt for a dinner in the Famine year;" and then we can fancy him sitting down to write the Legend of the O'Donoghue, not the member for Tipperary, but his great ancestor of the Lakes, and personifying those pretty chamber maids who dance such rattling jigs in the smoking-room, as descendants of the old chieftain's Eva, of whom he tells us,—

"The hue of the raven her dark ringlets show,
The blue violet sleeps in her eye;
The snow's softest tint, and the peach's pink glow,
Have pilfer'd her cheek for their dye."

"Henrietta" has a pretty name, a pretty fancy, and is, we are sure, a good, honest-hearted Irish girl. She has written two very charming poems in the larger volume before us; and in her little book, entitled *Poetical Pieces*, particularly in her poem on "The Death of John the Baptist,"—

but from which we shall not extract, as it should be read entire to be appreciated as it deserves—she has given us a specimen of her poetic ability most creditable and promising. In each and all of these she shows how fully her mind is imbued with the noble epigraph which she selects from Wordsworth,—

“ In every part,
Spirit Divine through forms of human art.”

We would ask Mr. Gannon why he selected for his longer poem the metre of *The Lady of the Lake*? But, let us take things as they come, and, thanking the gods for what we get, wait, like *Mr. Macauber*, for something to “turn up.”

The first thing turning up worthy of special note, in Mr. Gannon's *O'Donoghue*, is the first meeting of the Chieftain and Eva:—

Her anxious sire, while yet the maid
In childhood's simple garb had played,
Deem'd her coy ways and bearing shy,
The proof of native modesty.
But when maturing years had shed
Their crowning roses on her head,
With radiant bloom her cheek had grac'd,
And on her lip their vermill trac'd,
He thought through pleasure's magic thrall
To tempt the girl in festive hall.
Then did he spread the banquet gay,
Then flocking came in rich array,
The youthful nobles of the plain,
With warrior vassals in their train.
Full many a chief the maiden woo'd,
Full many in falt'ring accents sued
To win her hand; and gems and gold
Before her father's eyes unroll'd.
But useless all their wily art
To gain the lovely Eva's heart;
And when her sire in suppliant voice
Besought his child to make a choice,
Of all her suitors rich and proud,
She turn'd her head and wept aloud!
The holy nuns who oft had seen
Fair Eva, and had mark'd her mien,
When now they heard the wondrous tale,
How wealth and rank could not prevail
To win her heart, would gravely say,
“The veil is her's no distant day!”
But those more shrewd had watch'd the care
With which she bound her raven hair,
Had caught the blaze of em'rald green,
The gems and diamonds glitt'ring sheen,
Whose brilliance well might grace a queen,
And vow'd no veil that face would hide,
Save such as decks the sparkling bride!
Her maidens wond'ring much the while,
Were wont to shake their heads and smile,
As though they wish'd that each should
know,
They would not treat their lovers so.

But Una, she whose locks of jet
Like Eva's, down her shoulders met,
Her chosen friend, companion dear,
In all her mystic wand'rings near,
With solemn brow, and silent tongue,
The livelier maidens sate among.
Sometimes fair Eva and her maid,
Would walk adown the flow'ry glade,
Or in a gold-embroider'd barge,
Skim o'er the broad lake's mimic surge.
The awe-inspired fishermen,
When Eva's boat had met their ken,
Plying the dripping oar, would leave
The maids alone their dreams to weave;
Then when o'er hill, and lake, and plain,
The night commenc'd its drowsy reign,
Along the silv'ry path where shines
The moon's calm light in twinkling lines,
Una would row the bark, and there
The maids would sing some plaintive air,
Or meditate till early day
Appear'd above the mountains grey.
One eve as fickle April's sun,
His latest course had well-nigh run,
Tinging with beams of crimson hue
The quiet lake's translucent blue,
Eva, in accents soft and clear,
Pour'd these grave words in Una's ear;
“Beloved friend, let balmy sleep,
To-night your grateful senses steep,
Let winged dreams your mind delight,
With glowing scenes, with visions bright,
That in the arms of rapture borne,
Your soul may feast on joys till morn.
For when to-night the wolf will howl,
And o'er the lake shall whoop the owl,
When the wild fox shall roam the dell,
I mean to work a wondrous spell!
My potent charm will seek to make
The glorious spirit of the lake
From out its breast his form unfold,
And converse with a mortal hold!”

Fill'd with surprise and secret dread,
 The trembling Una nothing said;
 But when the evening reach'd its close,
 She press'd her couch and sought repose.
 The fluttering at her anxious breast
 Deterr'd the coy approach of rest;
 And wild fears coursing through her brain,
 Made every hope of slumber vain.
 With noiseless footstep Una glides
 From out her couch, and down the sides
 Of Glens, speeds her quick pursuit,
 Till she had reach'd the mountain's foot;
 When there arriv'd and crouching low,
 Beneath a broad Arbutus bough,
 She saw fair Eva on the strand,
 Waving aloft a starry wand.
 Eftsoons a noise came thund'ring on,
 Like mountain waves, when tempests strong
 Sweep the blue surface of the sea,
 And lash it in their savage glee!
 Nearer and nearer came the sound
 Which made the mountain cliffs rebound,
 When lo! a scene unearthly bright,
 Burst on astonish'd Una's sight!

First o'er the tide from crystal bowers,
 The lake-Sylphs came enwreath'd with
 flowers,
 Then mountain Sprites with crowns of
 heather,
 Came tripping o'er the waves together,
 And then a band of Elves arrive,
 As thick as swarms around a hive,
 And Phooka's wild, and gloomy Ghouls,
 Filling the air with hideous howls,
 And sprightly Fays from raths and dells,
 From wooded slopes and mountain cells.
 But last a noble Knight there came
 With brow of pride, and lip of flame,
 More radiant than the light which shone
 Upon the fam'd Hyperion!
 His armour lac'd with flashing gems,
 Brighter than monarch's diadems,
 Seen through the pale moon's silv'ry haze,
 In quenchless splendor seem'd to blaze.
 His plumes were whiter than the speck
 Of foam upon his charger's neck,
 Or e'en than that which on the lake,
 In breezes fresh the wavelets make.
 A sable steed the knight bestrode,
 With nostrils spread, and eye so proud,
 As conscious of its princely load:
 A flood of varied lustre pour'd
 From the rich gems that deck'd his lord,
 And all around the trappings wide,
 Stream'd in a broad and brilliant tide,
 Till Una deem'd, so mix'd the glow,
 The knight's brave steed was Iris' bow!
 When the procession glitter'd nigh,
 Glad sounds of festive melody,
 From fairy harps, fill'd all the air
 With softest strains and hymnings rare,
 Till e'en the dusky brow of night,
 Relax'd its frown in grim delight.
 Arriv'd upon the tawny strand,
 The graceful leaders of the band,
 With figures bow'd in regal state,
 A passage for the knight create;
 Who, as his bounding courser stood
 At the white margin of the flood,
 Leap'd to the earth, and o'er his mane,
 Flinging the richly jewell'd rein,

Left the steed panting by the tide,
 And sprang to lovely Eva's side!
 At the first impress of his tread
 Old Glens mountain bowed its head!
 And to their prince in homage low,
 Each tree bent down on Glens's brow!

'Twas now that Una's eye survey'd
 The pure ennobling fire that played
 O'er that tall knight's majestic face,
 And marked his lofty, martial grace,
 His manly form, his bearing high,
 The speaking language of his eye,
 Which own'd the power to kill with fear,
 Or draw the sympathetic tear,
 To shine a star when battle calls,
 Or melt to love in festive halls,
 To burn with matchless eloquence,
 To beam a grand intelligence,
 To flash in scorn, or passion wild,
 And gaze as mildly as a child!
 Such was the knight that Una viewed,
 With all a man can boast endued,
 A type of those whom long since gone,
 Poor Erin mourns so sad and lone!
 Of princely mien, of giant size,
 In battle brave, in counsel wise,
 Ardent in love, though quick to feel,
 And draw in hate th' avenging steel,
 But swift to quench fell rancor's brand,
 And give the foeman friendship's hand!
 Frank in each feature, warm in heart,
 Possessing that untutor'd art,
 Which made him first among the free
 For generous hospitality,
 His faith's, his country's joy sublime,
 An Irish chief of olden time!

First Eva gazed upon the knight
 With wonder mingled with affright,
 As though her strange, and mystic course
 Had stung her heart with late remorse;
 But soon her groundless fears had flown,
 So soft his looks, so mild his tone.
 Una, conceal'd not far above,
 Could catch the words which told his love,
 Could hear sweet Eva's charms obtain
 The knight's high praise in meekest strain,
 And listen to the pledge he made,
 As forth he drew his polish'd blade,
 And calling hill, and lake, and shore,
 To hear the solemn oath he swore,
 That, "If for seven successive years,
 On each May morn this maid appears
 To meet me here, and loves but me,
 She, on the seventh, my bride shall be!"
 What anguish fills poor Una's heart,
 What gives the girl that sudden start?
 What mean those tears, that drooping head?
 Eva has given the promise dread!
 And Una weeps to think that earth,
 Which gave this lovely creature birth,
 Must one day to the waters blue,
 Consign that form, that heart so true!
 Eva in answer scarce did speak,
 When on her beauteous, dimpled cheek,
 The knight impress'd a kiss, then flew
 To where his charger stood in view,
 And as he vaulted to his seat,
 The Sylphs and Elves their master meet,
 And all that strange, unearthly train
 Resumes its former ranks again.

Now o'er the wide lake's snowy foam
Its glowing monarch seeks his home,
Then rose from myriad tiny throats,

In swelling strain, aerial notes,
And as his steed careers along,
The banded spirits chaunt this song.

The following description of Killarney is a very admirable word-painted panorama of a very glorious landscape :—

What dreamer borne on airy wings,
In all his wild imaginings
Amid the starry realms of space,
Did ever in his wand'ring trace
Such picturings of loveliness,
Such matchless gorgeoussness of dress ;
Or ever shew'd each wond'ring sense
Such blending of the light intense,
With all the mellow hues which grace
The lines of beauty's sparkling face,
As he on Mangerton who stands,
Viewing the vale below, commands ?
The musing eye should gaze upon
These scenes when up the sky the sun
Reaching its noon, hath pour'd a blaze,
Which glitt'ring in a golden haze,
Paints with a bright, transparent glow
The isles, and lakes, and plains below.
Then can the keen observing eye
Enchantment's wizard charms descry,
And revel in the harmony,
That with a brilliant brush imprints
Its form o'er all in deathless tints,
Till spreading wide its drowsy links,
In sleep the soften'd landscape slinks.
What sombre, silent shadows creep
Along the lake-defending steep !
What lazy mists are rising o'er
The pebbly margin of the shore !
Now doth the isles which gem the tide,
Adown the waters seem to glide,
And on their breasts the tufted grove
Resembles those dark clouds above,
Which with their edge of silver dye,
Are floating o'er the azure sky ;
And farther on see ocean laves
The rock-bound coast with angry waves,
Crowning each crag, and summit grey
With garlands of its snowy spray ;
And stretching far its myriad arms,
In wild diversity of forms.
Till melting dimly from the view
It mingles with the heaven's blue !

Upon a more entrancing scene
No mortal ever gaz'd I wean,
Whether he roved 'mid Norway's pines,
Or where the Alpine torrent shines,
Or by the Rhine's fair banks had stray'd,
And e'en Italia's plains survey'd ;
The rosy colour'd streak that glows
At set of sun on Jura's snows,
The crystal glacier's dazzling light,
Seen on some star-resplendent night,
The dread Niagara's mad foam,
The crater rending the earth's womb,
The sunrise in a southern clime,
All that the earth contains sublime,
Hath never struck the rapturous chord,
Which swells the bosom of the bard,
With mightier force, or sense more keen,
Than would these hills and lakes serene !
A land where shine such scenes as these
Is not a land alone to please,
Nor was it meant by nature's God
That its bold shores and em'rald sod,

In tranced sleep should ever lie,
To feast the passing stranger's eye.
'Tis one with love's undying heat
To make her son's strong hearts to beat,
To fill their breasts with proud desire,
And kindle there each noble fire,
To rouse their minds to active good,
And make the quickly-bounding blood
Assist the energetic soul
To reach prosperity's fair goal,
And with a strong, determin'd power,
Unheeding all the clouds that lour,
To show the isle that gave them birth,
They do not shame their native earth !
On lofty Glenna's tufted head,
The summer's crimson blooms are shed,
And all the mountain's purple plumes,
The gorgeous summer sun illumines ;
Now flowers the yellow daffodil,
And od'rous honeysuckles fill
The air with perfume, hollyhocks
Are glitt'ring on their sturdy stalks,
The ever climbing jessamine,
Its tendrils with the rose intwine,
And out upon the dizzy crag,
The poppy lifts its blood-red flag.
The woods re-echo to the notes
Of music, from ten thousand throats,
On ashen branch, or apple's spray,
The speckled thrush outpours her lay ;
From out some thorn the blackbird's song,
In mellow flood is borne along,
The robin on the hazel sita,
Or nimbly o'er its branches flits,
While sailing placidly on high,
The eagle cleaves the liquid sky.

Amid these scenes with cheek more fair
Than all the flowers that scent the air,
Sat Eva in a pensive mood,
Gazing upon the lake's bright flood.
The solemn shadow on her brow
Assum'd a darker colour now,
And even the mystic air she wore,
Seem'd to have deepen'd more and more.
At times a bright, though transient flush,
Of wild unearthly joy would rush
Her features o'er, and light her eye
With a quick flash of ecstasy ;
Then fly, and leave behind no trace
Upon her calm and pensive face !
 Oft-times, as though in gloomy sleep,
Her looks were fasten'd on the deep ;
Then suddenly the eyeballs roll'd,
And her pure soul would seem to hold
Converse with those bright forms that glide,
And have their home beneath the tide.
Her harp again the maid would take,
And all the neigh'ring echoes wake,
Then while the strings her fingers swept,
And on the air sweet music crept,
Lifting her voice in silv'ry sound,
These strange, wild words went floating
round.

The next extract is the bridal of the Chieftain and Eva, and is one of the best and most fanciful in the poem :—

The evening sun has long gone down,
Behind the Toomies' mountain brown,
And midway up the starry sky
The night's dark coursers swiftly fly.
Within the chief of Glena's tower
The bell's loud peal proclaims the hour
When mirth, and song, and harmless jest,
Shall fill with joy each happy guest.
And in the halls what lustre streams !
What pleasure in each visage beams !
What gorgeous flags are floating o'er
The groined arch above the door !
What pomp of spears, and helm, and shield,
Along the walls becomes reveal'd !
But who could count the viands rare
That lay in princely order there ?
Name all the fishes of the lakes,
Or all the birds that haunt the brakes,
And heath, and fen, that met the sight,
Pill'd on the chieftain's board that night ?
Who could describe the nobleness
Which stamp'd each guest, or paint their
dress ?
Whose splendor mock'd the rays that pour
From famed Golconda's glitt'ring ore !

High in the midst of that gay crowd,
Among her suitors rich and proud,
Sat Eva, rob'd in bright attire,
Beside her joy o'erpower'd sire !
And never since her natal day
Did beauty's fascinating ray
Illumine more that countenance,
Or add such sparkles to her glance,
As did it then in blending hues,
Over those features rare diffuse !
But 'twas not now that Eva shone
In matchless loveliness alone ;
There was a spiritual air,
Which, stamp'd upon her forehead fair,
Convey'd a sense of mystery
To every wonder-gazing eye,
And made each puzzled mind o'erfraught
With undefin'd and airy thought !
'Twas passing hard to reconcile
The cheerful looks and playful smile
Which wreath'd the maiden's lips, with all
That gloomy shade, which like a pall
At times (though rare) would shroud her
face,
And every brilliant hue erase !
Una alone the reason guess'd,
And much it rack'd her trembling breast.
When wine and joy-inspiring song,
Had fill'd with glee that noble throng,
And when his claims to win the maid,
Each chief before her aptly laid ;
The hoary host, while not a sound
Was heard the dazzling board around,
To Eva gives his stern command,
To name the chief who owns her hand !
Now had arriv'd that mystic time,
Ere yet the morn was in its prime ;
When stars begin to fade on high,
And clouds are scatt'ring in the sky.
The aged Chieftain scarcely spoke,
When all the mountain echoes woke,
And thunder on the distant hills
Th' affrighted air with mutt'rings fills !

Now dying slowly on the ear,
Now swelling loud, then trav'ling near,
Till all the castle seem'd to shake,
And e'en the earth itself to quake !
Strick'n with sore dismay and dread,
Each guest uprais'd his wond'ring head,
And chiefs who blanch'd not in the field,
The hue of pallid fear reveal'd !
The gold-hair'd morning's earliest streak,
Began to light each tow'ring peak,
Nor did the torture of suspense,
Long captive hold each palsied sense.
For on the lake, and near at hand,
Appear'd a glorious glitt'ring band,
Whose radiance like the noon-day sun,
No eye could bear to gaze upon !
Each foremost Nymph had silver wand,
Which twinkl'd in her snowy hand ;
And o'er her drooping shoulders flung
A gold-embroider'd mantle hung,
Which just allow'd the eye to see,
A belt of figur'd ivory,
Inlaid with gem and precious stone,
Which form'd a star-resembling zone.
Next burst upon the view a troop
Of Maidens, in a graceful group,
Of beauty rare, with airy forms,
Bearing bright harps upon their arms ;
Which, ever as soft fingers swept,
Delicious music gently crept
Above, below, afar, around,
Breathing Enchantment in its sound !
Behind, the dazzl'd eye survey'd
Myriads of Sprites in rank array'd ;
Attir'd in motley colour'd dress,
The light form'd Fairies onward press,
And the gay Sylphs who live in caves
Far, far below the glassy waves.
Some wore as wreaths upon the brow,
The verdurous Arbutus bough,
While other Fays their temples dress'd
With spray that tips the waves' white crest ;
And every beauteous hue that glows,
And every bloom the summer knows,
To deck this train brought all their aid,
And heighten'd the charms it display'd !
Now on a steed as black as jet,
A noble Knight the vision met,
His aspect brighten'd by a gleam
Of kingly dignity supreme,
Whose blazing armor flash'd afar,
Like some intensely shining star !
Beside him tripping o'er the wave,
Whose crystal top her ankles lave,
Bearing a crown of sparkling sheen,
A lovely water Nymph was seen ;
Who, as across the tide she flew,
Brush'd from the crown the morning dew.
When Eva's eager glancing eye
Did in the throng the knight descry,
She rose from off her seat, and stood
In a majestic attitude !
Then, pointing to the waters clear,
Where cheek'd the band its swift career,
While glist'ning tears begemm'd her cheek,
Thus to her sire did Eva speak.
" Father ! obeying thy command
To tell thee who shall own my hand,
I answer, yonder chieftain brave,
Whose fiery steed disdains the wave,

Claims me as bride, his joys to share,
 And reign within his palace fair!"
 Thus ceasing, while each guest amaz'd,
 In silence on the maiden rais'd
 His eyes which (like that bird's whose gaze
 From off the serpent never strays),
 Fasten'd upon one object stay,
 Owning no power to turn away;
 Eva remov'd the gems which shone
 Upon her white neck, one by one;
 And calling Una, bid her take
 And wear the jewels for her sake.
 Giving her friend a fond embrace,
 As bitter grief convuls'd her face,
 She kiss'd her senseless father's brow,
 Whose head was bent in speechless woe!
 Then on her head a lily wreath,
 More fragrant than the morning's breath,
 She plac'd, whose cups like silver show'd,
 Whose threads in yellow lustre glow'd.
 And now her swift journey wending,
 By the spiral stairs descending,
 While still gaz'd on that wond'ring throng,
 The lovely Eva rushed along!
 More lightly nimble than the fawn
 Does Eva bound across the lawn,
 And soon the maiden's matchless charms
 Are sparkling in her lover's arms!

And now at last did fury fire
 And rage those warrior hearts inspire,
 For when the knight fair Eva clasp'd,
 Each hand a faithful weapon grasp'd,
 And rising up with one accord,
 The chieftains hurried from the board.
 But soon did soft Enchantment's spell,
 The wildness of their passion quell,
 And by its giant power enchain'd,
 Like statue dull each guest remain'd!
 When the strange band had lin'd the shore,
 The beauteous Nymph the crown who bore,
 Near Eva stood, and bowing low,
 Plac'd it upon her marble brow!
 And then the knight took Eva's hand
 And walk'd adown the tawny sand,
 To where his courser's silver shoe
 Scarce seem'd to touch the waters blue!
 Now placing Eva on the steed,
 He bounded on his back with speed.
 Swifter than sunbeams from the sky,
 Athwart the waves the lovers fly!
 And as outrunning the fleet wind,
 The glitt'ring train swept on behind,
 In tones of fairy melody
 These words were heard to mount on high.

The shorter poems in Mr. Gannon's book are well worth perusal; we specially commend *The Abbey of Mayo* and *The Fairy Well*. These pieces prove their author to be a thorough Irishman, and a graceful and elegant versifier of our national legends.

The Court of Apollo, and a *Remembrance of the Rhine*, are bright and fanciful. These poems, and *The O'Donoghue*, make up the greater part of a volume which we recommend to all our readers.

Henrietta tells us, in her preface, that:—

"In submitting this little volume to the notice of the Public, the Authoress desires to state, that her design in the principal Poem has been to shew the relative influences for good—of Music, Art, and Poetry. In the first tale, that represented as being told by the personification of Music, she has introduced some reference to the history of the Tyrol in the time of Napoleon Bonaparte; and for her description of the conduct of the wars and the character of the peasantry, she has taken the authority of Sir Archibald Alison, in his *History of Europe*. In the third tale, any allusions made to the persecution of Christians under the Roman Emperor, Diocletian, are in accordance with Gibbon, and also with the *Church History* of that period. The Authoress fears that her purpose has been but feebly carried out, and, for the sake of the Arts, whose triumphs she attempts to narrate, could wish that the subject had fallen into better hands."

Into more experienced hands the subject might, doubtless, have fallen, but time, patience, and perseverance, will strengthen Henrietta's wings; and, although she sometimes

droops, yet she never comes down too suddenly, and when she does reach the ground, she rises gracefully again ; so, we say—courage, Henrietta—" Il monde è, di chi ha pazienza."

Religion without cant, that is God, a God of Love, is the actuating spring of all our poetess' inspiration ; and she dwells with especial pleasure, both to herself and to the reader, on all those portions of the Redeemer's life, in which her own sex were actors. The following, which is almost the entire of a poem entitled *The Women at the Cross*, furnishes a very fair specimen of her powers :—

'Twas night in Salem's glowing land ;
The rose her dress had folded up ;
And zephyrs, with devoted hand,
Had shut the lily's incense-cup ;

When lo, there burst upon the scene
A night-flow'r of resplendent dye,
Of purer and more noble mien
Than all those dreaming blossoms nigh.

Alas ! alas ! that sunbeams fair
Might never bless that tender form,
Which stood alone, with bosom bare,
Ready to front the fiercest storm.

Yet freely did that stainless breast
The soft, nectarious dew inhale ;
And ev'ry breeze that was its guest
Bore freights of perfume down the vale.

Yea, such was Mary's holy Child,
That now at starlight's noon was born,
A night flow'r, meek and undefil'd,
Whom pleasure's sun might ne'er adorn.

Though lovelier than the sons of earth,
He stood exposed to grief and shame ;
Yet o'er him—even from his birth—
The Spirit's genial fulness came.

His love some precious gift bestow'd
On all who sought it at his hand ;
Who, while their hearts with praise o'er-
flowed,
Display'd that treasure through the land.

O Mary ! as thou standest there—
His cross of agony in view,
Thyself a lone one, bow'd with care—
Say, have old Simeon's words come true ?

For has not sorrow's icy steel
Pierced to thy bosom's shrinking core ?
Doth not each severing heart-string feel
That misery's cup is foaming o'er ?

Yet cannot He, whose holy spell
Came o'er thee in thy virgin spring,
Now gently whisper, " all is well,"
And suck the poison from the sting ?

Can he not say, " 'tis glory's price,
A rock to curb death's endless flood,
The great, long-promised sacrifice,—
'Tis Pity with a veil of blood ?"

But now, O gentle Mercy ! canst thou tell
What form is that thou seem'st to love so
well,

That form o'er which thy soft, enshadowing
wing.

With bright, seraphic joy, is fluttering ?
Thou, fairest child of Heav'n ! and thou
alone,

Canst rightly make that drooping weeper
known.

Hark ! in what dulcet accents she replies,
" O 'tis a long-lost daughter whom I prize !
A jewel found on sin's dark, desert strand,
Now polishing for yon celestial land ;

'Tis one who late was cloth'd in burning
shame,

O woman ! blush not when thou hear'st
her name ;

'Tis one receiv'd by God, though spurn'd
by men,—

Angels rejoice ! 'tis Mary Magdalen."

O Mary ! have thy scorers ever read
The star of fame that hangs above thy
head ?

Now brief the time till that inspired star
Shall have its melting light diffused afar ;
For 'twas thy pardoning Master's bold
command

To tell thy touching tale in every land ;
O yes ! where'er his dauntless champions
tell

Of Heav'n and holiness, of sin and hell ;
Whether 'mid hoary mounts whose long-
flown youth

Was woo'd not by the manly voice of Truth,
But who, ev'n now in this their aged time,
Leap and rejoice to hear that noble chime ;
Or valleys, surfeited with sweets intense,
And flowering out in wild magnificence,
With fields all hallow'd to the Rose's reign,
And shades that cradle plants of choicer
stain ;

Or mid those rainbow spots that softly rest,
Like bridal gems, on ocean's throbbing
breast,

Those coral isles where savage chieftains
dwell,

And Superstition digs her lampless cell ;
Or where the desert breeze is wand'ring free
Along the rosy sands of Araby ;

Where the wild forest shouts an awful hymn
O'er red men, couch'd amid its cloisters
dim ;

Beside sweet fountains, lov'd by Greek
romance;
Or on the lake's cerulean expanse;
Yea, whether in the bright and palmy
East,
Where Nature freely spreads her daintiest
feast;
Or, 'mid the youthful glories of the West,
Whose giant pow'rs still slumber in her
breast;
Or where the Southern zephyr's genial wing
With a voice like pleasant dreams is mur-
muring,
That wing whose sweet caresses oft delay
Ev'n warrior Death upon his gloomy way;
Or where, all cowering 'neath his load of
snows,
The North his flaring borealis shows;
O Mary! even there they'll speak of thee,
Thy penitence, thy love, thy constancy.

Behold! far off in some benighted land,
A little group of dark-brow'd list'ners stand,
While, with surprise, they hear thy blessed
tale;
But mark! yon aged warrior's cheek is pale;
Oh! there's a frozen fountain in his breast,
That now is waking from its chilly rest;
Thy burning love has thaw'd its stubborn
ice,
And soon 'tis clear as streams in Paradise;
While o'er his heart its healthful waters
bound,
Refreshing all that thirsty desert ground;
Till, flowing o'er, it bursts upon the sight
In one resistless show'r of teardrops bright;
For the fountain, thus unseal'd by Heaven's
decree!
Is that of tenderness and sympathy.

But now another scene absorbs our eye;
Lo! 'tis a Christian temple, fair and high;
Many are there whose heart-gush'd tones
ascend;
Many are there whose voices idly blend;
Yet soon on one alone is turned our gaze;
She calmly listens to the song of praise;
Yet not with feelings of entranced despair,
Like some doom'd captive, when the morn-
ing air
Brings to his cell the early cuckoo's call,
Or the clear gush of mountain waterfall;
For oh! his boyhood loved such music free,
And bitter is that sigh, "'tis nought to me:"
But her deluded mind endures no pain
At its own discordance with the saintly
strain;
Her careless ear finds not its swelling
soul,—
Just like some empty sound it seems to roll.
'Tis over now; and hark! the gracious call
Of the glad gospel seeks the hearts of all;
The preacher's voice is soft, expressive
clear,
Its touching thrill alone might start a tear;
But what rich words are those that gently
flow,
'Mid the strange hush? why rose that fer-
vent glow,
That deep, warm flush of feeling which we
see
Diffusing o'er his brow so tremblingly?
O list! he speaks of one who meekly crept
Unto her Master's feet, and softly wept;

Whose tears, combin'd with streams of
fragrant spice,
Flow'd o'er those feet, a pleasing sacrifice,
Because they savour'd of that sweeter love
Which in her breast was flutt'ring like a
dove;
He tells of how she wiped each drop away
Ev'n with the rich dark locks that round
her lay;
Tells how her lips bestow'd their tender
kiss,—
But leaves the heart itself to paint her
bliss
When all her heavy load of sin fell down,
And Christ receiv'd it gladly as a crown;
And told the child of faith she was forgiv'n,
Bade her depart in peace, and hope for
Heav'n.
But then his voice grows softer, deeper still,
And sinks into the heart with fuller thrill,
As he repeats the Saviour's firm decree,
(Which had been just fulfill'd so solemnly)
That o'er the world, where'er himself was
taught,
There, too, those deeds of love which she
had wrought
Should be reveal'd, and handed down to
fame,
A sweet memorial of her lowly name.
The tale is done; he shuts the precious
Book,
And gazes on the crowd with earnest look;
With strong, persuasive ardour doth implore
Entreat, invite, each soul to come and pour
its sins, its sorrows, on that gentle Lord,—
O yes! to come this night with glad accord;
To lean upon his strength, and fear no
frown,
Arm'd with the cross, to battle toward the
crown;
He speaks of angel welcomes, endless
peace;
How tenderly he lingereth still to cease!
He is a stranger in that varied scene,
His own loved flock are fed 'mid valleys
green;
Yet his quick eye discerns the outcast's
form,
And silent prayer sends up its heavings
warm.
Few moments more, and then the parting
hymn
Is softly soaring through the twilight dim;
But still for her that music lives in vain,
Still, as before, she scarcely heeds its strain;
Yet not, as then, with idle, passive breast,
For a strange pow'r hath broken on her
rest,
She thinks, she feels; O Magdalen! like
thee,
She lets her heart yield up its vanity;
And now, that bandage gone, it learns its
need.
For the dark wounds glare out, and freely
bleed,
Ah! that harsh covering had no balm to
shed,
But poison was inwove with ev'ry thread;
With horror she reviews her former way;
She shrinks, yet hopes, and almost tries to
pray;
She thinks if that sweet Saviour could be
found,
Far off, or near, if but on earthly ground,

She'd fly, and, at his footstool bending low,
 Love him, like that blest Mary long ago;
 But he's not here, his face she cannot see,
 How then ensure his love's reality?
 Perchance on her he would refuse to smile,—
 Might not that penitent have been less vile?
 So speaks the wildering voice of unbelief,
 And still keeps back the sinner from relief,
 Forbids the infant Faith to lift her eye,
 And see that same Redeemer thron'd on high,
 Ready to welcome, pity, pardon all
 Who raise their hearts to him with humble call.
 But He who wakes a slumb'ring soul is strong;
 And, ere another Sabbath brings its song,
 O Mary! she has come with trust sincere—
 Thy tale has won for thee a sister dear.
 Then calm those weepings o'er thy bitter loss;
 Salvation's palmy wreath becrowns that Cross;

And thou, who hast the pow'r of evil known,
 Who feel'st almost as if thyself alone
 Was guilty of the loved one's wondrous woe,
 Canst thou not joy at Satan's overthrow?
 Oh! hast thou no faint vision of the morn
 When he shall burst the boasting grave with scorn;
 And thou, devoted one, shalt hasten there,
 While yet the dew-drops chill the drowsy air,
 And, gazing in, two sun-like angels see,
 Sitting in pure, exultant majesty?
 Has hope no prophet whisper of the voice
 That then shall bid thy faithful soul rejoice,
 When, like sweet honey dropping on thy heart,
 A fond, familiar "Mary" makes thee start,
 And turn thy weeping eyes with swift accord,—
 Then cry "Rabboni" to thy risen Lord?

The following lines from *Rose and Eugenie*, the first tale in *The Traveller's Dream*, refer to the blindness of the heroine:—

In early childhood's ruddy hours
 No veil was o'er her pleasant eyes;
 And mem'ry nursed a dream of flowers,
 And rich, star-dimpled azure skies.

But nought could e'er convince the maid
 That such fair scenes to earth were given;
 She said her infant soul had stray'd
 Back to its tempting home in Heav'n.

Again, we have an allusion to a well known custom among the Alpine shepherds:—

"Praise ye the Lord," shout the Alpine hills,
 As the evening echoes go;
 'Twas the shepherds that sit by the lofty rills,
 Who gave the word, and downward it thrills
 To their mates in the mead below.

All's still; but hark! from the verdant height
 That voice comes pealing again;
 "Goodnight, goodnight, till our fields are bright,
 Till God doth send us His golden light;
 Brothers, amen, amen;"
 And Echo takes flight with her wings of might,
 And repeats "goodnight, amen."

The following is a description of the Tyrolese army, when marching to battle:—

It is not the morn with her delicate hum
 That wakes to the heart each rustling valley,
 But the feet of the brave, as they come,
 they come,
 As from north and south they swiftly sally.
 By the Eisach, black with its passionate race,
 There passeth a nobler and mightier stream;
 In the valley of Inn they are marching apace,
 Where the shaded gold of the maize doth gleam;
 And the ardent sons of Adigé
 With banners of beauty pursue their course;
 Till soon, all form one shining display,
 As they meet their Kaiser's veteran force;

Then away, in glory and strength they go,
 And war's wild march is heard 'mid the mountains,
 Now thrillingly loud,—now mellow and low,
 Or coming from far with a concert of fountains;
 Hark! hark! its magnificent melody seems
 Like Liberty cheering her champions' array;
 And hearts bound up to the region of dreams,
 As trumpet and drum go rolling away,
 And the chiming treble rings over the streams,
 Like a host of tinkling fairies at play.
 Sweet tides of blessings and praises pour
 From the throngs that stand at each cottage door;

"Look, look, 'tis my son, how noble and gay!"
 Cries she with the locks so slender and grey;
 "O father! what brave new stories for me!
 When again at eve I sit on thy knee;"
 "God carry thee back to my lonely side!"
 Is the pray'r of the young and yearning bride.
 But the throb of sorrow is now no more
 Than an infant's song 'mid an organ's roar,—
 Not hush'd, not quench'd, but smother'd o'er.

The inspiring standard that floats overhead
 Is the eagle of hope with her pinions outspread;
 And, her steadfast eye of glory upturning,
 She beholds the sun of liberty burning;
 But hark to the leaping beat of the drum!
 And the stirring air 'tis grandly sounding;
 While the forests hum and the breezes come,
 And the startled flocks are friskily bounding.

Again, we have the scene which occurs in that part of the tale where the stranger finds Rose in a cave weeping over her dead brother. Having quieted her fears, he thus offers her his home and protection:—

Thou art not friendless, drooping Rose!
 Time, change and ease may soothe thy woes;
 I offer thee a beauteous bow'r,
 Made fragrant by thy namesake flow'r,
 Where still the voice of streams shall bless
 The mountains' warbling shepherdess;
 A father's love, a father's care,
 I ask thy stricken youth to share;
 But hearken, and I'll tell thee all,
 Ev'n though 'twill force me to recall
 Feelings that once were sunshine's cup,
 But now, deform'd by darksome woes,
 Are worn volcanoes, bellowing up
 A fitful blast of fiery throes,
 Whose quivering ashes wither o'er
 All that the sunshine cheer'd before.
 Yes, I've been buoyant, bright and young,
 And fond, fresh thoughts on mine have hung,
 And mellow bridal bells have rung;
 For our hearts were woven in that tie
 Which years and sorrow may not sever;
 But the pale-horsed victor pass'd us by,
 And our gordian knot was cut for ever;
 Ay, the sweet wife forsook my side,
 Murmur'd a low farewell, and died,
 She whose deep love could brave all woe.
 And, through each chance that life might bring,
 Still more refin'd and clear should grow,
 Just like her own pure golden ring;
 She left me, but her moveless arms
 Clasp'd a live babe of fairy charms;
 Yet searchingly I view'd its face,
 It seemed to lack some common grace;
 The shock burst out—it could not see—
 Afflicted girl! 'twas blind like thee."
 The father pauses, clasps his head,
 While heavy tears course down his cheeks
 Like fire-wrung drops of molten lead;
 And then all brokenly he speaks:
 "Those smileless lips—that passive brow—
 All dead as some still, lovely night;
 Child of my soul—Eugenie! thou
 Wast a cold burden on my sight,
 Just as a sad, forsaken maid
 Heeds not the gilding of the case
 Where her dead lover's heart is laid!
 Ev'n so the gems, the flow'rs, the grace

Which deck'd my costly palace hall,
 To me no cheer, no comfort gave;
 I saw them through my sorrow's pall,
 They seem'd to form one mocking grave.
 I could not bear it; and away
 To tents, and fields, and fame I fled;
 Yet I love not such bold array;
 Would that some lowly peasant shed,
 With social peace and bliss were mine—
 Such joys as but so late were *thine*.
 Methinks so hard a fate is strange;
 O 'tis not met in nature's range!
 The oak tree may be shorn of leaves,
 Its head may bear the wintry snow,
 But still the virgin ivy cleaves
 All greenly round its trunk below.
 Ah! could that ivy droop and die,
 The oak were then fit type of me,
 For my green thing is faded, I
 When stript of all my summer glee,
 Saw her who might have sooth'd my care—
 My clinging child—a stricken thing;
 O I am lonely, lonely! where
 Doth Comfort hide her fleecy wing?
 Maiden! I've come to seek it here,
 Yes, ev'n from out thy lov'd one's bier;
 Ah selfish words! yet listen on,
 Let not thy sympathy be gone;
 Once did my daughter's tears outswim
 At a wild snatch of mountain hymn;
 In hope I made her chambers float
 With ev'ry rich and melting note;
 It would not do; in vain, in vain
 I sought that strange, enchanting strain;
 And oh! there was no other lay
 That thus could charm her heart to play.
 Wild warbler of the Alpine hills!
 That strain within *thy* bosom thrills,
 I've heard it flowing 'mid thy rills;
 And in thy voice there is a tone
 The child of art may never own,
 Something that searches all the heart:—
 O come! arise! thou may'st impart
 To her some gleam of life and joy,
 Godlike may be thy song's employ.

Then, putting her simple faith in opposition to his own unbelief, he says:—

But thou, but thou, bright Alpine Rose !
Like some clear lake in meek repose,
Thy faith receives God's light—and glows.

The next passage we quote is that describing the fall of the avalanche on the French and Bavarian troops. The authoress, in her notes, gives an historical account of this circumstance :—

It was ordain'd that once again
Hope should illumine the Alpine glen :
There, where the gentle chamolais stirs
'Mid lofty labyrinths of firs,
The mountains' rough-trained guardians
lie,
With gasping breath and straining eye ;
While boldly march the boastful foe
Down in the thread-like pass below ;
Proud casques show forth the daylight's
streams,
Clear as the bright young soldier's dreams
Show tides of glories to be won.
Ere yet life's sparkling course is run ;
O'er blades, that seem like waving light,
The living sunrays flash their flight ;
Embracing them in quiv'ring play,
As if those swords were pure as they.
Like orient sunset's glist'ning train,
When zephyrs breathe a quick'ning strain,
That pageant sweeps its stately smile
Through the lone mountains' high defile ;
While martial symphonies are bounding,
And battle's tinkling trappings sounding ;
And many a laughing word of jest
Springs up from the light and careless
breast.
But hark ! the massive woods o'erhead
Are rent by sounds of mighty rushing ;
Down, down, with hot, impetuous tread—
Like now-born cataracts outgushing
From craggy wombs of darkness old,—
The mountains' daring legions leap,
And, with flush'd brows and bosoms bold,
Plunge into combat's deathful deep ;
Yet ere the struggle waxes warm,
That mount which volley'd down the
storm—
As if inspir'd with furious zeal,
As if its granite heart could feel
A yearning for those champion bands,
Battling below with fervent hands ;
As if asham'd to stand serene
'Mid such a fierce, combustive scene—
First gives a rumbling heave which thrills
To the still depths of distant hills ;

Then, girding her huge loins with thun-
der,
And challenging eternal wonder,
The hoary mother with delight
Follows her children to the fight ;—
Lo ! 'tis the awful avalanche !
Away, away, with shivering knell,
As though a host of planets fell,
It reels into the quaking dell,
Crown'd with destruction terrible,
Making the very sunbeams blanch ;
And grasping in its ravenous grave
Two nations' blossom of their brave.
A grim, wild calm, a pulseless hush
Succeeds the nervous tragedy ;
Clear sounds the Eisach's gloomy gush,
On, on careering to the sea ;
An emblem of that solemn rush
Of life into eternity.
In sullen glory at their deed,
Like Amazons the mountains stand ;
" Man ! touch us not, or meet your meed,"
Seems trac'd in frowns along their band.
Prostrate within that fated pass
Lie youth, age, valour, love and joy ;
Crush'd small in one unheaving mass
The veteran clasps his dreamy boy ;
The pictur'd girl's unconscious smile
(The only smile that lingers here)
Sinks in that opening heart the while,
With fearful faithfulness ; just near
There shines a little braid of gold ;
Torn from the lover's bleeding arm,
And round those stones, so rough and
cold,
Forced to entwine its silken charm.
O France ! within thy fields and bowers,
Bavaria ! on thy far-spread plains,
Your daughters' eyes shall give ye show-
ers ;
And love shall rue the Tyrol's chains.
When pomp's vain vapour melts away,
When bursts the day-king's bubble gem,
O God ! may none be heard to pray
The mountain still to cover them.

The subjoined verses are sung by the blind daughter of the Tyrol when leaving her mountain home :—

Thou wildly glorious mountain breeze,
That ridest past my head !
So rich with rushing melodies
From the raving rapid's bed ,
I blend with thee my last farewell,
A playmate's fond farewell.

My old, soft-rustling evergreen,
I leave a charge with you ;
When flowers once more perfume the
scene,
O tell them I was true !
That, though they slept, I said farewell,
Give them my lone farewell.

Perchance my nursing violets
Hear it beneath their clay,
And oft, when dew each bosom wets,
With pensive breath shall say
They had a dream of sad farewell,
Their Mountain Lark's farewell.

Sweet was thy shade, my lowly home,
So largely blest of God ;
Ah ! he was never wont to roam,
Who presses the soldier's sod ;
To thee, and many a friend, farewell,
Earth's homes must hear farewell.

And few whose hearts have warmly beat,
But know that sound, farewell ;
With memory's household words 'tis set,
And hath a life-long spell ;
Ye tender friends ! I weep farewell,
My heart bleeds out farewell.

My own, my noble fatherland !
Bold mountains of the brave,
Crowned by a tragic glory's hand ;

Scene of my brother's grave !
I linger yet to say farewell,
I cannot *feel* farewell.

Oh ! when on Heaven's aerial tide
I'm borne, with vision free,
I'll wave each wondering world aside
Till I've gazed down on thee ;
But list ! he comes, now, now, farewell !
Echo thy child's farewell.

The following images occur in the description of her journey :—

There was a ghost-like loveliness
Abroad upon the hills below ;
Like to a sleeping angel's dress
Appeared the glorious moon-rapt snow ;
Or if that fair, ethereal scene,
So softly cold, so brightly pale,
So meek in majesty serene,
Might have its like in earthly tale,

'Twould be a young and queenly bride
Who, in her love's delightful hour,
By some mysterious stroke had died,
And lay within her lily bower,—
Lay there in still and touching state,
With all her marriage garments on,
While death with tender reverence sate
On such a chastely beauteous one.

Rose, having by the power of her wild music succeeded in arousing the dormant soul of *Eugenie*, returns to her beloved land to die. In speaking of the glories which she hopes to have revealed to her in Heaven, she thus mentions the sea :—

But the sea, that mystery so dear,
That raver whose dreams I've longed to
hear,
Ah ! it hath many a pass of death,
Can Heaven smile on its rolling breadth ?

Must its glory be lost to me ? alas !
Yet no ! by Thy Throne is a sea of glass,
And I'll catch the heave of a crystal wave,
Lo ! there it is,—and with *not one* grave.

The Picture is the title of the second story in *The Traveller's Dream*. We give the passage which describes the meeting of two hostile ships at night, and the death of *Lucelle* :—

The roar of a great majesty
Is lifted up, as the full sea,
Run wild with power, rears files on files
Of towering, glassy, ebon piles,
All pinnacled with curling snow,
Then, breathing thunder, lays them low.
Strong hearts lie captive in their quakings,
These boards have caught the aspen's
shakings ;
With what rude raptute files the blast ;
But the worst hour is gaining fast :
It comes, for with the next fierce wind
The meeting crash is not behind ;
Both echo off with chorused sweep,
While blood's red stars drop on the deep ;
The gales, like rapt spectators round,
Now shout, now wail despair's drear
sound,
Till, frenzied by the severed flush
Of strong impatience, in they rush,
And do a deadlier work than all ;
For hark ! why comes that piteous call
Of utter loss, that reeling shock ?
Ah ! the keel splinters on a rock,—
A leak is sprung, and with hoarse din
The black destroyer gurgles in ;
Babels of winds, words, waters swell ;
O where the artist ? where *Lucelle* ?

She's standing at the very bow,
And the loosed life-boat is below ;
Her half grey locks all stream astray,
Her garb is dripping with the spray ;
One leap would bear her safe away.

As one that in a nightmare dreaming
Runs from some pressing shadow foe,
To a safe height or depth's clear seeming,
Yet past the foreground cannot go ;
So stands she there, transfixed and numb,
Absorbed in terror's mute excess ;
The storm is hushed down to a hum,
Like the low lay of tenderness
Sung by a wandering idiot girl,
When sorrowing for days gone by,
And unrequited love's lost pearl
Still seeking with that lonely sigh ;
Who, with a look of eager pleading,
Stops short at every garden gate,
And begs one bough of Love-lies-bleeding,
For tassels to her cap of state.
But there *Lucelle*, with glaring eye,
And shut hands fastened to her sides,
Still puts not forth one nerve to fly,—
And now, away the life-boat glides ;
Once more the charging gust doth sound,
And with a worried panther's bound
Snaps *her* up from the trembling ground ;

O hapless woman! she is lost;
Down with a wheeling fling she's tost
Into a satiated cave;
And the great billow seals her grave.
But ere she's gone, lo! on her eyes,
What lightning shifted scenes arise?
A forest cottage—and a mother;
And then the face is of another,
'Tis night like now;—next comes the
main,
With dull remorse and troublous pain;

But lastly, all dissolve away
Into one softly rosy ray,
Which glides up, bow-like, round her
form,
Widening in many a colour warm;
Aye, she had felt some shade of rest,
For lately hope within her breast
Had wove one fair, though secret fold
From threads of truth the artist told.

The following lines are from the *Roman Bridal*:—

The morn of pomp was come;
Yet tarried thy bark, young bride!
There were those that watched, with
wondering hum,
By the beautiful Euxine tide;
It had gladdened the heart of Byzantium
But to look on the slaves at thy side.

Ah! what could thy ailing be?
That wave, which thou camest not o'er,
Seemed casting in wreaths of diamonds
for thee,
As it sunnily broke on the shore;
And on yonder gleaming board thou
might'st see
A superb and bountiful store.

For the costly feast was made;
The falernian wine was brimming,
In the graceful cups of Greece displayed,

And with orient roses swimming;
While the couch of luxury was laid,
All rich with its golden trimming.

Were there not virgins fair
Well fitted to follow thy tread?
Had they not chosen out garments rare,
And tastefully tired the head;
They fluttered and sighed—they had fain
repair
For to see the bright stranger wed.

Glad children had been in the field,
And returned half faint and oppressed,
With roses as soft as Italia could yield,
For the bed of thy mid-day rest;
O where could thy wonted pride be con-
cealed?
For here might its dreams be caressed.

One more specimen, from the *Miscellaneous Poems*, and
we have done with this volume. This pretty, graceful little
poem is called *The Wreath of the Hamlet*:—

On a beautiful bank where the bird had
mirth,
And the zephyr its sweetest sigh,
Where the sunshine of buttercups rose
from the earth,
And welcomed the beams that from
heaven had birth,
There were some who would say good-
bye.

The morn still peeped from her cradle of
gold,
With its curtains so rosily dy'd;
But the friends—the Wreath of the Ham-
let's wold—
Should close to each other ere flowers do
fold,
Should each have the dreams of a bride.

They sought for a rose, and with playful
grief
'Twas laid in the locks of her
Who was going forth with a bright young
chief;
It was red as his flag, when in high relief
It glowed on the martial stir.

They pull'd up a lily of melting blue
From the breast of the lucid lake,
As a gift for her who had vow'd to view,
Through life, the skies' and the billows'
hue,
For her roving mariner's sake;

For one, whose flower of the wave she'd
be,
And whose eye was a mystic star
That coldly looked on the field and tree,
But smiled in glory over the sea,
And down to the rocks afar.

They took down a spray of the hawthorn
sweet,
New bright on its branches blowing,
As a gift for the maiden whose lightsome
feet,
Led on by the love of a bridegroom
meet,
To a life as wild was going;—

Was going away to the woodman's tent,
Where blossoms there none but the free;
Where vainly the emigrant's ear is bent
For aught but a song from the wigwam
sent,
Or the dirge of the hoary tree.

From a quiet lustre of dew-tipp'd blades
They drew forth a violet fair,
For that girlish brow with the golden
braids—
For the youngest of all, who in home's
dear shades
Would still have her pleasure or care.

For the heart of a playmate had crept
 unseen;
 And silently into her own;
 As the shoot of a plant, when its germs
 are green,
 Will band to its fellow, and mingle their
 sheen,
 None heeding till thus they are grown.

And her life, like that velvet flower she
 wore,
 Should be veill'd from the winds of
 earth;
 While the gentle sorrows that came to
 her door
 Like the blessed dew and the rain should
 pour,
 And from Heaven alone have birth.

But what intended these parting maids
 By their gifts of a diverse bloom,
 Culled from the bower and the wilding
 glades,
 From the sparkling lake and the simple
 shades;
 And yet all with a clear perfume?

'Twas to tell that though varied the paths
 they'd wend,
 And the feelings and forms which were
 given,
 Yet each flower of the Hamlet's Wreath
 would attend
 That the sweets of virtue and faith should
 ascend
 Unfailingly upward to Heaven.

We shall conclude with the following beautifully simple
 lines from the *Poetical Pieces*, entitled *The Buttercup*:—

Say, fairy-like queen of the meadow, —
 Who bids thy young being unfold?
 Who gives thee that emerald palace,
 And that raiment of glistening gold?

Who makes thy twin-sister, the Daisy,
 So fondly to dwell by thy side;
 And sends thee supplies of sweet honey,
 For the bees that around thee abide?

Who gives thee to Spring as a jewel, —
 As a crown for her virgin brow?
 So that all the dark remnants of Winter
 May own her dominion and bow.

Who makes thee inspire such rapture
 In the heart of the sportive child?
 And in him who has flown from the city,
 To see one so lovely and wild.

Thy breast as it gazes on heaven,
 Seems moistened with gratitude's dew —
 Seems oft to our question replying,
 " 'Tis the goodness of God unto you."

O yes, little eloquent wilding,
 In whatever region thou art,
 As a golden star of His goodness,
 Dost thou gladden the Christian's heart.

Far more than thy exquisite sisters,
 Who are born of the cultured sod,
 Thou teachest the beautiful lesson
 Of trusting dependence on God.

Sunny Buttercup, who does not love thee,
 And rejoice when he sees thee expand,
 Like a smile glowing over the meadow —
 Like a message from God to our land?

One of the dangers attendant upon the cultivation of a taste for the composition of what is called Religious Poetry, arises from the fact, that every body who can read a Bible thinks he can write poetry upon Bible subjects; and he is encouraged in this error by the vast number of hymns which he has read, or heard sung. Now, it is inconsistent with the history of literature, that any of its branches should be detached from the service of religion. The oldest literature which we have is in the Bible. "The human heart," it is said, "will always ask some higher expression for its feelings and imaginations, than the common language of life." Literature is this same higher expression; but of all the branches of literature, the poetical is the highest expression of the feelings and the imagination. The oldest poetry which we have is in the Bible. Poetry is the most ancient form of literature, and religion is the most ancient form of poetry. For what is the sublimest poetry, says a foreign reviewer, but religion, the truths of which, in all ages and

countries, it has been its office to represent and embody in expressive symbols? And religion itself, though infinitely higher than poetry, by reason of its purity, and still more differenced from philosophy, as being itself the very principle of life, can only be suitably exhibited in those magnificent forms, by which it is the business of imagination to express, however mythically, the otherwise incommunicable ideas indelibly impressed on the human mind, by the hand of its omnipotent Creator.

“‘Twas God himself that first tuned every tongue,
And gratefully of him alone they sung.”

Hence the earliest poetry of which we have any record treats of theology and cosmogony—the generation of the gods and the creation of heaven and earth, furnish the sublime arguments of the earliest bards. And it is remarkable, that wherever literature has been revived after a long period of seeming death, its revival has been owing to an under current of religious reformation, which was seeking for its appropriate expression.

The examples of Virgil, of Tasso, and of Milton, sufficiently demonstrate the advantages of the connexion between learning and poetry; but of all poetry, to religious poetry is learning most necessary. A criticaster may probably think that it presents only fatal facilities. A certain class of religious poetry may possess such facilities, which are fatal enough both to author and reader. The class to which they appertain is that to which learning is not necessary, that which claims uneducated originality and inspiration, though maudlin, which is underived. It is that class of pseudo-poetry which is produced by ignorance, addressed to ignorance, and applauded by ignorance—Poetry originating in a state of factitious enthusiasm, or in a spirit of interested hypocrisy and sectarian cant—in fine, such poetry as Robert Montgomery's *The Omnipresence of the Deity* contains—a work composed wholly of centos from evangelical writers, and the ravings of religious bedlamites, unrelieved by the least suggestion of philosophy, and unredeemed by any manifestation of piety or truth.

Such is the religious poetry which presents the tempting facilities so strongly urged, and such as the poetry, such is the religion of which it is the expression. The sects that affect

this style of sentimental devotion, despise learning in their spiritual teachers, and prefer the unintelligible ravings of ignorant enthusiasm. With such the profoundest ignorance is the mother of the truest devotion. This is a very common idea with those who have never felt the influence, nor attained that perfection of which the human understanding is rendered capable by education. Religion, they think, is entirely independent of any acquirements of science, and incapable of receiving either elucidation or aggrandisement from any of its speculative refinements.

When reason was clouded by prejudice, and the understanding darkened by ignorance, the exertion of the divine power in miracles, or immediate fulfilment of familiar and long expected prophecies, could alone be sufficient to establish the divine authority of the Christian religion. But when education and science have matured the understanding, and reason has discovered and felt the strength of its powers, it then wanders forth secure, in the labyrinths of enquiry—can trace the nature and attributes of the Deity in the perfection of his works, from observing its own freedom to will and do what is good, can discover its own deficiency in the purity of his sight, and, from the principles of natural justice, infer the punishment which such a defection from duty deserves, the need of expiatory services, and the inefficiency of human endeavours to effect them. From these and similar modes of reasoning, and an inability to arrive at any certainty, it at length perceives the want of some supernatural communication; and when, by means of the same faculties, it shall have investigated and approved of the dispensation offered, and been satisfied of its authenticity its purity, and perfection, from such internal and convincing proofs of reason, the soul becomes enabled to render to God the acceptable homage of faith in his promises, and the merits of his Son; of faith, not merely assenting, but quick and lively; productive of all that benevolence and good will to mankind, for which the advent of the Saviour was proclaimed to the world.

Religious poetry in this age of the world, should take this high point of philosophical endeavour. If learning be so necessary to the religionist, more especially is it necessary to the religious poet; for every poet is an enthusiast. The ignorant enthusiast acts from the dictates of internal conviction, and his internal convictions proceed (at

least according to his own ideas) from the knowledge of truth ; but here he stops ; he enquires no further, either how he came by them, or how far they are consistent with, or contrary to the great laws of natural reason and justice ; his convictions, therefore, arise from no certain authority, nor are they confirmed by the decisions of cool and dispassionate judgment ; by what motives his conduct may be directed is left to the doubtful operations of prejudice or passion, and by what arguments defended, to the blind and partial system of *inward feeling*—like the madman, who reasons right from wrong principles, he also takes for granted the truth of certain principles, of which his mind, neither enlightened by science, nor strengthened by learning, is unable to detect the error, or, if detected, remove ; and on these he acts with all the impetuosity, and often real fortitude, which the occasion may demand. The poor man who fancies himself a king, and acts with the dignity which he is conscious should be attached to such a station, calls forth, indeed, more pity, but excites far less apprehension. To preserve the religious poet from this madness, and to prevent him from making others mad also, learning and science are indispensably necessary.

“Henrietta” has led us, through her genuinely sacred productions, into this disquisition upon “pious poetry.” We hope soon again to meet her and Mr. Gannon on new ground ; but let each remember a wise saying of Bulwer Lytton’s—THE THOUGHT IS THE MUSE, THE VERSIFICATION IS ONLY THE DRESS !

As we write of religious poetry, the following very exquisite lines may be here introduced as a specimen of what the writer of such poetry, when not of the highest class, may arrive at. The lines are extremely beautiful and thoughtful, and teach the grand moral, that although every man can know the sins committed, God alone sees the temptations surmounted. We may add, that the lines are by the writer of the new novel, *Hills and Hollows*, reviewed in our present Number :—

THE POOR FALLEN ONES.

1.

Have *we* then no tears to shed?
 Are our hearts seared or dead?
 Humankind,
 Womankind,
 Saved from the snare?
 Shall *we* crush the fallen reed,
 Sisters—withal their need,
 Hideously,
 Piteously,
 Crazed with despair.

2.

Alas! they're a shameless set,
 But are *ye* blameless yet?
 Blighting them,
 Slighting them,
 Cank'ring their youth.
 Forget not—who spurn them now—
 Many's the burning vow
 Winningly,
 Sinningly,
 Stole them from Truth.

3.

A deeply degraded lot,
 Abject and aided not,
 Weary hearts,
 Dreary hearts,
 Lost to fair fame.
 Unpitied ills harden them—
 Bless God, and pardon them,
 Healthy folks,
 Wealthy folks,
 Spotless in *name*!

4.

Ignoble and low 'tis true,
 Blotting our social view,
 Paining us,
 Staining us,
 E'en with their sight.
 But think *ye* displacing them
 Serves for effacing them—
 Hiving them,
 Driving them,
 Far from *the light*.

5.

Oh ! what's to become of them?
 Try to save some of them,
 Healingly,
 Feelingly,
 Shaping their days.
 Afford them a biding place,
 Home—not a hiding place—
 Readily,
 Steadily,
 Teaching God's ways !

6.

'Tis blindly debasing them,
 Houselessly chasing them,
 Rushingly,
 Crushingly,
 Crowded in sin.
 Beware ! 'tis a crying curse
 When the Bad fly to worse ;
 Are they all
 Past recall ?
 Who sees within ?

7.

Woe's me ! there are glaring ones,
 Frenzied and daring ones,
 Tearlessly,
 Fearlessly,
 Reckless of Hate.
 But more are forlorn ones,
 Famished and torn ones,
 Whiningly,
 Piningly,
 Mourning their fate.

8.

Did each her dark wrongs unfold,
 Well might our blood run cold !
 Love believed,
 Love deceived,
 Anguish and Wrath.
 Sad mothers bemoaning them,
 Brothers disowning them,
 Cast away
 Fast they stray
 Down by sin's path.

9.

Not harshly abusing them,
No, nor ill using them,
 (Maddening some,
 Saddening some)
Makes them amend.
Instruct them to pray instead,
Earning pure daily bread,
 Bear with them,
 Share with them,
He will befriend.

10.

Poor Outcasts—for Peace they sigh,
Sure 'twere release to die !
 Who shall say
 Such as they
 Mercy ne'er found.
'Twere hard all their woes to tell,
Christ alone knows it well ;
 Judge no more,
 Once before
He wrote on the ground.

ART. VIII.—WARDS OF COURT AND THEIR RELIGION.

In the matter of The O'Malleys, Minors.

Important Judgment in Chancery,

(Extracted from The Daily Express, November 22nd, 1858.)

As a diseased state of the blood through the effects of time, good air, and wholesome diet, is restored to a healthful condition, so the acrid humors of sectaries in the body politic are gradually dispersed by time, converse with those of other sects, and the softening influence of an enlarged and liberal system of education. In this country religious differences which have so long blazed high and fiercely almost to the ruin of the country's best interests, are dying out, and although the smouldering fire is occasionally fanned into a flame by some religious topic, which brings the two great creeds of the country into antagonism, yet the materials for a conflagration are now sadly wanting, or to speak in plain English and not in figures, fanatics have become rare and are becoming rarer. When the educated men of the first quarter of the present century, might be classed at fifty per cent of bigots, the second quarter has not produced more than ten; and we have reasons to hope that the next quarter will diminish the number to the lowest average to which education can reduce bigotry—five per cent, an average below which as long as there are sects, and fools and knaves, we can hardly expect to find bigotry reduced. That the bitter blood of sectarianism is becoming gradually sweetened, is testified by the reasonable or nearly reasonable observations of the press, on the decision of the Chancellor in the case of the O'Malleys minors. There was not on one side a howl of indignation and abuse, and on the other one of triumph and recrimination, but party papers, albeit with more or less of the tone of self-righteousness, have approximated to the language and reasoning of ordinary educated men. It is in this spirit we approach the consideration of that case, and do not fear but that the soundness of the Chancellor's judgment may be questioned without accusing him of incompetency or bigotry, without using a disrespectful word or making a single injurious insinuation. We would deal with this case as the legal publications of the day might deal with decisions of the different Courts of Law and Equity, as they frequently do, and without importing more of the religious

element than if the question were one of Real Property Law. Such a mode of dealing with this case is not likely to find favor with the non-professional reader, but we trust that from the interest which such a question as this, must excite in the mind of every individual in the community, not utterly destitute of family ties, albeit writing dry law, as we are, we shall make ourselves understood by every man of ordinary intelligence.

The main facts of the case, although we cannot admit that they lead to the inferences drawn by the Lord Chancellor, we shall give in the brief and lucid statement of His Lordship in pronouncing judgment in the case.

“It appears from these affidavits that Ellen O'Malley, the mother of the minors, was the eldest daughter of William Jameson, formerly a sergeant in the Constabulary Force. She had been strictly and carefully educated by her parents in the Reformed faith as a Protestant. She married John O'Malley, a constable of the force, but he was a Roman Catholic. They had eight children, five sons and three daughters. William, the eldest child, is twelve years of age; the three daughters are of the ages of ten, eight, and seven respectively; the others are of the ages of five years and two years; and the youngest is under two years. The elder portion of the family were regularly sent to school in the several places in which John O'Malley was stationed. In the National school of one of these places they were taught and treated as Protestant children, and were returned as such to the National Board by the master, who was himself a Roman Catholic. In the schools at the other places they were instructed, as well as registered, as Protestant children. They attended Divine service in the Protestant Church, and also the catechetical instruction on each Saturday, when the Protestant children of the church were instructed by the rector in the Church Catechism. The eldest boy attended the Sunday school in connexion with the church, and was sent to church by his father at a time when Ellen O'Malley was absent from home, a patient in the Galway infirmary. The family were visited by the Protestant clergymen, and the children were occasionally taught by their father at home out of the Holy Scriptures, and from the Catechism of the United Church. It does not appear that in any one instance their father ever had taken any of them to a Roman Catholic service, and with the exception of having all but the youngest baptized according to

the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, he never in any respect treated any of them otherwise than as a Protestant parent ought to treat his child. It therefore seems to me, that it is satisfactorily made out, as a matter of fact, that in the church, the family, and the school, these children were, with the full consent of both their parents carefully trained up as Protestant children. The father died in March, 1857. After his death, their mother continued the same course of instruction as had been followed in the father's lifetime. She died in June, 1858, a pauper in the workhouse at Tuam, and whilst the children remained in the workhouse, until the 18th of August, 1858, they were visited, taught, and treated as Protestant children. To this no objection appears to have been made, before the 11th of August, when the aunt, Jane Robinson, applied to the guardians to get the children out of the workhouse."

The rules which govern cases of this kind, are not many or involved, and by throwing aside much evidence that really does not bear on the question on which the Chancellor decided, and by eliminating those rules without wading through all the numerous decisions in which they are recognized, and acted on, we trust to be able to express our views on this question within reasonable compass, and by our mode of treating it to leave it in the power of non-professional as well as professional readers to form an opinion on the subject.

Our desire is to simplify the consideration of this case, the surest mode of arriving at a just opinion of it. Going through a number of cases somewhat similar, which in some respects resemble the case for consideration, and in other perhaps essential elements differ from it, is the way in which the case has been for the most part treated in discussion—a mode perhaps not so objectionable when only lawyers are dealing with it, but in our opinion not the most satisfactory way either for professional or non-professional hearers. In justice to the gentlemen of the long robe, however, it must be admitted that it is not frequently possible otherwise to deal with a question, so involved are authorities and so irreconcilable with fixed or defined rules. This question however of the religious custody of wards is fortunately not so over laid by conflicting authorities. When so much utterly irrelevant, has been dragged into the case, so much evidence objectionable in point of admissibility and materiality, the most satisfactory way of dealing with it seems to be, to state the rules which govern a Court of Equity in

dealing with such cases, to establish the accuracy with which these rules are stated, and then to enter upon their bearing on the facts of this case.

The wishes of the father on the subject of his children's religion override the authority of all other persons with exceptions we shall presently state. Where the father dies without any express direction on the subject, children are to be brought up in the religion of their father, because the court assumes such to be the father's wish. When the father dies in a state of transition, when his religious opinions cannot be well known, and gives a direction as to the religion in which his children are to be educated, that direction is to be carried out. Both these rules are subject to two exceptions, one settled by a number of authorities, the other by *Talbot v. Lord Shrewsbury*—That if from any cause the children have been brought up in a faith different from their father's or different from that in which he directed that they should be educated, and it should appear that they have attained such an age and received such an amount of religious or rather sectarian instruction, that they could not, without danger of becoming destitute of all religion, receive new impressions, the court considering a disregard of its own rule and of the father's wish preferable to destroying all religious principles in the minor, will not interfere, but allow the child to continue in the faith in which it has been instructed. The other that the minor will be entrusted to the charge of persons differing from the father's creed, and in which it is to be reared where the health or the preservation of the child renders it necessary.

With the exceptions above stated the rule is universal,—the religion of the father, or that in which he has directed the children to be educated, is to be that in which the child shall according to the rules of a Court of Equity be brought up.

Objecting as we do to the decision of the Chancellor, perhaps no course more satisfactory to those disposed to differ from us can be taken, than to confine ourselves to the cases referred to in the judgment, as from these as well as many others the rules which we have stated as those under which a Court of Equity acts in such cases will sufficiently appear. The first of these, *Lyons v. Blenkin*, *Jacob's Reports*, page 245, was a case in which the religious question was not raised, but the rights of a father to the custody of his children during his life-time were dis-

cussed. This case can hardly be considered a direct authority on the point, and we should not have referred to it but that for the purpose of satisfying our readers that we give the case the fullest and fairest consideration, we have determined to refer to every authority cited by the Chancellor in his judgment. In that case the mother of the children had been dead for some time; their maternal grandmother had bequeathed them a considerable property, and dealing with them as if they were her own children had given them in charge to an aunt, one of her own daughters; to this disposition the father of the children assented, and for several years they remained with the aunt. The father married a second time, and (as it would appear) from vexatious motives insisted on the children being given up to him when they had reached the respective ages of nineteen, fourteen and twelve, and for this purpose filed his petition. The father was a man of limited means, and the children had been educated and reared by their aunt in a mode of life superior to that in which the father could afford to maintain them, and it was in giving judgment in that case refusing the prayer of the father's petition that the Lord Chancellor made use of those expressions quoted by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland in the case of the O'Malleys. "It appears to me that the father has so far given his consent to this course of education as to preclude him from saying that he shall now be permitted to break in and introduce a new system of education which cannot be consistent with the system to which they have been habituated." In this case the court went farther than ever it has gone before or since in interfering with the right of the father to the possession of his children. It can hardly be said to touch the O'Malleys' case at all, and as far as it does, it merely goes to shew that the rule recognising the father's rights is modified as we have stated it.

The next case (*Witty v. Marshall*, 1st Young and Collyer, C.C., 68,) referred to and quoted from by the Chancellor is directly in point as laying down and illustrating both the rule and the exception as we have stated it. In *Witty v. Marshall*, both father and mother had been Protestants. A short time before his death the father began to give evidence of approval of the tenets and practices of the church of Rome, and perhaps the most accurate way of describing his condition of mind would be to say he was in a state of transition. In his will, he speaks of himself as being a Roman Catholic, and

desires that his son should be educated in the same religion, and appointed his wife and certain other persons guardians of his child. The mother after her husband's death became a Roman Catholic. (The Chancellor by mistake speaks of her as a Protestant, but the fact is quite unimportant.) When the case came before the court, the child was fifteen years of age, and had, it appeared, been brought up principally by Protestant relatives. The mother sought to get the child from her Protestant relatives for the purpose of rearing him according to the father's directions, in the Roman Catholic Church. The minor had, it appears, received what are called Protestant impressions, and the Lord Chancellor quotes the following passages from Vice Chancellor Knight Bruce's judgment in the case:—"With every respect therefore to what may be allowed to the feelings and wishes of the father on so important a subject, it is impossible not to see that great danger to the spiritual welfare and to the moral character of the infant may arise (I do not say will arise) from a change of religious education. On this ground and *this ground alone*, it is the duty of the Court to pause." He then says, "the proper course is to direct a reference to the Master. Rarely can the Court with propriety, withdraw such questions from the Master."

"On this ground only," says V. C. Knight Bruce, "can we interfere with the wishes of the father." We will take the liberty of adding some extracts from his judgment which will more explicitly state the rule.

"Upon the other part of the case the course which has been taken is unfortunate. It appears that the father of the infant, his lawful father, was a Roman Catholic; not only so, but by his will he has left strict injunctions that his son should be educated in his own religion. *It appears to me therefore that it was the duty of all who had the care of the infant to cause him to be brought up in his father's faith.* I am of opinion therefore, that however well intentioned the party might be, the non-compliance with the father's injunctions was a breach of duty both towards the father and the infant himself;" *again*: "I see no reason to think that they were not actuated by the best of motives; *but the relatives of the mother did not keep faith with the dead*: they might have brought up the infant in the religion of his father consistently with kind care and attention, and consistently with his residence in a Protestant family. This however has not been done, and it is alleged that the infant has been allowed to arrive at an important period of his life under Protestant impressions."

“But,” says the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, “the recent case of *Stourton v. Stourton*, which in the year 1857 came before the Lords Justices of Appeal in Chancery in England, puts the question beyond controversy in this Court.” We will not stop here to consider what is meant by “the question;” there are several in the case, and according to his Lordship’s own opinion, the children are to be divided into two classes; namely, those who have received “Protestant impressions,” and those who are incapable from their youth of having received religious impressions of any kind, each class to be separately considered and disposed of by a different class of cases. Neither shall we stop here to consider how far it “put the question beyond controversy,” but proceed as we have proposed to ourselves by stating the cases and the manner in which they were decided, and giving such extracts as will show the mode in which each case is disposed of. In *Stourton v. Stourton* both parents of the ward were Roman Catholics. The child was baptized in the religion of his parents at the instance of his uncle Lord Stourton, his father having died a week before the child was born. The mother became a Protestant, and educated the child entirely in the Protestant religion. In October, 1856, when the child was nine years old, Lord Stourton presented a petition to have him made a ward of court, and prayed that he or some of the child’s Roman Catholic relatives should be appointed guardians for the purpose of bringing him up in the religion of his father and family. The Master of the Rolls decided in favour of Mrs. Stourton’s claim to the custody of the child to have him brought up a Protestant, and from this decision Lord Stourton appealed. After the arguments of Counsel had concluded, their Lordships, Sir J. L. Knight Bruce and Sir G. J. Turner, desired to have a private interview with the minor; and afterwards delivered their judgment in favour of the mother’s demand that the child should be educated a Protestant. In the report of the judgment of Lord Justice Sir Knight Bruce, 3 Jurist, new series, page 529, we find the following passages. “The Master of the Rolls had substantially decided for the latter; (the Auglican church) but he did not appear to have seen the plaintiff, who was a boy of delicate constitution, born on the 30th May, 1847, and was the posthumous son of Mr. Stourton a younger son of the late Lord Stourton *and there being no proof that Mr. Stourton intended his son to be brought up otherwise, than as a Ro-*

man Catholic he ought to have been brought up a Roman Catholic." He then goes on to observe on the remissness of Lord Stourton in having so long lain by and allowed Mrs. Stourton to educate the boy as she thought proper. "*In his Lordship's judgment, there had been a failure in duty, towards the late Mr. Stourton. An application might have been made to the Court before the mind of the child had been religiously biassed, in which case his education in the principles of his father would no doubt have been ordered.*"

His Lordship then observes, that on examination the child appeared of more than ordinary intelligence, and that he understood more minutely than boys of his age generally did, the different points in controversy, between the two Churches—as transubstantiation, the attributes of the Virgin, the invocation of Saints, and the authority of the Pope, and then observes:—“The Protestant seed which had been sown, appeared to have taken such a hold on his mind, that the tares, if tares they were, could not be rooted up without danger to the wheat. The child’s tranquillity, health, happiness, and spiritual welfare, were too likely to suffer from an attempt to efface his Protestant impressions for such a course to be attempted.” In Sir George Turner’s judgment we find the following passages—“The principles by which the Court was governed in those cases, when no testamentary guardian had been appointed, were not open to doubt. When an infant became a ward of Court, the duty of the Court was to consult the welfare of the infant, and in so doing the Court recognized no religious distinctions. If consistently with the duty of the Court, the wishes of the father could be attended to, the Court paid attention to those wishes; but if they could not be carried into effect without sacrificing what the Court considered to be for the benefit of the child, they could not be attended to. *The father here had died without expressing any wish; and if the application had been made at once, it would have been much of course that the child should have been brought up in his father’s religion:* but when the application as here had been delayed, and the child had been suffered to receive other religious impressions, more serious considerations arose. The father’s wishes might be in conflict with the safety and welfare of the child; and it was necessary to see what religious impressions had already been made on the child’s mind.”

Having shown from the cases referred to by the Lord Chancellor, and without even going beyond those cases, that we have

stated the rules of the Court in such cases correctly, let us now see how far the Chancellor has acted in conformity with these rules. We shall, for this purpose—even although, we might on the evidence, quarrel with the classification of the children, which places four of them as capable of, and having actually received Protestant impressions—admit that there was enough of evidence to lead the Court to suppose some impressions had been made on the children.

Let us take these rules, even strained to the extent that they have been by the Lords Justices in *Stourton v Stourton*, in which their Lordships went so far as to hold that a boy of nine years old had received such religious impressions, that they could not be modified or interfered with, without danger of destroying all religious opinions; and in which Lord Justice Knight Bruce seemed to be considerably influenced in his opinion by a Pascalite horror of the Jesuits' College of Stonyhurst, which was suggested as the place of instruction for the minor; taking we say these rules in the view most favourable to the Chancellor's decision, let us see how should these children have been disposed of. We need not scramble through the weak and uncertain evidence about religious education, perhaps the vaguest that ever was offered in a Court of Justice; but assume that there was a reasonable amount of evidence to shew that the children were capable of instruction, and had received religious instructions which would have opened the question as to whether they had received Protestant impressions. Was it not the duty of the Court either to have examined these children as had been done by the Lords Justices in *Stourton v Stourton*, or refer it to the Master as in *Witty v. Marshall*, to ascertain whether or not these children had received Protestant impressions? If the Chancellor, or the Master of the Court to whom the matter should be referred, could conscientiously say that four of these children had received such Protestant impressions, that there was a likelihood of rooting up all religion, in the effort to root out the peculiar tenets of the Protestant religion, we should have bowed to the decision which gave these elder children to Protestant guardians as being in accordance with the rules of the court, albeit, somewhat dissatisfied as to the metaphysical test, especially when applied by an earnest sectary.

As to the younger children, however, beyond a possibility of doubt or question, they should have been handed over to the petitioner, William O'Malley, to be educated as Roman Catho-

lics. In their case there could not be a pretence for saying that religious impressions had been made on them ; there was evidence strongly corroborated, conclusive, that their father wished his children to be reared Roman Catholics, that he was himself a Roman Catholic, an unquestioned fact in the case, and one amply sufficient without an expression of wish or direction, one way or the other, for the Court to deduce that his wish was that his children should be reared in his own faith. As regards the elder children it may be said we are quarrelling about straws, as our only objection is that the minor detail of inquiry from the children themselves was not entered on, and that we concede the propositions insisted on by the Chancellor. We do so, because without quarrelling with the deductions his Lordship has drawn from the evidence in the case as we might do, it is sufficient for our purpose, and a much more satisfactory mode of dealing with the case, to take the lowest possible ground for ourselves, and conceding the most favourable to those who differ from us, to take his Lordship's statements of the facts, as the facts of the case, to take from his cases, and his only, our law, and show, even with the materials he furnishes us, that he has not dealt with these children as according to the well settled rules of the court, they should have been disposed of.

In dealing with the elder children, the Lord Chancellor referred to a certain class of cases which showed that when Protestant impressions were made the children so impressed should under all circumstances be reared Protestants. Why should not the rule recognised in all those cases as the unquestioned and unquestionable rule, a rule whose strict application can be escaped from only by the most imminent danger to the child's entire religious belief—why we repeat should not that rule be acted on and applied to the younger children ? In dealing with the younger children, the Chancellor goes to a different class of cases ignoring the rule which runs through those already referred to which are the most recent. In applying himself to the disposal of the younger children his lordship refers to three cases, one, a common law case, the other two, equity decisions —and after stating these cases goes anew into the evidence, for the purpose of bringing the younger children within those cases. The first case referred to is that of the Queen v. Clarke, 7 Ellis and Blackburn, 201. Now with regard to that and every other law case, we will venture on the sweeping proposition, that they can have no bearing, and can throw no light on

the rule of a Court of Equity in such cases. We shall go shortly into the facts of that case to show that Courts of Law, on writs of habeas corpus, as in every other branch of their common law or statutable jurisdiction, can regard only legal rights. They have not the same machinery for acting as Courts of Equity, they cannot stand in loco parentis to the child of a deceased father, as the Chancellor representing the Sovereign stands. A Court of Law recognizes the right of a mother as nurture guardian, or the right of a guardian appointed duly by the will of the father, because by statute, fathers are enabled to appoint persons whose legal title to the custody of the children a Court of Law is bound to give effect to until the infant attain an age at which he can judge for himself. The accuracy of what we have stated will sufficiently appear on a reference to the case itself. The infant, Alicia Race, was brought up on a writ of habeas corpus ad subjiciendum, obtained at the instance of her mother, addressed to Maria Clark, under whose care the child had been placed by the commissioners of the Royal Patriotic Fund, and with whom she was willing to remain. Affidavits were used on both sides, and from these it appeared that the father who was dead had been a Protestant, and the mother who sought to have her child handed over to her was a Roman Catholic; the children (there were two) had been baptized, and during the father's lifetime had gone to church as members of the Church of England. By his will he appointed his wife executrix, feeling confident that she would do justice to his two children. There was a conflict of evidence as to what were the wishes of the father, and it could hardly be doubted but that if the wishes of the child were consulted she would remain with Mrs. Clarke, assigning as a reason that although she loved her mother she would not go to a school where she would be taught idolatrous worship of the Virgin and Saints. Lord Campbell, in a very long and able judgment, reviewing the cases, assigns his reason for holding that the child should be delivered over to her mother, her guardian by nurture, refusing to examine the child as to what her wishes were on the subject, and holding that the mother was *legally* entitled to the custody of the child, as it was not shown that she was not morally unfit to be trusted with the guardianship of the child, and that it was for no sinister or illegal purpose she obtained the writ.

At page 201 Lord Campbell observes, "indeed by marrying

a Roman Catholic and by permitting the children in his lifetime to join in the Roman Catholic prayers, he does not seem to have had the horror of Popery felt by many pious Protestants. Still if the proposition laid down can be supported, that it was her duty as guardian for nurture from the simple fact of the father having been a Protestant to educate the children as Protestants she would be contemplating what the law forbid by wishing to remove the children from a Protestant to a Roman Catholic School. But no sufficient authority has been cited in support of this proposition; and the mother becoming guardian by nurture on the death of the father no provision to the contrary being made by will, she appears to us to have in all respects the same parental authority which might have been exercised by the father had he survived the mother. . . .

The authority relied upon to show that the ward must invariably be educated in the religion of the father, is *In Re Arabella Frances North* before Vice Chancellor Knight Bruce. That case, arising jointly on a return to a habeas corpus and on a petition for the appointment of a guardian to children as wards of court of Chancery, *it is difficult to distinguish what was done or said by the Vice-Chancellor as a common law and as an equity judge.* He cannot be alleged to have *decided* anything upon this point, and he had only to consider it with a view of determining whether the children for a few days, till a guardian was appointed, should be in the custody of a Roman Catholic or of a Protestant nurse." . . .

Lord Campbell then observes on the inference which was drawn by the Vice-Chancellor from the father having been of a particular religion, and thus continuing:—" *But this doctrine, if well founded, would only apply to the education of wards of the Court of Chancery, respecting whom an equity judge represents the Queen, as Parens Patriæ has a very large discretion, and may give directions beyond the scope of the duty of a guardian for nurture under the Common law;*" and again at page 193, where his Lordship points out the mode in and the extent to which the Court can and does exercise its powers on writs of habeas corpus; "accordingly from the case to be found in the Year Book to the present time, it has ever been considered that the father, or whoever else on his death may be the guardian by nurture, has *by law* a right to the custody of the child, and shall maintain an action of trespass against a stranger who takes the child. See the authorities Comyn's Digest (Guardians) D.

The question then arises whether a habeas corpus be the proper remedy for the guardian to recover the custody of the child of which he has been improperly deprived. Certainly the great use of this writ, the boast of English jurisprudence, is to set at liberty any of the Queen's subjects unlawfully in prison, and when an adult is brought up under a habeas corpus and found to be unlawfully imprisoned, he is to have his unfettered choice to go where he pleases. But with respect to a child under guardianship for nurture, the child is supposed to be unlawfully imprisoned when unlawfully detained from the custody of the Guardians; and when delivered to him the child is supposed to be set at liberty." Here we see every consideration disregarded as to the father's wishes, as to the religious impressions of the child, and all those other elements taken into account by a court of Equity in appointing guardians. Lord Campbell sat in a Court of Law, and could recognise no person other than the guardian for nurture, the mother, or a testamentary guardian to whom legal powers could be given by the father pursuant to the provisions of the 12 Car. II. So much for the bearing of the *Queen v. Clarke*, and of the observations quoted by the Lord Chancellor from Lord Campbell's judgment on the disposal of the *O'Malley* case in a Court of Equity on a petition for the appointment of guardians. Neither must we lose sight of the important fact that even if the *Queen v. Clarke* were a decision of a Court of Equity, it could not apply in any way to the *O'Malleys*, as their mother the guardian for nurture was dead, and no person had been appointed by either parent to take charge of the children. Overlooking this vital distinction between decisions of a Court of Law on returns to writs of habeas corpus, and decisions of Courts of Equity on petition for the appointment of guardians, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, after quoting from Lord Campbell's judgment in the *Queen v. Clarke* as to the right of the mother to the custody of the children, observes:—

"This view of the right of the mother surviving when no testamentary guardian has been appointed by the father has a sanction in the judgment of Lord Hardwick in *Villareal v. Mellish* (2 Swanston 536 and 538) and in the case of *Storke v. Storke* (3 P. W. 52)."

These observations, whatever they may be, his Lordship does not give, but continues in the next sentence, passing away entirely from the rights of the mother, "I think however that it must

be taken to be the accredited rule of this court that in whatever way the wishes of the father can be clearly ascertained, the court will respect them to the utmost, that is consistent with the welfare of the child, and this without any reference to religious distinctions." Under these circumstances we should be justified in passing over these cases, as his Lordship gives neither the substance of their decision or the dicta of the judges who disposed of them. We have said however that we should go through every case referred to by the Chancellor, and further that we should be content not to go beyond the cases referred to by his Lordship to establish the accuracy of our statements as to the rules under which the court acts. We need hardly go beyond the marginal notes of these cases for a statement of their effect. In *Villareal v. Mellish*, which is most imperfectly reported, the marginal note is, "V. the daughter and widow of a Jew having agreed with her father that he should have the care of the person and estates of her two infant children, and in the event of their death during minority should receive a moiety of their property, and having abjured Judaism and married a Christian, on the petition of the children the court ordered that they should be delivered to their mother, guardianship not being assignable, and the agreement not purporting to be an assignment and the right of the mother to be guardian continuing notwithstanding her second marriage. The only passage in the report touching this point is the following, and we will give the Lord Chancellor the benefit of it. "It has been said that the father of the children was a Jew. I see nothing to prevent the father from devising; but the father being dead, and not having disposed of the guardianship, the father's right devolves to the mother, and she is now of the religion of the country, and therefore there is no reason to take the right from her." In *Storke v. Storke*, a presbyterian who had three infant daughters, the eldest past sixteen years of age at the time of her father's death, appointed three of his brothers who were Presbyterians, and the Rev. Mr. Andrews, a clergyman of the Church of England, guardians. Previous to his death he had sent the eldest daughter to her uncle, one of her guardians, to be educated. The two others were taken by the clergyman, and placed at a school where they were being educated in the Church of England. On bills being filed, which brought all the parties before the court, Mr. Andrews insisted that the eldest daughter should be educated in the tenets of the Church of

England, while the three other guardians sought to have the two younger girls handed over to them to be brought up as Presbyterians. The decision of the Chancellor was that parol evidence of directions by the father as to the religion in which his children should be reared should not be attended to, and he decided on leaving the children as they were. The eldest, in the words of the reporter, being above the age of sixteen years, it was ordered that she should be sent for immediately, into court, which being accordingly done, and she being there asked where she desired to be ; on her expressing a desire to continue with her uncle Samuel Storke, his Lordship declared she should continue there if she pleased.

Now with regard to these two cases it appears that the religious question was only incidentally raised. The decision in the first was that guardianship was not assignable, and in the second that a parol declaration of the father's wishes could not be received in evidence. The passage we have given from the judgment of the Chancellor in *Villareal v. Mellish*, if accurately reported is to the effect that no matter what the religion of the children might be the mother was entitled to rear the children in whatever religion she thought proper. With regard to this we can only say that it is not the doctrine of a Court of Equity, and that the decision or rather dictum of Lord Hardwicke, who heard this case so far back as 1737, has been overruled by every other case reported on the subject, and by the most eminent Equity Judges in England. To prove that we are correct in stating this, it is only necessary to refer to the passages we have given from the judgments in the *Queen v. Clarke*, in *Witty v. Marshall*, and in *Stourton v. Stourton*. To the same effect is the judgment of Vice-Chancellor Knight Bruce, in *re North*, 11 Jurist, page 10. When his Honor says, "*The rule of the court I apprehend is, that when the father has not left nor expressed any direction or instruction as to the religion in which his children are to be educated, it is to be presumed that his wishes were that they should be educated in his own religion ; and that I am of opinion upon the evidence before me as it now stands, and for the present purposes must be the presumption in this case.*" So well established is this rule now that we should not feel justified in accumulating authorities to establish it.

But even if these cases correctly stated the rules of a Court of Equity, they could be no assistance to the Chancellor in his decision. The case of *Storke v. Storke* decided nothing except

that a parol declaration of the father's wish could not be attended to, a doctrine for which no lawyer at the present day would venture to contend. *Villareal v. Mellish* which set up a right in the mother to the care and education of the child, no matter what its father's religion might have been, is not in point. Mrs. O'Malley is dead, and the very brief notice of these decisions by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland (we have given all he said about them) shews that he placed no great reliance on their assisting his views of the case.

To what extent the Lord Chancellor was disposed to rely on these cases it is difficult to ascertain, as after referring to them briefly, for the purpose of showing that after the father's death, the mother may dispose of the children as she pleases, his Lordship, instead of applying such a rule to the facts of the case, addresses himself to the affidavits for the purpose of showing that the father's wish was that the children should be reared Protestants. Now it is worthy of remark, that his Lordship shrank from putting the case of the elder children on this ground. It would have been quite sufficient if the evidence satisfactorily led to that conclusion, to have rested the case on these grounds without resorting to the allegation, that Protestant impressions were made. The fact that the father lived and died a Roman Catholic, renders it, as will be seen from the cases we have cited, a matter of course that his children should be reared in that faith; the Court always assuming, in the absence of express directions, that such is the father's wish; and taking it at best for the case of *Ellen Robinson*, or rather of the *Hon. Miss Plunket*, the evidence of a direction is doubtful. But if it were necessary for the Roman Catholic uncle to have made out a case of direction in favor of his creed, which it was not, let us see what the evidence upon the subject was. The only direct evidence on the subject, was that of *Mary Burns*,* the servant of the Bishop of Tuam's (Lord Plunket) coachman.

As for the statement of the wretched mother to third persons of what her husband said, every attorney's clerk knows, that they are not evidence, and we must say that it excites our astonishment to find the Chancellor referring to a statement by Mrs. O'Malley, made a few days after her husband's death in a letter to her sister, when, as stated in His Lordship's judgment, she speaks of "how the priest and two nuns thought

* This witness is described and spoken of indifferently as *Byrne* and *Burns*.

to come round me in presence of my poor dying husband, but I balked them completely. John did not blame me for what I told them, for after they went away he desired me to bring up the children in the way I always brought them up." What will be thought of the value of this kind of evidence, if it were to be for one moment taken into account, if we bear in mind that this despicable mother sought to gain favor at one time, with Rev. Mr. Seymour and her Protestant relatives, at another with her husband's Roman Catholic friends, by suiting her conversation to her hearers for the time. At folio 5 of the first affidavit, made by the Rev. Mr. Coyne, the Roman Catholic clergyman, who attended the father, we find the following passage—"That about six weeks before the death of Mrs. O'Malley, she called upon this deponent for the purpose of inducing him to employ an attorney to bring an action against a member of the Rev. Mr. Seymour's family, for libelling her character, and further saith, that upon that occasion Mrs. O'Malley stated that if anything could be done for the children, *she would give them up to the Roman Catholic Faith according to the wish* of her husband; saith he peremptorily refused to interfere in the matter between the Rev. Mr. Seymour and herself, and stated he could make no terms by way of inducement to her, to give up the children, but if they were given up according to the wishes of her husband they would be taken care of;" and again in the affidavit of Mary Burns, otherwise Vesey, a woman with whom she remained four days before going into the Workhouse, folio 2 and 3, "Saith that Ellen O'Malley complained in strong terms of the treatment received by her, from her sister Mrs. Jane Robinson, and that she refused taking any of the children, except one—Deponent saith, from the total want of means of the said Ellen O'Malley, she was obliged to seek relief in the Workhouse, and left this deponent's house for that purpose. Saith that during the time the said Ellen O'Malley was in the Workhouse deponent visited her several times; deponent saith that the said Ellen O'Malley, after she entered the house, requested of this deponent to provide for her some writing paper, for the purpose of writing to the brother of her husband, John O'Malley, to come to Tuam, for the purpose of placing the children under his care, as she mentioned to this deponent. Saith, she procured the paper accordingly, and gave it to the said Ellen O'Malley; deponent saith she believes the said Ellen O'Malley, in consequence of her immediate illness, never wrote

said letter." This is the woman whose statements to third parties, the Chancellor has, it must be thoughtlessly, ventured to rely and comment on. If anything were wanting to shew the wisdom of our rule of evidence, that hearsay should not be admitted, the affidavits in this case abundantly show it. But we have the Lord Chancellor quoting hearsay in what he is pleased to speak of as a dying declaration, the only shape in which it could be legal evidence; and it must be borne in mind that it is not enough to make a statement evidence,—there is another very short, but perhaps not so simple a step, to be taken to render it valuable, namely, that it should be believed. His Lordship proceeds thus—"The Rev. Mr. Seymour states in his affidavit—That at the last interview with the said Mrs. O'Malley, a few days previous to her death, she indignantly denied the truth of the report that she intended to have them brought up in the Roman Catholic Faith; and alleged as one of her reasons, that her husband's dying wish was that they should be brought up in her own persuasion as Protestants; and that her husband frequently on previous occasions expressed the same desire. Here then we have," continues his Lordship, "the dying mother's account of what were the last wishes of the dying father; a double testimony given in the presence of death, and sealed with all the solemn sanctions of eternity." Now we object to the admissibility of this statement, as evidence in the shape of a dying declaration. No man who has attended or practised in Criminal Courts where such evidence is most frequently offered, and discussed, but must be aware that to make such a statement admissible as evidence, it must be shewn that the person making it, is actually in a hopeless condition at the time, and is aware of the fact. The rule is too well known by professional men to require authority to be cited to establish it; perhaps for non-professional readers, it would be as well to state it in the words of Mr. Taylor, the most eminent text writer of the day, in his book on Evidence, page 569, 2nd Edition—"It is essential to the admissibility of these declarations, first, that at the time when they were made, the declarant should have been *in actual danger of death*; secondly, that he should then have had a *full apprehension of his danger*; and lastly, *that death should have ensued*. All these facts therefore must be proved to the satisfaction of the judge before the evidence will be received."

Now where is there one scintilla of evidence either that this woman was *in extremis* at the time she made this statement to

the Rev. Mr. Seymour, or that she knew she was in a dying state. As far as we can judge from the evidence the contrary is the fact. The woman was ill of fever ; we all know what a change twenty-four hours can and does make in such cases, and as the Rev. Mr. Seymour tells us, it was "a few days previous to her death." The evidence of Burns, the coachman's servant, contradicted as it is by so many witnesses, is out of the case. Indeed his Lordship never once alluded to it, although if it could be believed, it would have established as a fact that the father directed his children to be reared as Protestants. We have then a cardinal fact, the only fact in the case which would justify the Chancellor in giving those younger children to Protestant guardians, resting on two statements made by Ellen O'Malley, not admissible in any Court of Justice in these countries as evidence, not worth one straw if they were admissible, inconsistent as they are with other statements made by Ellen O'Malley, contradicted as they are by the direct evidence of the Rev. Eugene Coyne, and Anne Tiernan, the nurse-tender who was present when the father expressed his wishes that the children should be reared in the Roman Catholic religion, and opposed as they are to the deduction which the court always draws, that whatever may be the religion of the father, in that religion does he wish his children to be educated. We were wrong however in saying that the Lord Chancellor put the evidence of Burns, the coachman's servant, out of the case. To a very limited extent he introduces the name of this witness, who, if she is to be believed, would have proved the entire case for the Honourable Miss Plunkett. After commenting on the absence of affidavits from the Sisters of Mercy who had attended on John O'Malley, and who may or may not have been able to give any evidence on the matter if their evidence were needed, his Lordship observes—"but Mary Byrne has in her affidavit given a very remarkable account of what took place immediately after Mr. Coyne had left the house. If the proposal was to give up the children, nothing can be more natural or more probable in its substance than the account given by Mary Byrne of what she saw and heard." Nothing more natural truly, if a single word that Mary Byrne swore to could be believed, and if she were not contradicted by the evidence of three witnesses on most material points. It is with regret that we feel ourselves forced to go to the affidavit of this woman, whom we plainly accuse of wilful and deliberate

perjury. We have not made one imputation on the veracity of any of the parties who have made affidavits in this case ; we have not made a single harsh observation on anything said or done by the Protestant clergymen who have been so active in this case ; we have not said, nor shall we say one word condemnatory of either their conduct or evidence, although they may furnish food for comment, and it is only because it is of the essence of the case that the character of Mary Byrne's evidence should be shown that we go into it. We repeat that from beginning to end of her affidavit not one word can be believed. Without going through the entire of her affidavit we shall refer to such parts as have met with a flat contradiction. In the commencement of her affidavit (folio 1, 2), she swears "that she frequently visited him (O'Malley), especially during his last illness in which she was in almost constant attendance on him up to his death; that she even dressed him when dead, and that the widow, Mrs. O'Malley, gave her, deponent, her keys, &c.," and the regulation of everything connected with the funeral, and that she remained in the house till after the funeral had left. Saith that on the day before that on which he died, she saw the Rev. Eugene Coyne leaving John O'Malley's house, and she went in immediately to see him ; when she entered she heard Mrs. O'Malley crying convulsively, and knew that something unusual had taken place, so she asked one of the nursetenders, Anne Tiernan, "what is all this about?" the nursetender answered, "there is murder here, the priest wants the children and she would not give them." Deponent replied, "would she not give them?" and Aune Tiernan answered, "no she would not." Deponent then went down to the room where the sick man was, and found his wife lying across him in the bed ; when Mrs. O'Malley saw her, deponent, she said, "my God, look at the way I am annoyed by these priests wanting what my own husband does not want me to do." And then turning towards her dying husband she said, "John dear, are you angry with me for what I have said?" he replied, "no, I am not;" she then asked, "do you wish me to keep them?" (the children) he answered, "I do, you have a great deal to contend with, but bring them up with yourself as they have always gone." She then goes on to swear that two or three hours before his decease, she was present at another conversation between O'Malley and his wife, in which precisely the same conversation took place—"John dear, are you angry with me?" in fact word for

word a repetition of the previous statement, with some slight additions, and "after this deponent never heard him speak, and was then informed by the nurse-tender, Catherine O'Dea, who was with him to the last, that he never spoke more."

Now in almost every word of her statement, except when Mary Burns lays the scene between herself and the deceased husband and wife, she is flatly and specifically contradicted. In Anne Tiernan's affidavit, folio 3, 4, she swears, "that the said John O'Malley was washed and laid out by defendant and Catherine O'Dea, and by them alone, and saith that said Mary Byrne was not even present when this deponent and said Catherine O'Dea washed and laid out the said John O'Malley, and that the said Mary Byrne left the house of the said John O'Malley about 11 o'clock the night previous to his death, and did not return until after the said John O'Malley was washed and laid out on the following morning. . . . Deponent saith he frequently spoke, and up to within a few minutes of his death, which occurred at day-break about 6 o'clock in the morning; folio 5, saith that it is untrue as stated in the affidavit of the said Mary Byrne, that after the Rev. Mr. Coyne left the house of the said John O'Malley, that said Mary Byrne came in and found when she entered the house Mrs. O'Malley convulsively crying, and knew that something unusual had taken place, and that she asked this deponent what it was all about, and that she, this deponent, answered there is murder here, the priest wants the children and she would not give them, and saith that no such occurrence or conversation took place between this deponent and the said Mary Byrne, and that this deponent made use of no such words to the said Mary Byrne, and that she the said Mrs. O'Malley was not crying convulsively or otherwise, and that there was nothing unusual, as stated by the said Mary Byrne, or no noise in the house after the Rev. Mr. Coyne had left."

Catherine O'Dea, the other nurse-tender, has also given her evidence, and swears that no such conversation as that stated by Mary Byrne took place, "and that this deponent remained in the room by the directions of the said John O'Malley during the time that the said Mary Byrne was there," folio 7. In every other particular, Mary O'Dea corroborates the other nurse-tender as to the "convulsive crying," "the washing the body," the hour at which Mary Byrne left, and the hour at which John O'Malley died. At folios 9, 10, we find

the following passages:—"Deponent saith it is utterly untrue, as stated in the affidavit of Mary Byrne, that this deponent informed her that the said John O'Malley had not spoken after the said Mary Byrne left the house up to his death; on the contrary, the said John O'Malley spoke frequently during the night, and almost always of his children, expressing his anxious wish that they should be reared Roman Catholics. . . .

"Deponent saith that she having seen some Protestant clergymen come to the house of the said John O'Malley, she asked him, the said John O'Malley, why they were coming, whereupon, the said John O'Malley replied, it was not to him the Protestant Clergymen were coming, but to his wife, who was ill, and that he had no wish that they should visit him, and deponent said that during the time of the said John O'Malley's illness and up to the time of his death, this deponent heard the said John O'Malley pray after the manner of Roman Catholics, and that he used the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary after the manner of Roman Catholics."

But it may be said we cannot implicitly believe the two nurses, any more than we may believe Mary Byrne, and there is a conflict of evidence between people of the same class in life, upon which it would require a jury after oral examination of the witnesses to pronounce. Be it so—but will any person venture to make the same observation upon the moderate statement of an educated gentleman, the Rev. Mr. Coyne, who appears all through this troublesome case to have behaved with singular prudence? In his second affidavit he tells us:—"Saith deponent *was sent for* to attend said John O'Malley at or about the hour of one o'clock on the day previous to the death of said John O'Malley. Deponent saith he was so called in by Daniel Coughlan, a policeman, wholly unsolicited by deponent, who had never previously spoken to said John O'Malley or known of his illness, folio 3. Saith it is wholly untrue, that upon the occasion of deponent's said visit to attend said John O'Malley, that there was any murder or altercation or crying whatsoever, as to the religion in which the said children were to be brought up, or that deponent used any importunities, whatsoever, with said John O'Malley, as to the religion of said minors, or that upon the said occasion the said Mrs. O'Malley made any objection to the desire of her husband expressed upon said occasion, that his children were to be brought up Roman Catholics." This brings us naturally to the statement of what

did take place between the Rev. Mr. Coyne and John O'Malley on the occasion on which he directed his children to be reared Roman Catholics. In that affidavit, folios 1, 2, 3, Mr. Coyne tells us "that he attended the late John O'Malley, the father of the minors, previous to his death, and administered to him the last rites of the church. Saith that upon that occasion John O'Malley, in the presence of his wife and two policemen, namely, Daniel Coughlan and Patrick Mulligan, expressed a wish and desire that his children should be brought up in the Roman Catholic Religion, the religion professed by himself. Saith that the said John O'Malley's wife upon hearing this injunction said to him, 'John, you were always a kind and affectionate husband, I would wish to carry out your intentions, but what means have you left me for that?' whereupon, this deponent said that matters should be left in the hands of Providence."

The evidence of these two policemen, if it were thought necessary to corroborate or explain Mr. Coyne's evidence, might have been obtained. It was not Mr. Coyne's fault that their evidence was not produced, as he swears that he applied to them "to make affidavit of their recollection of what occurred, and of the direction given by the said John O'Malley," but the policemen could not give their evidence without their officers' leave, and their officer when applied to referred Mr. Coyne to the County Inspector, and there was not time to have got this leave before the case came on.

In a judgment so carefully prepared as that of the Lord Chancellor, we are not to suppose his Lordship would omit anything which would support the opinion he formed of the case. We have gone through these affidavits at length, and the only bit of direct evidence bearing on it not alluded to by his Lordship, we should not feel justified in keeping back. It is in the affidavit of the Rev. Mr. Fowler, and let those who would wish to make out that John O'Malley desired to have his children reared Protestants have the full benefit of it. At folio 10 that Reverend gentleman tells us that he "attended the late John O'Malley in his last illness, and spoke to him and prayed with him, that the said John O'Malley gladly received the visit of deponent, that he deponent, spoke to the said John O'Malley of such portions of the Holy Scriptures as involved the rejection as erroneous of the destructive doctrines of the Church of Rome, and saith, defendant spoke to him of

faith in Jesus Christ as the only way of salvation, of faith in the blood of Christ as the only way of taking away sin, and that the late John O'Malley expressed his belief in those doctrines, and the consequent rejection of the teaching of the Church of Rome." We cast no imputations on the veracity of the Rev. Mr. Fowler. His evidence, whatever may be its value, goes not to prove a direction or wish on the part of John O'Malley, but to shew that he, if not a Protestant, had Protestant tendencies. We should have thought it more becoming if the reverend gentleman had forborne introducing into an affidavit subtle theological disquisitions. He had neither authority nor justification for swearing, that the assent, such as it may have been, of the sick man to certain religious propositions, involved the rejection as erroneous of what the reverend gentleman is pleased to swear, are "the destructive doctrines of the Church of Rome." This is a subject and a class of evidence into which we must decline following the Rev. Mr. Fowler, but whether or not John O'Malley assented to doctrines involving the rejection of the tenets of the Church of Rome, if we call to mind that of his own motion, O'Malley requested the presence at his death-bed of a clergyman of that church in which he had lived, and received these sacraments which no man who believed in Protestant teaching could look upon in any other light than as impostures, we shall assign to the Rev. Mr. Fowler's evidence its true worth.

The Lord Chancellor in his judgment, in seeking, not to throw discredit on Mr. Coyne's evidence, but to weaken its effect, observes that from a dying man by importunities a languid assent might be obtained. How much more applicable would this be to Mr. Fowler's evidence; what we rely upon, however, is the cardinal fact which can neither be explained away, nor controverted, that John O'Malley desired to receive the sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church, and did receive them, and we care not whether he directed that his children should be reared as Roman Catholics or not, the rule of the court is too well established to admit of question, that the religion in which he lived and died is to be assumed to be that in which he wished his children to be reared. We cannot pass from this part of the case without expressing our deep regret that the Protestant clergymen did not shew the same good taste and moderation as was exhibited by Mr. Coyne. They may have thought it their duty to force their attentions on the dying man, coming as described by one of the witnesses to visit his wife.

Holding to the strong points presented by the indisputable facts of this case, and the well settled rules of the court, we will not distract attention, and fritter away the strength of the Roman Catholic uncle's claim to these children by entering into the bye battles between Ellen Robinson and her hearsay evidence, and the opinions of a theological police sergeant that John O'Malley was not a sound Catholic on the one hand, and the religious impressions of nurse-tenders on the other. We cannot but feel that we have tasked considerably the attention and patience of our readers. Unless we are to disbelieve the three witnesses, the Rev. Mr. Coyne and the two nurse-tenders who are (Mary Byrne being out of the case) the only persons who give any evidence on the subject of the dying wish of the father, it was the wish of the father that his children should be reared Roman Catholics. The wish however could be dispensed with, as it was beyond controversy that the man himself lived and died a Roman Catholic. The fact that he allowed his children to attend Protestant schools has been explained by evidence which as it has been introduced so much into the case, we may allude to, namely, the explanation given to Mr. Martin Owens, who swears that in conversations he had with John O'Malley, "Saith he also complained of her interfering in the religion he wished his children to be brought up in, namely, the Roman Catholic religion, that he would put an end to such interference, but he feared to make a noise about the matter, as it might be injurious to him as a policeman."

After going at such length as we have done into this case, we should hardly be justified in going into the evidence to show how exceedingly slight grounds were shown for even raising the question as to Protestant impressions having been made. We have as far as possible kept to the admitted facts of the case to show that the Chancellor has not dealt with these children according to the recognised and well settled rules of a Court of Equity. That rule which treats the father as the head and governor of his family, possessing the absolute power of disposal of his family, as well as of his property, unless when some great necessity of state or of social policy requires the infringement of such a rule, it is not for us now to discuss; we believe it to be a sound rule of social policy as it is a well settled rule of our jurisprudence; be that as it may, wise or unwise, it is less objectionable, than leaving every case as it arises to be disposed of according to the Chan-

cellor's will, without any rule to guide or bind him. It has been well said by an eminent lawyer, "that the discretion of judges is the law of tyrants," and for this reason we do most earnestly and respectfully protest against the course taken by the Lord Chancellor in dealing with these O'Malley children. His lordship has put very ably and eloquently at the end of his judgment, a case similar to that before him, transposing the religion of the parties.—"Had John O'Malley been a facile Protestant, and his wife a devoted member of the Roman Catholic Church, had he allowed his children from their earliest years to learn the language of its ancient ritual and impressive invocations; had he left his widow to fight the hard battle of life with a numerous and helpless offspring; if she had kept them together to the last until she had nothing to share but her prayers and her tears; and if she had left them in the Church, which hallowed the earliest lessons of their infancy, and if a board of guardians could be found who would consign them to a custody where Protestantism would be let loose upon them, and the interference of this Court should be sought for their deliverance, on the application of some humble but honest Roman Catholic relation, aided by any generous stranger; could I then shrink from a duty so sacred and so palpable? God forbid." His Lordship after putting this fanciful sketch asks the question, and to it we answer—Yes, a thousand times yes.

This is mere declamation, and declamation entirely beside the facts of the case. In what way does it appear to be a sacred and palpable duty to have those children reared Protestants? What sympathies are involved in the case? It was contrary to his duty as a lawyer to have so directed. Were the mother alive there might have been some colour for introducing sympathies into the case, and speaking of the pain of taking the children from their mother to be reared in a faith different from hers. His Lordship in such a case might have sympathies to appeal to, although he could not refer to authority to sustain him. It seems neither lawyer-like nor logical to speak of a sacred and palpable duty to have those children handed over to Protestant guardians as springing from the case put by his Lordship. Again we must repeat that we entertain the highest respect for the character, integrity, and great legal acquirements of the Lord Chancellor; in this case, he has unconsciously allowed his feelings of horror towards the Church of Rome, to

affect his judgment ; it would be worse than weak, it would be criminal, to shrink from questioning the acts of a public man affecting public interests, especially when that man is presiding in a Court of Justice ; if we think the Lord Chancellor came to a wrong conclusion upon the case, and departed from the rules of a Court of Equity, we should deserve and earn the contempt of every thinking man in the community, if we allowed the high character or position of the judge to deter us from considering the soundness of his judgment. We do trust that this case will be taken to the House of Lords. It involves much more serious interests than the disposal of these children, than those of Protestant, or Roman Catholic, or Presbyterian sects ; it places on record a judgment which while it stands leaves every question of this kind at large, without rule or authority to guide us. It leaves every similar case to the uncontrolled discretion of the judge, a standard which Lord Camden thus justly defines—
“ It is always unknown, it is different in different men, it is casual, and depends upon constitution, temper, and passion ; in the best it is oftentimes caprice, in the worst it is every vice, folly, and passion to which human nature is liable.”

Anxious to be free even from the imputation of selecting the weak points of the Lord Chancellor's judgement and presenting a partial view of it, we give it in *extenso*, taken from the *Daily Express*.

IMPORTANT JUDGMENT IN CHANCERY.

IN THE MATTER OF THE O'MALLEYS, MINORS.

(Extracted from the *Daily Express*, Nov. 22, 1858.)

The Lord Chancellor delivered judgment in this matter, which was discussed in the early part of the week, and which has excited considerable interest. There was a large attendance of the members of the Bar and the general public.

His Lordship having disposed of some petitions under the fifteenth section, proceeded to deliver the judgment as follows :—

“ In this case of the O'Malleys, minors, an order was made on the 23rd of September last, on the petition of Jane Robinson. Her petition, which was supported by her affidavit, stated in substance, that the minors, being eight in number, were the children of the late John O'Malley, and of Ellen O'Malley, his wife, sister of Jane Robinson. That the eldest child was twelve years of age, the youngest of the age of one year. That so far as they had been capable of receiving instruction, they had been educated in the Protestant religion, with the consent and approval of both their parents. That their father died in March, 1857, leaving his wife, Ellen O'Malley, surviving. That

in June, 1858, Ellen O'Malley was obliged to go into the workhouse of Tuam, with her eight children, and that all were entered as Protestants in the registry of the workhouse, where the mother died, leaving behind her the eight orphan children. That on the 11th of August the petitioner, Jane Robinson, applied to the guardians of the Tuam union to have the children given up to her, stating that she had made provision for their support, and that the consideration of this was postponed by the guardians until the 18th of August. That on this latter day the guardians, disregarding a direction from the Poor Law Commissioners, refused to give her the children, but gave them up their paternal uncle, the said William O'Malley, a Roman Catholic, who expressed his intention to bring them up in his own faith, and that she was unable to obtain the custody of the children. The petition further stated that she had means at her disposal for the maintenance, support, and education of the orphans, and that she was willing to undertake the office of their guardian, and also that she was prepared to invest a suitable sum for their benefit, that it was necessary they should be made wards of court, and that delay in making the order required might render it impossible to carry it into effect. It seemed to me that the guardians had done indirectly what they could not have done directly. It was not lawful for them to treat those children as of a religious faith different from that in which their names were entered in the workhouse registry, which the guardians were not at liberty to alter. I thought they committed a plain violation of their duty when they proceeded to hand over these orphan children to their uncle, William O'Malley, for the purpose of having them brought up as Roman Catholics, and that it was my duty to interpose for their protection, so as to secure to them the full benefit of the rights which the Constitution of this free country confers on every infant, without distinction of class or creed. The petitioner, Jane Robinson, is the maternal aunt of the minors, of the religious faith in which they had been brought up, and in which they were registered according to law. It therefore seemed proper to appoint her to be the guardian of the persons of the minors, for the purpose of retaking them out of the custody to which the board of guardians had unlawfully transferred them, and that I should make them wards of this court. I was thereby to have their rights settled by law, upon a reference directed to the Master, "to state in what manner it is proposed that they should be maintained and educated, and with whom they should reside." This was the substance of the order which William O'Malley now seeks to have set aside. It asserted in effect that the religious education of the children and the religious profession in they had been registered on the 18th of August, ought not to have been changed by the resolution of the majority of a board of guardians. It did not exclude William or any other party, from having the important question of right, as to the education of the children, decided by the proper tribunal; on the contrary, I do not see how such a decision could be had so beneficially as under an order such as I have made. But it is now contended, on behalf of William O'Malley, that upon the facts which have been disclosed in this matter to the court, on the affidavits which

have been made and filed since the 23rd September, he has a lawful right to retain the custody of the minors, and to have them educated in the Roman Catholic faith. It appears from these affidavits, that Ellen O'Malley, the mother of the minors, was the eldest daughter of William Jameson, formerly a sergeant in the Constabulary Force. She had been strictly and carefully educated by her parents in the Reformed faith as a Protestant. She married John O'Malley, a constable of the force, but he was a Roman Catholic. They had eight children, five sons and three daughters. William, the eldest child, is twelve years of age, the three daughters are of the ages of ten, eight, and seven respectively, the others of the ages of five years and two years, and the youngest is under two years. The elder portion of the family were regularly sent to school, in the several places in which John O'Malley was stationed. In the National school of one of those places they were taught and treated as Protestant children, and were returned as such to the National Board by the master, who was himself a Roman Catholic. In the schools at the other places they were instructed, as well as registered, as Protestant children. They attended Divine service in the Protestant Church, and also the catechetical instruction on each Saturday, when the Protestant children of the church were instructed by the rector in the Church Catechism. The eldest boy attended the Sunday school in connexion with the church, and was sent to church by his father at a time when Ellen O'Malley was absent from home, a patient in the Galway infirmary. The family were visited by the Protestant clergymen, and the children were occasionally taught by their father at home, out of the Holy Scriptures, and from the Catechism of the United Church. It does not appear that in any one instance their father ever had taken any of them to a Roman Catholic service, and with the exception of having all but the youngest, baptized according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, he never, in any respect, treated any of them otherwise than as a Protestant parent ought to treat his child. It therefore seems to me that it is satisfactorily made out, as a matter of fact, that in the church, the family, and the school, these children were, with the full consent of both their parents, carefully trained up as Protestant children. The father died in March, 1857. After his death, their mother continued the same course of instruction as had been followed in the father's lifetime. She died in June, 1858, a pauper in the workhouse at Tuam, and whilst the children remained in the workhouse, until the 18th of August, 1858, they were visited, taught, and treated as Protestant children. To this no objection appears to have been made, before the 11th of August, when the aunt, Jane Robinson, applied to the guardians to get the children out of the workhouse. The learned and able counsel for William O'Malley insist that, inasmuch as it appears that his brother John was himself a Roman Catholic, and that his children, except the youngest, were baptized according to the Roman Catholic rite, and as they maintain that it appears on the affidavits, that John O'Malley, on his death bed, expressed a wish and directed that his children should be brought up as Roman Catholics, and that the consent of John O'Malley, during his life, to the bringing them

up as Protestants must be considered as having been given from worldly and unworthy motives, and not from a proper sense of responsibility as a parent, it is now the duty of this court to disregard all that has already taken place, and to have the children hereafter educated in the tenets of the Roman Catholic faith. In *Lyons v. Blenlein* (Jacob's Reports, p. 263), where a father had allowed his children to be brought up by an aunt, and afterwards sought to withdraw them, and to change their course of education, Lord Eldon says:—"It appears to me that the father has so far given his consent to this course of education as to preclude him from saying that he shall now be permitted to break in and introduce a new system of education, which cannot be consistent with the system to which they had been habituated." In *Witty v. Marshall* (1 Y. coll. ch. Cas. 68.), the father, in his will, inserted the following words:—"I am desirous that my said son should be educated in the Roman Catholic faith, in which I live, and which I believe to be the true faith." He then appointed his wife and certain other persons guardians of his children, and enjoined them to cause his son to be educated in the Roman Catholic faith. The mother was a Protestant, and when the case came before the court, it appeared that the minors had received what the Vice-Chancellor called 'Protestant impressions.' Vice-Chancellor Knight Bruce says:—"With every respect, therefore, for what may be allowed to the feelings and wishes of the father on so important a subject, it is impossible not to see that great danger to the spiritual welfare and to the moral character of the infant may arise (I do not say will arise) from a change of religious education. On this ground, and this ground alone, it is the duty of the court to pause." He then says, 'the proper course is to direct a reference to the Master. Rarely can the court, with propriety, withdraw such questions from the Master.'"

But the recent case of *Stourton v. Stourton*, which, in the year 1857, came before the Lords Justices of Appeal in Chancery in England, puts the question beyond controversy in this court. The minor was the only child of the Hon John Stourton (deceased) and of Caroline Emma, his wife, both of whom were Roman Catholics. He died on the 23rd May, 1847. On the 30th May, 1847, the minor was born. He was baptised as a Roman Catholic. His uncle Lord Stourton, was his godfather. Mrs. Stourton, some time after her husband's death, became a member of the Church of England, and educated her son accordingly. All his relations, except the mother, were Roman Catholics. On the 18th November, 1856, the Master of the Rolls made an order appointing the mother to be the guardian of the minor. Against this the appeal was taken. Lord Justice Knight Bruce, says:—"No doubt the boy might have been brought up a Roman Catholic had his father's relations interposed sooner, and not permitted the mother to take the course she has taken. He said 'permitted,' because no concealment or deceit was proved, or even alleged against her." Again he says:—"The child's tranquillity, health, happiness, and spiritual welfare were too likely to suffer from an attempt to efface his Protestant impressions for such a course to be attempted." This course was to have the paternal uncle made a guardian, and the

child educated as a Roman Catholic. Lord Justice Turner, after adverting to the settled rule of the court, and to the fact that the child had been allowed to receive Protestant instruction, says:—“The father's wishes might be in conflict with the safety and welfare of the child, and it was necessary to see what religious impressions had already been made on the child's mind.” Having then stated that, from an interview with the child, the court was satisfied that impressions had been made adverse to the faith of the father, and having pointed out the danger of disturbing these impressions, he adds:—“Whether the consequences would or would not be such, the danger was one to which he durst not expose a child.” The order of the Master of the Rolls was affirmed. This child was but nine years of age. He had been baptised a Roman Catholic; his father and his uncle, and all his relations were Roman Catholics, until his mother, after his birth, had become a Protestant; and Lord Stourton, the uncle and godfather, was not allowed to be a guardian of the child, nor to change the religious education which he had, in fact, received under his mother. And why? Simply because, as a matter of fact, Protestant impressions had been made by a course of religious teaching which had been permitted without remonstrance, and which it might be dangerous to unsettle. The law recognises what all experience attests, that the earliest lessons of childhood, which are impressed upon the young and tender heart, are the latest to be forgotten. The law intrusts the father with the care and education of his children, because for natural affection he is considered as the proper person to discharge that duty. It is not a power, but a trust; and he who is bound to lay the foundation in the heart of his child is empowered by statute to select a guardian to whom he may confide the continuance and execution of the trust. In the several cases on the subject the impressibility of children of tender years is prominently noticed, and as the interference of this court is “for the benefit of the child, without reference to religious distinctions,” the important question must be whether in fact such impressions have been made that it might be perilous to disturb? Such are not to be treated like the characters traced upon the sand, which the returning tide effaces, but they are to be cherished with tenderness and care as a right vested in the child, which the law regards as sacred and inviolable. With reference, therefore, to the eldest son and the three daughters, it seems to me that upon the facts, which are beyond dispute, and by law, which I am bound to follow in this court, the order of the 23rd September ought not to be disturbed. I come next to the case of the younger children, and although no distinction has been taken in the course of the argument on either side, I think it is proper for me to deal with the two sets of children distinctively. In the *Queen v. Clarke* (7 Ell. Blackb., 201), Lord Campbell, in a very elaborate judgment, states the view of a court of law, where the father has died without having appointed a testamentary guardian. “The husband,” he says, “certainly was a Protestant; his children had been baptized in the Anglican Church, and he probably expected that they would be brought up as Protestants.” After stating that nothing was to be found in the husband's will on

the subject, and that he seemed to have confided in his wife, who was a Roman Catholic, the Lord Chief Justice says:—"Indeed, by marrying a Roman Catholic, and by permitting the children in his lifetime to join in Roman Catholic prayers, he does not seem to have had the horror of Popery felt by many pious Protestants. The mother becoming guardian by nurture on the death of the father, no provision to the contrary being made by will, she appears to us to have in all respects the same parental authority which might have been exercised by the father had he survived the mother." "The question," he adds, "must be the same under the actual circumstances of this case, as if the father had died a Roman Catholic, and the mother surviving had been a Protestant; would it in that case have been unlawful for the mother to have brought up the children as Protestants?" This view of the right of the mother surviving, where no testamentary guardian has been appointed by the father, has a sanction in the judgment of Lord Hardwicke in *Villareal v. Mellish* (2 Swanst., 536 and 538), and in the case of *Stroke v. Stroke* (3 P. Wms., 52), I think, however, that it must be taken to be the accredited rule of this court, that, in whatever way the wishes of the father can be clearly ascertained, the court will respect them to the utmost that is consistent with the welfare of the child, and this without any reference to religious distinctions. It may, perhaps, be asked, where nothing has been done under the sanction of the father in his lifetime, and where he has not appointed a testamentary guardian, how could it be for the welfare of the child, without reference to religious distinctions, to compel the widowed mother to educate her infant offspring in a religious faith which her own conscientious conviction compels her to disbelieve? This is a grave question. In the present case, however, it has been assumed on both sides that, as both father and mother are dead, the ascertainment of the genuine wishes of the father should decide the question which is substantially at issue between the parties now before me. This could not be allowed in a court of law, and so far the intervention of this court on petition is an advantage of Wm. O'Malley. It appears from the affidavit of the Rev. Mr. Coyne, the Roman Catholic clergyman, that on the day before John O'Malley died, Daniel Coughlan, a policeman, came for him to attend on John O'Malley, whom he had not spoken to previously, nor did he know of his illness. Mr. Coyne states that before his visit John O'Malley "was attended by the Sisters of Mercy." It does not appear how soon before Mr. Coyne arrived, these ladies had been in attendance. Mr. Coyne says, that upon this occasion he administered "the last rites of the Church," and upon the same occasion, "John O'Malley, in the presence of his wife and two policemen, Coughlan and Pat. Mulligan, expressed a wish and directed that his children should be brought up in the Roman Catholic religion." That Mrs. O'Malley said to him, "John, you were always a kind and affectionate husband; I would wish to carry out your intention, but what means have you left me for that?" Whereupon Mr. Coyne said:—"That matter should be left in the hands of Providence." Mr. O'Hagan most earnestly and eloquently urged that this was a solemn dying declaration, and referred to the rule in

our criminal law, which admits a dying declaration in evidence. But with what cautious circumspection is it admitted? The death of the party who makes the declaration must be the subject of inquiry, and the circumstances of the death the subject of the declaration, which in some cases may be indispensable to identify the murderer. I could not but remember the prudent suggestion of one of our most learned and experienced judges, who, in Fitzgerald's case (Irish Circ. Cas., 169), says:—"Every one knows that in the state of languor in which dying persons generally are, their assent would easily be got to statements which they never intended to make, if they were but ingeniously interwoven by an artful person with statements which were actually true. That such has been the case here I do not mean to say, but at the same time, were I to admit the declaration which is now offered in evidence, I should be opening a door to great abuse."

Mr. Coyne has stated that he did not use any importunity; but if he considered himself conscientiously bound, in the discharge of what he must have felt to be a sacred duty of his office, to put questions and make suggestions to the weak and dying man which might not be easily parried without the energy of health and the *vis inertiae* of undisturbed conviction, I can well understand how, under the peculiar circumstances in which Mr. Coyne then stood, he may have succeeded in obtaining a languid assent, which would not have been volunteered. Mr. Coyne himself, not John O'Malley, answered the objection of Ellen O'Malley to her husband's alleged injunction. Would not this indicate, either that Mr. Coyne naturally considered himself as the interpreter of John O'Malley's wishes, or that the latter was too weak to deal with the objection, or did not desire to prolong the discussion? In any view, the scene is imperfect, the termination is abrupt. And indeed, in another part of his affidavit, where Mr. Coyne charges this afflicted widow with a readiness to barter the faith of her children, he says he told her "if they were given up according to the wishes of her husband, they would be taken care of." These are the very words of Mr. Coyne himself. The wishes of the dying husband were, he says, to have the children "given up." According to the previous statement, such a wish was not expressed by John O'Malley to his wife, and this is made more conclusive by her objection to what was expressed. How is this to be reconciled? Mr. Coyne has obviously mixed up what he may have suggested to the dying man under a solemn sense of duty at the critical period of the administration of the sacramental rite. It may have been proposed by the Sisters of Mercy that the female children would be received into the convent, where William O'Malley has now placed them. We have no account from those ladies of what took place when they were present. But Mary Byrne has in her affidavit given a very remarkable account of what took place immediately after Mr. Coyne had left the house. If the proposal was to give up the children, nothing can be more natural, or more probable in its substance, than the account given by Mary Byrne of what she saw and heard. The husband was at the point of death; the wife, with one little infant, the new-born babe, baptized in her own faith, and all her children of tender years. None as yet had been withdrawn by her confiding husband from the

influence of the mother's teaching and the mother's love—that now, when she would be left a widow, she should give up her children, each and all, to ecclesiastical custody! Whatever may have been said or done in the presence of the priest, or of the Sisters of Mercy, when nature resumed her sway, and at once appealed to the heart of the husband and the father, I cannot disbelieve the pithy account, condensed in one sentence of the affecting letter to her sister, written soon after her sad bereavement, where she speaks of “how a priest and two of the nuns thought to come round me in presence of my poor dying husband, but I baulked them completely. John did not blame me for what I told them, for after they went away he desired me to bring up the children in the way I always brought them up.” The Rev. Mr. Seymour states, in his affidavit,—“That at the last interview with the said Mrs. O'Malley a few days previous to her death, she indignantly denied the truth of the report that she intended to have them brought up in the Roman Catholic faith; and alleged, as one of her reasons, that her husband's dying wish was that they should be brought up in her own persuasion as Protestants; and that her husband frequently, on previous occasions, expressed the same desire.” Here, then, we have the dying mother's account of what were the last wishes of the dying father: a double testimony, given in the presence of death, and sealed with all the solemn sanctions of eternity. If doubt there were as to the true import of his dying wishes, the consistent course of his life in the training of the elder children, and the remarkable fact of his having so recently allowed the youngest child to be baptised in the Protestant faith, would furnish the best comment for the guidance of a court of justice, which looks to actions and conduct as the best key to the discovery of intentions. Could he have intended that she should hand over the babe, which he did not even require to be baptised a Roman Catholic? It struck me as somewhat remarkable that from the month of March, 1857, when the father died, until the month of August, 1858, neither the Rev. Mr. Coyne nor any other person came forward to assert that the father of these children had on his death bed expressed his dying wish that all or any of them should be educated in the Roman Catholic faith. Mr. O'Hagan suggested to me that he understood some application had been made at the Tuam workhouse on the subject, and that the answer was that they had not power to alter the registry. It thus appears they knew their duty. But this does not consist with the explanation given by the Rev. Mr. Coyne. He says “From the course which Mrs. O'Malley pursued after the death of her husband, deponent thought it useless to interfere further in the matter.” This is quite intelligible, if the children were to be “given up;” but if they were simply to be brought up as Roman Catholics, why should no application have been made before the 11th of August by Mr. Coyne, who was a chaplain of the workhouse, or by William O'Malley, the anxious uncle? Why should the guardians have been then set in motion to violate their known duty, and set the registry and the law at defiance? I have not adverted to some topics which have been imported into the argument of this case, and have much increased the

pain and pressure of the trying duty which has unavoidably devolved on me to discharge. It has been said that Jane Robinson is only made use of by Miss Plunket, in order "to buy up the custody" of these orphans. It is enough for me to see that Jane Robinson is so nearly related to the children that it is proper for me to interfere for their protection, and that her interference is *bonâ fide*; and on the reference for which the order provides, the way in which she proposes to have them maintained and educated, will be investigated by the Master. The custody of the children remains under the care of the court, and is neither to be obtained by wealth nor to be denied by poverty. It is the free gift of the law, to which all must do homage, "the least as feeling its care, the greatest as not exempted from its power." In the case of Alicia Race, with the details of which I have been furnished by the kindness of Vice-Chancellor Kindersley, the provision made came from benevolent strangers, who desired to give the child the means of asserting her English right, and the court acted on the undertaking of counsel to have a maintenance provided. It is obvious that William O'Malley himself has neither the means nor the inclination to support these children without the aid of strangers. But in the case of orphans so situated there must at least be the power of having them publicly maintained as destitute poor, entitled to be secured in their Constitutional rights, as infant subjects of the Queen, if no relative can be found able and willing to support and educate them under the court, and subject to its control, or if no stranger can be allowed to extend the hand of charity without being subjected to harsh and ungenerous imputations.

In cases where the religious issue is open, it is a rule which I always adopt, to put the case with the religion of the parties reversed, and consider then the decision I should pronounce. Had John O'Malley been a facile Protestant, and his wife a devoted member of the Roman Catholic Church; had he allowed his children from their earliest years to learn the language of its ancient ritual and its impressive invocations; had he left his widow to fight the hard battle of life with a numerous and helpless offspring; if she had kept them together to the last, until she had nothing to share but her prayers and her tears; and if she had left them in the Church which hallowed the earliest lessons of their infancy; and if a board of guardians could be found who would consign them to a custody where Protestantism would be let loose upon them, and the interference of this court should be sought for their deliverance on the application of some humble but honest Roman Catholic relative, aided by any generous stranger: could I, then, shrink from a duty so sacred and so palpable?—God forbid. It is a satisfaction to me to know that if I have erred in the view which I have taken, my decision can be reviewed by the Court of Appeal, both here and in England. I must refuse this application, with costs. William O'Malley has availed himself of the assistance of Poor Law guardians to deprive these children of their lawful rights. He asks of me to believe that his deceased brother was a hollow hypocrite, who bartered away the faith of his children for some unworthy but undefined motive. I have no authority here, without and against evidence, to impeach

the motives or conduct of either the living or the dead. The children have a property in their father's good name, and, so far as it may be in my power to secure, I will see that they be taught to respect the memory of both their parents, and not to learn that either has been a castaway. John O'Malley, in his life, was, as it appears, an affectionate husband and a tender father; on his death he received reverently from the priest of his own church her last sacramental rite; with the minister of his wife's church he joined in fervent prayer, and confessed a faith which Mr. Lynch insists to be Roman Catholic, Mr. Fowler asserts to be Protestant, and of which I will only add, it was the simple faith of a Christian. In this responsible jurisdiction I feel how solemnly I am bound to act without fear, favour, or affection. The duty, on the present occasion, invidious as it is, has been made the more painful to me from the contention of the parties having been too much leavened with the bitterness of controversy, and too little with the kind and gentle spirit of charity, so suited to the case of poor destitute orphans. The religion of the Redeemer is a religion of love, and not of strife or hatred. Like his seamless garment, the trembling touch of faith may from the very hem extract a healing virtue. In the true spirit of this religion, I trust these children may be educated, so that the law of this land may be honoured, and the last wishes expressed by both the parents righteously fulfilled.

ART. IX.—MONTALEMBERT ON ENGLAND AND INDIA.

1. *A Debate on India in the English Parliament.* By M. Le Comte de Montalembert. Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange. London: 1858.
2. *The Trial of M. Le Comte de Montalembert and M. Douniol before the Paris Correctional Tribunal on the 24th November, 1858.* Effingham Wilson. London: 1858.
3. *The Political Future of England.* By the Comte de Montalembert of the French Academy—from the French. John Murray. London: 1856.

The English people are so much accustomed to bespatter themselves with their own praises, to laud themselves and their institutions, and proclaim them to the rest of the world, as the freest on the face of the globe, that any responsive echo coming from abroad is hailed as a right due to their own excellence, no matter what may be the source or motive, from which it emanates. Their gullability is of the most facile, their devotion to flattery of the most servile description; they swallow with a peculiar avidity, everything which tends to feed their most consummate selfishness and egotism. Thus it is that the English press has seized upon, and heaped with the highest eulogiums the article by the Comte De Montalembert on the India debate, merely because it teems with the most fulsome adulations of their country. One paper, the giant in print, goes so far as to say, that this production, "is a noble and passionate eulogy of English freedom; the language of which extraordinary composition is a stream of unpausing eloquence," ignoring altogether the purpose for which these papers were written. We do not mean to assert that it is not an able performance, skilfully designed and executed, but any one who scans its paragraphs ever so lightly, will at once perceive that it was not written either as a panegyric, or a lesson in history.

The artistic design of this picture is too transparent, the colours too highly wrought and unreal, not to fail in producing the effect intended by the painter. It is impossible to hide from ourselves, that notwithstanding the Anglo-French

Alliance, which has lasted through many trials for the last five or six years, there still lurks within the breast of each nation, a strong germ of the ancient rivalry, which so often set Europe by the ears, and deluged her plains with human blood. This rankles still in the minds of the great mass of the French people, who cannot regard anything English as excellent, except her riches as a fitting prey for plunder and vengeance. Therefore anyone who extols the power, liberty, or institutions of "*perfidie Albion*," or contrasts them with those of France to the disadvantage of the latter, is regarded more as a spy, or secret enemy in the camp, than as a person anxious to instruct his fellow countrymen, or improve their social condition. The Imperial government might have allowed this writing to eat itself out in silence, being contrary to the instincts of the great French Public, and only serving the objects of the Red Republican, or Monarchists, who at all hazards are desirous of changing the present order of things. The army, which is the great engine of the ruling power in France, is more thoroughly imbued than any other portion of the public, with a supreme contempt for the English as a military nation, and consider it as an insult to be put in comparison with them. From this spirit arose the *fracas* of the colonels after the dismissal of Lord Palmerston, and if the Imperial dynasty is ever driven to its last resource to maintain its grasp upon the throne and sceptre, it has but to let loose its "dogs of war" upon England and her allies, in order to regain a complete hold of power, and to re-awaken the attachment of the people.

Montalembert has been for that reason extremely injudicious in carrying to such extravagant lengths the contrast, which he draws between the present position of his own country and that of Great Britain. The French do not wish to have thrown in their face the futility of their efforts for liberty and constitutional government, or to be placed so low in the scale of civilization, as to be designated the grovelling slaves of despotism. They despise many of the mannerisms, money-making, plodding systems of the English public, and are proud of many of their own national idiosyncracies, which are cried down and laughed at on this side of the Channel. They glory in their military power and discipline, regard themselves as irresistible in arms, and cannot at all feel flattered, when they are told by M. Le Comte—"When

I am stifling in an atmosphere loaded with the exhalations of servility and corruption, I set forth to breathe a purer air, and to take a life-bath (*bain de vie*) in free England ;" which sentence forms one of the leading paragraphs of his Essay on the India Debate. In fact Montalembert is one of those Royalists, who by adroit and prudent conduct have hitherto endeavoured successfully to keep their places, but, as has been often said by the followers of the present dynasty, constituting the great mass of the people, these men will never learn that their time has passed away. They hope that by disgusting the minds of the French with the government in power, they may be able to produce some change, and trust to Providence in the result.

He says again ; " I write for my own satisfaction, and for that of a small number of invalids, of prying, curious people—of maniacs, if you will have it so, like myself. I study contemporary institutions, which are no longer ours, but which once have been, and which still seem worthy of envy and admiration to my mind, behind hand as it is "—But maniacs may become very dangerous, in proportion to the extravagance of their notions, and their opposition to the received usages of the society in which they live. Then how can he compare the constitutional representation in England, to that which existed in France, either during the first Revolution, or under the first Empire, or under the modern Bourbons. The first was a grinding tyranny of democracy, more blood-thirsty and cruel, than that of the most absolute despot ; the second was overridden and extinguished by military control, the third could only boast of its utter servility and corruption. France never can enjoy a representative government for any considerable period without abusing it, and the direst anarchy is sure to follow in its footsteps.

Having opened with these and other remarks, which sufficiently show, that his aim is not to praise England, but to lower the French in their own estimation, he proceeds to discuss the Colonial policy of England- and her conduct towards India in particular. He points to Canada in triumph, where he says a French Catholic population has been fostered and increased in wealth and numbers by the care of the parent country, forgetting altogether that the threatened dismemberment of that part of her possessions has alone checked the illiberal dealing of the Home Government with

the descendants of the French settlers. He further asserts that every colonial extension made by the British opens up "immense vistas" to the preaching of the Gospel, and the spreading of the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church, putting out of sight altogether the immense sums yearly subscribed in Great Britain for the foreign extension of the establishment, principally by the talismanic cry of opposition to Popery—France, Spain and Portugal are attacked, as Catholic countries, for not extending the dominion of the Gospel, or allowing it to die out where it had been formerly planted. This has arisen more from the degeneracy of the race, and the want of activity of their modern governments, than from the insufficiency of the teaching of their religion.

As to the general foreign and colonial policy of England he says ; " I may boldly affirm, that no one knows better, that no one has more loudly signalled than I, the backslidings and deviations of English policy during the few past years. I was certainly the first to denounce, previously to 1848, the policy of Lord Palmerston, but too often imperious to the weak and truckling to the strong, in the highest degree imprudent, illogical, and foreign to all the great traditions of his country." * * * " It would be besides the height of folly and of iniquity to regard England as solely culpable, or as the most culpable, among the nations of the earth. Her policy is neither more selfish nor more immoral than that of other great states, which figure in ancient or modern history." This is the only portion of his essay in which he does not act the Panegyrist ; it shews however his consistency, as it agrees almost word for word with what he wrote on the same subject in 1856. In 1848 he " already saw in Lord Palmerston—in the champion of *Pacifico* in Greece ; and the oppressor of the small country of Switzerland—a great contempt for the rights of the weak, and a ready ally of revolution against liberty. * * * * The English people have been it must be confessed his too faithful accomplices. * * * * The insupportable arrogance of the English diplomacy towards the weak, and of the English press towards everybody, has raised the just indignation of a vast number of reasonable men. Still more does the intrusive, aggressive and dissolving influence exercised by the British government, with respect to the rights and the faith of the Catholics in Switzerland, and in the south of Europe, deserve the reprobation of every sincere Christian."

Here some wholesome truths are allowed to burst forth in spite of his general purpose of praise, although he does not give many examples of these "backslidings and deviations." We can point to some, which may serve to illustrate more effectually these tendencies of British policy. During the Crimean war, entered upon in order to check the threatening aspect of Russia in Asia, and to curb her growing influence, which endangered the north west of India, and the trade of the East, the western powers made use of every available means within their reach to effect their objects; among the rest they enlisted the services of the Circassians, treated with them as allies, and supplied them in some cases with arms and ammunition. When the war was brought to a close, these allies were forgotten, left to their own resources, not included in the treaty of peace; no effort was made to shield them against the indignation of the humbled enemy, who would be sure to wreak his vengeance on their defenceless heads. Such an example of the selfish abandonment of a brave people, when the opportunity for making use of their services had gone by, does not exist in history, and England will hereafter regret her conduct in this affair, when the plains of Asia Minor and Persia are overrun by the rapacious Muscovites. The chain of the Caucasus might have been easily maintained as a barrier or fortress to check the advance of aggression; when that is swept away, as it must sooner or latter, it is scarcely possible to conceive how the onward wave of Russian absorption is to be arrested. Again, very lately our old ally Portugal, whose plains and hills have been dyed by the best blood of England, when she made her last stand for vital existence on the map of Europe, was compelled at the cannon's mouth to abandon the safeguard of treaties, and yield to a show of force by France in a case of manifest injustice. England never raised her voice even in protestation, or if she did it was in such an humble tone, as to proclaim either a complete inability to support her ancient ally, or an unwillingness to risk a disagreement with a new and more powerful friend. The whole question of the deportation of free blacks into the French colonies, against the spirit of the slave laws, and under the colour of a hiring for a limited number of years, may be cited as another example. England is mute or looks on with indifference, enters no protest, while a commission is enquiring into the best means of effecting this

legalized traffic. Then she endeavours to bully Naples, because this latter is a Catholic Power, and in consequence of the turbulence and revolutionary spirit of her people, fostered by the press, money and arrogance of England, is obliged to use strong measures of repression. What right has Protestantism to interfere with the internal affairs of a Catholic state, or to cry out against intolerance, when but a few years ago her own votaries in Ireland were the most intolerant of religionists, and in the north of Europe lately the zealous followers of the Reformation, furnished a most inhuman example of history?

England is lauded for her rapacity in seizing upon the dominions of the native Princes in the Indian Peninsula, and the Company extolled because it has governed "at a distant of 2000 leagues from the mother country, nearly 200,000,000 of men by means of 800 civil servants; and an army numbering from 15,000 to 20,000 men." All this is certainly a glorious page in history, far surpassing the achievements of Alexander, or the successes of the Tartar monarchs. But is it not another example of the rapacity of the human race? The insatiable desire to possess the fable riches of the East has caused the representatives of the English nation in Hindostan, to give the fullest reins to their avidity. They have stopped at nothing to possess themselves of the land, the produce thereof, and to hunt out the recesses, in which the storied treasures were kept. They have dispossessed on one plea or another every king or prince, who held dominion in the Peninsula; their last act of spoliation has brought about what has been termed by choice the "Rebellion," in order that the foul name might be made a successful pretext for the more complete extinguishment of every native claim, and the resumption into the hand of the government of a vast amount of forfeited property. The Indian war certainly commenced by mutiny of the native soldiers in the pay of the company, in consequence of a military order trampling upon one of the most sacred dogmas of their religion. Those, who have assumed the sovereignty in India have no right to dictate to the different races and castes, what they are to believe or what form of worship they are to observe. It is only in the case of something revolting to humanity, such as the *suttee*, or burning of widows, that there may be some title to suppress a rite,

But where so harmless a dogma exists as that of abstaining from touching or eating animal food, surely the prejudices of the natives ought to be in all conscience respected, and not crushed out under the penalty of rebellion. The landholders of Oude stand upon a different ground, they must be looked upon as the defenders of the rights of their sovereigns, and if their country is to be annexed and conquered at all hazards, it must be conceded to them at least that they are not rebels, but the resisters of aggression.

It is true that in the commencement of the war many grievous atrocities were committed by the sepoy, wholesale massacres calling to heaven for vengeance. We do not wish to palliate or defend these in the slightest degree, although we believe that they have been in many instances greatly exaggerated by the press of England, and the promoters of confiscation. Let the perpetrators be punished, amply punished as they deserve, but in the name of all that is good, let not the fair fame of the British arms be stained by that truculent cry for blood, which has arisen throughout the land, and has been already partially executed. Letters and accounts have been received from India, in which the writers dwell with savage delight upon the wholesale slaughtering of whole regiments of unfortunate, misguided men. These and other acts perpetrated under the name of retribution, will hereafter stamp the deepest stain upon the name of England in the page of history, only to be placed in comparison with the extirpation of the Carthaginians and Jews by the Romans.

That such is the opinion of Montalembert himself, will appear from the following passage :—

“ After having thus allotted to the defence of a great people, unjustly defamed, so much of our space, our motive being that it enjoys, almost alone, the honour of representing liberty in modern Europe, it is fitting to testify to the just indignation, which the excessive rigour of the chastisements inflicted by the English on the vanquished insurgents, who have fallen into their hands, ought to evoke. I am aware of all that can be said to excuse reprisals, only too legitimate, against savages guilty of the most monstrous excesses committed on the persons of so many officers, surprised and disarmed, and especially so many noble women, innocent young girls, and poor little children, slaughtered in hundreds, without any provocation for such horrid deeds. I can well understand the battle-cry of the Highlanders at the assault of Delhi, ‘ Remember the ladies ! Remember the babies ! ’ I admit, moreover, that the severe punishments inflicted on soldiers,

taken with arms in their hands, all of them voluntarily enlisted, and bound, under an oath taken of their own free will, to respect the commanders whom they have massacred, cannot be compared with the chastisements inflicted on innocent and hospitable populations, by the conquerors of the new world, nor even with the rigorous punishments decreed by our generals of the French Empire against the populations of Spain and of the Tyrol, engaged in the most legitimate of insurrections ; still less to the horrors committed in La Vendée, by the butchers of the Convention. But for all that, I am not the less convinced that the just limits of repression have been overpassed, and that the executions, *en masse*, of the defeated Sepoys, systematically continued after the first outburst of grief caused by unheard-of atrocities, will fix an indelible stain on the history of British rule in India. This is no longer justice, but vengeance. A people really free should leave the sad privilege of being cruel to slaves in revolt. A Christian people ought to know that it is at once a thing forbidden and impossible for it to struggle against Infidel races, with such arms as mere punishment may supply. It is the part of English "*gentlemen*" (sic.) who direct military and political operations from the Indus to the Ganges, to know how to resist the odious incitements of the Anglo-Indian press. They have before them the example of the chivalrous Havelock, who in a proclamation addressed to the soldiers, whom he was leading against the cut-throats of Cawnpore, declared that it did not become Christian soldiers to take Pagan butchers for their models."

As far as regards her colonial policy in Australia, North America, and the Cape of Good Hope, Great Britain has reason to be proud of a moderate, wise and beneficent course of action. The consequences of an opposite conduct in the instance of the United States have left an indelible impression on the minds of her statesmen, by which they learn that anything in the nature of oppression will not be tolerated by those who have once tasted freedom. At the first sign of undue coercion by the mother country, any or all of these colonies may throw off their allegiance, and arrogate to themselves a right to independence in the scale of nations. It is different with India and China. There the Europeans are either so much connected with the governing power, or so much interested in oppressing the natives for their own emolument, that any chance of right being done to the aborigines is out of the question. Philanthropists may lay schemes for the improvement of the population, for the irrigation of dry land or the draining of swamps, for the spreading of Christainity by the sale of millions of Bibles, or the suppression of Bhuddism and Castes, but that the main aim and object of all parties will ever be the extrac-

tion of the greatest amount of wealth, the increase of the commerce of the merchant at home, and the draining off to Europe of the fat of the land, cannot for a moment be doubted. How can it be expected, that a government at the other side of the globe, will rule for the benefit of the aborigines, and not for that of their spoilers.

The same system is about being carried out in China. A footing is got at Hong Kong; a miserable pretext of the seizure of a smuggling lorcha is made use of, to take violent possession of a rich city, numbering more than a million of inhabitants. Then a trade is forced upon the Chinese, by which sooner or later the English will gain vantage ground upon their territory, and enact over again the scenes of India, the slaughter of the inhabitants, trying to free themselves of their pestilent invaders, and the violent seizure of successive portions of territory. Can it be said for a moment that the unfortunate subjects of the celestial Empire have not a perfect right, if they wish, to exclude all foreigners from their boundaries. It is contended that they have no right to refuse trade which will be for their own benefit, or the blessings of Christianity, which may dawn upon them at a future time. In fact it is the old argument of the end justifying the means; but a more plain instance of filibustering on the part of the great English people cannot be imagined. So much are our continental neighbours impressed with the reality of this idea, that they have determined not to be behind hand, and that if Asia is to be seized upon and divided among the European powers, they at least shall have their full share. France is only taking a leaf out of the book of England's system of aggrandizement, by appropriating to herself the territory of Cochin China. She sees what strides the Islanders are making in commerce by the possession of foreign lands, which serve as *points d'appui* for their trade. She has endeavoured to imitate them in Algeria, but finding that district to be up to this, a barren, losing speculation, she has turned her attention to more distant climes, where there can be no interference from dangerous neighbours. All this is a portion of the same wholesale appropriation, spoliation and robbery, which has been dignified since the world began, with the high-sounding title of conquest.

The assumption of supreme power in India, has been de-

fended chiefly upon the grounds of the many abuses and cruelties of the native princes, the state of subjection and misery in which they kept the population, while they themselves wallowed in the grossest or the most refined luxury, and the substitution for all these of the blessings of European rule and civilization. In the first place, this was not the original reason for the extension of territory. The Company sought alone a wider field for the pursuit of riches, and took every opportunity to increase their wealth and dominion by spoliation. Besides, what trust can be placed in the rectitude of conduct of a set of merchants, who cultivate upon a gigantic scale, a baneful drug, and in the teeth of the laws of a neighbouring country, smuggle it into the territory, to the destruction of the minds and morals of the inhabitants. If they were capable of vending poison to one nation not under their control, and contrary to express agreement and treaty, surely they may be fairly suspected of wrong dealing with another people, who are completely under their control, and wholly unable to help themselves. It is to be hoped, that the new Government emanating from the supreme power in these realms, will root out this destructive policy, and rule the country, not merely for the interests of the few European settlers, but for those of the countless multitudes, who are delivered into their hands. The Panegyrist himself allows a certain amount of culpability in the now defunct Company, when he says :—

“ Admitting, even, that the immoral selfishness of a corporation of merchants has but too often signalized its *debuts* in the Peninsula of Hindostan, still, for more than fifty years, its generals and principal agents, the Wellesleys, the Malcolms, the Munroes, the Bentincks, fully displayed all the zeal and all the activity becoming their high functions, to expiate the evil deeds of their predecessors, and to lead every impartial observer to avow, that in the present state of things, British domination is at once a benefit and a necessity for the inhabitants of India.”

In the next paragraph, however, he is forced to admit, that the annexation of many states, which had been formerly allies or only subject to suzerainty, especially in the case of Oude, forcibly deprived of its native government by the Marquis of Dalhousie, is a just subject of reproach,

and the latter instance a legitimate pretext for insurrection. He draws a parallel in the case of Algeria, and palliates, both by the difficulty of dealing with Eastern races, "either as allies or auxiliaries," and the necessity of complete subjection before they can be brought to reason. This is only an excuse for spoliation, and an argument for seizing with armed hands half the territory in the Eastern Hemisphere, following out the iniquitous policy now adopted in China, and Cochin China.

Incidentally to this question of the policy of the English in India, he touches upon that of the influence of the press, and the part it bears in the social system of these Islands. He calls it "a universal and permanent indictment against every one and every thing," but contends that it afterwards rectifies its own mistakes in time and makes up for its coarse vituperation, by the public good effected by open discussion. This is putting out of sight altogether the immense mass of private injury, which is done by intemperate writing on the affairs of individuals, the misrepresentations and lies which are daily and hourly practised upon the general community, and the hostility which it evokes in foreign nations by the absurd, ignorant, and arrogant views which it often takes of their internal affairs. The Press of England may be said rather to be a necessary evil, than a permanent good. It may be called the "safety-valve of the democratic element," by which discontent and faction are allowed to evaporate, so as not to injure the machine of the body politic. The contrast in this particular with the restrictions on the French prints does not at all hold good, because the natural tendencies of that people are widely different from those of the phlegmatic Britons. They are a nation easily excited to acts of desperation, and cannot calmly read for even a short space incitements to insurrection without carrying them out in the reality. It is a matter of history that in the time of the old Revolution the Press in France was the most demoralized, and savage instigator to bloodshed and massacre. If the same amount of freedom of discussion were allowed there, as there is in England, a succession of revolutions would be sure to follow each other at short intervals. The temper of the public is not equable, it cannot bear strong stimulants without being excited to frenzy. It is another question, however,

how far the liberty of publication should be extended, and where the work of repression by the executive should commence. A certain amount of elasticity should be allowed to public opinion, so that the various phases of it, the different elements of political party, might neutralize one another, and result in a harmony innocuous to the Sovereign power. If any one of them is unduly kept under pressure, it will find an opportunity to explode in some other direction, more dangerous to its opponents. Such has been the consequence of the present injudicious attempt to stifle this harmless *Brochure* of M. Le Comte de Montalembert. Had it been allowed to pass unobserved, most probably it would have only excited some criticism on its anti-Gallic tendencies, or some praise for the excellence of its construction ; but when an undue amount of influence is ascribed to it by the very party, which it seeks to condemn, it obtains a weight in proportion to the resistance given to it, draws attention to restrictions on liberty, which the French people might have otherwise passed over in silence, and rouses a slumbering indignation, which it will take years of artful treatment to allay.

So far the matter of this pamphlet is merely introductory, serving as a foundation for subsequent opinions. He next proceeds to consider, first, the causes and the fact of the fall of Lord Palmerston, and secondly, the Indian debate with the actors therein. It is quite evident, that the noble Lord, who was at the head of the late government, is no favourite with M. Le Comte. The principal reason seems to be, that he has always been one of the most strenuous supporters of the Imperial Government, and was the originator of the Anglo-French alliance, which bids fair to prevent any considerable change on the soil of Europe for many years to come. Certainly a minister was never thrown out of his seat of power for such a futile and groundless reason, or with less show of justice by the British public, than was the late premier. In consequence of an atrocious attempt on his life and that of his consort, the Emperor makes a request couched certainly in strong terms, but grounded upon the very amicable relations, which had been for several years subsisting between the two people, that assassins and murderers should not be sheltered and fostered within the realm, and under the shield of the laws of Great Britain. The French had poured

out their blood upon the same plains and in the same cause, as the English, their indignation was naturally roused to the highest pitch by the nefarious nature of the crime, and by the excessive danger, which not only their sovereign had passed through, but which had menaced to throw them back into anarchy and revolution. All this is taken no account of by England, the ties of friendship and alliance are forgotten ; instead of making allowance for an excited state of feeling, the request is rudely flung back by ejecting the minister, who had not returned an answer of defiance within twenty-four hours. The question was not one of the right of asylum, it was simply that of the harbouring of murderers, but for the sake of party purposes, this was all overlooked, the alliance of years disregarded, and a new element of discord sown between the two nations. A more impolitic, and it must be said a more ungenerous course of conduct, could not be pursued by one great people towards another.

The fall of Lord Palmerston was not due to this cause alone, or to the influence of party opposition. His own friends and adherents had for some time been growing arrogant and self-confident of their hold on power ; many of them considered themselves independent of their leader, and the chief himself found it very difficult to regulate their action, or to retain them obedient under his sway. He too became somewhat vain of his position, and from the flattery of the liberal press, the triumphant issue of the Crimean war, and the general easy aspect of governmental affairs in the kingdom, considered his lease of office almost as a perpetuity, at least such as would give him high position for the greater part of his remaining days. These causes roused a spirit of independent freethinking among many of his followers, especially those inclined to radicalism or the Manchester school. They conceived that a good and safe opportunity had arrived for showing their strength to the head of the liberals, and in an unguarded moment they shipwrecked their own hopes of advancement, by helping to thrust out of the cabinet the only man, from whom they could expect an amalgamation of parties.

No sooner however were the ministry out, than their partizans saw the mistake they had made, and sought the earliest opportunity for rectifying their error. This did not present itself until two months later when the famous pro-

clamation of Lord Canning to the population of Oude, and the dispatch of Lord Ellenborough condemning it, were brought before the House. Here two questions were raised, whether the proclamation condemning almost the entire territory of the revolted country to confiscation was to be upheld, and the dispatch withdrawn : and whether the Derby ministry as a body were not implicated in the act of Lord Ellenborough, who condemned Lord Canning before he had been heard in defence, and transgressed the rules of official propriety, by publishing the dispatch so condemning him. The first was adroitly evaded by the opposition, who wished to pass a vote of censure on the cabinet for an act of their colleague, who with manly boldness resigned, choosing rather to give up his place and emoluments, acknowledging his error, than draw down ruin on his party. The ministerialists supported the broad ground of the impolicy of confiscation, and a battle of sections ensued. Opinions were divided among the different small schools, while the mass of the liberals were still split up into independent thinkers, who had not yet learned the value of holding together under a leader to defeat an antagonist. Lord Palmerston perceived that they were impracticable and abandoned his position, withdrawing his shattered forces, in consequence of the defection of some of his adherents.

Montalembert in treating of the way in which this debate was got up and conducted, shews how much the peculiarities of English manners struck upon his mind. After Lord Derby had obtained a majority in the House of Lords of merely nine votes, all sides were of opinion that he could not hold office for many days. The *Times*, that great organ of public opinion, perpetually grinding antiquated humdrum airs, but never prophetic ones, vaticinised that "before a week the Derby ministry will have ceased to exist." The strife of parties became hot and furious, in the press and in the House, but never exploded in indecent rancour or ill-feeling in private. Such was not the case in France, when questions of public moment were formerly made the subjects of party contest in the assemblies. M. Le Comte ascribes this difference between the two people to the fact, that in England all are of the same way of thinking at bottom, and consider a public fight only a fair warfare between factions. This however is not the true reason ;

the English are of a far different temperament from the French, pride themselves upon their coolness, calmness and impassiveness in conducting business, and when they leave the public arena cast aside all thought of strife or disagreement. Our Gallic neighbours, on the other hand, carry the animosity of party into their private relations, and hate one another cordially as political opponents.

The debate was carried on under the most admirable tactics on both sides ; in fact it may be cited as a reproach to the administration of public affairs in England, that the lives, liberties and property of many millions of men were hanging upon the decision of a party question. Sir Hugh Cairns, the Solicitor General, is praised by M. le Comte for the able speech, in which he reverted to the general topic of confiscation or not, and rated Mr. Vernon Smith for having withheld a letter of Lord Canning from Lord Ellenborough. Lord John Russell's adhesion to the opposition revived somewhat the debate in Lord Palmerston's favour, until the next day when Mr. Roebuck rose to support the dispatch. The vehement declamation and incongruous doctrine of this leader of radicalism seem to have struck the foreigner, as something very peculiar, and the tolerancy of the House in paying attention to him as something wonderful. Sir Robert Peel's personal and just remarks excited also his attention, chiefly because he alluded to the likelihood of a dissolution, and the impending danger to the Liberal party from the new elections. Here however lay one of the secret and most effectual causes of the final result of the debate. Captain Vivian moved the adjournment of the House during the Derby races, which was acceded to as usual, shewing that no matter how urgent or important are the public interests engaged, the English gentlemen composing the Commons have no idea of giving up their enjoyments of life. But during the interval they had leisure to consider the various consequences, which would arise from a defeat of the ministry. Many a poor and needy member looked forward with dread to the chances of presenting himself before his constituents with an empty purse, and perhaps a shattered political reputation. Dissatisfaction spread through the ranks of the opposition, many of whom were still wavering in their allegiance to their leader, not being sufficiently long out of office to gain a keen relish for its sweets.

As an episode Montalembert gives a description of the Derby, interesting from its peculiarities.

“It has been well said, that he who has not seen the Derby has not seen England; and for that reason people are less in the right who incessantly repeat, that an Englishman does not know how to amuse himself; or at least to amuse himself with spirit, and with order and decency at the same time. Whoever has seen 200,000, or 300,000 inhabitants of London, and its neighbourhood, assembled under a fine spring sun on the green slopes of Epsom Downs; whoever has wandered among all those equipages of every possible class, among these sheds, these bands of music, these open-air theatres, these tents with their fluttering streamers, this sea of bipeds and quadrupeds, returns home thoroughly convinced of the truth of two things generally but little received; first, the honest and communicative gaiety of the immense majority of the numerous throng; secondly, the great degree of equality which brings together, for this day at least, conditions of society usually the most distinct and apart from each other. Princes of the blood, and peers of most ancient pedigree, elbow grooms in the crowd and others of low degree, and even take part in the popular games, which occupy the irksome intervals between the races. Nowhere—not even among us in France—is seen a greater mingling of ranks; nowhere else too a gaiety, good humour and decency, resembling more the same qualities which distinguish in so honourable a manner our popular masses, when they abandon themselves to their periodical and official amusements. In the midst of this joyous and animated throng, one might believe oneself in France. But this illusion speedily vanishes, when one remarks the absence of everything like an official programme, of all interference on the part of the authorities. It is individual industry, which has done it all—announced everything, foreseen everything, regulated everything; the subscriptions collected to repay all expenses are spontaneous. A mere handful of policemen, without arms and lost as it were in the throng, reminds one of precautions taken against the interruption of order. By these features we instantly recognize England.

“On the way to Epsom, as during the preceding days, every conversation turned on the odd coincidence between Lord Derby’s political destiny and his luck as a racing man. As on the evening before, his name was on every lip; and in the issue of the race about to come off, people took pleasure in accepting an omen of his victory or defeat in the division to take place the day after. An opinion, rather generally credited, circulated to the effect, that the noble lord was far more solicitous for the success of his horse, than for that of his party. * * * * After some insignificant interludes the crowning race commences; twenty-four horses start together. How shall I paint the devouring anxiety, the tumultuous swaying to and fro of the crowd, the forward spring, the rustling of the hundred thousand persons, whose eyes and hearts are concentrated upon a single object? The disinterested stranger involuntarily recalled his *Virgil* to mind, and the immortal verses of the fifth book of the *Æneid*, which have familiarized every one of liberal education, and every cultivated mind,

with so many insignificant details for ever ennobled by the epic muse. The race, which was run over a space of three quarters of a league, lasted less than three minutes. For an instant, thanks to an inequality of the course, all the horses disappeared from the view of the spectators; when they again came in sight, the different chances of the rivals began to decide themselves. One moment more of devouring anxiety, a hundred thousand heads turned towards the winning-post. Fate has decided. It is not Lord Derby who has won. His famous horse is only second. The "blue ribband" escapes him; the cup has been won by the horse of a baronet unknown, who has realized at a stroke something like £40,000."

It is evident that near the commencement of this passage he seeks to draw a comparison between the quiet civil police of England, and the political guardians of the peace in France. The allusion however is carefully made, by no means strong, and leaves an impression, that the writer was apprehensive of entering too deeply into such a delicate subject. He ignores also completely the new body of *sergents de ville*, who have been introduced into the streets of Paris by the present ruler. The only difference between them and our own is twofold, that they wear a cocked hat and sword, which give them a less civic, and more military appearance, but more in accordance with the idea of force and order present to the minds of the French populace.

To return to the debate, which had been interrupted for the purpose of witnessing the national "olympics," as Lord Palmerston once called the Derby races. The newspapers had been strenuously writing up victory at one side, and defeat on the other. Never was the *Times* more at sea in its calculations, than on that occasion, simply because it was a matter to be foreseen, predicted, and not one in which public opinion could be followed. It attacked the ministry and the dispatch, with a virulence commensurate with the expectation that the former should be defeated by a considerable majority. Still there were signs of doubtful omen, Mr. Bright, speaking strongly in favour of the cabinet, and flinging in the face of Lord John Russell his vituperative language in the Durham letter. Here Montalembert has passed a curious eulogy upon a deceased Irish member, which sounds very strange and flat to our ears. He says: "Mr. Bright is a member of the quaker sect: he is brother-in-law of that Frederick Lucas, who, born in the same sect, became a Catholic, and in addition, the most energetic advocate of his new faith. Hardly had he entered the House

of Commons, when Lucas there took up a position beyond the reach of rivalry ; everything predicted in him an orator and party leader, who should equal, or perhaps surpass O'Connell ; a premature death left behind the remembrance, still vivid, of the invincible charms of his language, and of the energetic uprightness of his convictions." That Frederick Lucas was a man of talent may be conceded, but that he ever possessed the genius or eloquence of the great Repeal leader, is rather too much to assert. It is only one of these Gallic manners of talking of men, who happen to agree with, and perhaps happily express their own opinions. Lucas would never have got beyond his newspaper, even that was fast slipping from under him, as did that of Charles Gavan Duffy. They both attempted too high a range, and like the unlucky ærcnaut of old, only left their name upon the sea of troubles wherein they fell.

Sir James Graham's speech had certainly a great effect in deciding the issue. He began by declaring that the resignation of Lord Ellenborough was satisfaction enough for the mistake committed by him, in forwarding the obnoxious dispatch, at the same time condemning the confiscation system, and bringing forward the protest of Sir James Outram, who had been the former occupier and pacificator of Oude, when it was annexed under Lord Dalhousie. This produced a very powerful effect upon the House, so much so that the next day several of the opposition members requested Mr. Cardwell, the proposer of the resolution against the ministry, to withdraw it. Lord Palmerston, who saw how the wind lay and that his adherents were about to desert, chose rather to retreat with skill, than to suffer an ignominious defeat. The motion was withdrawn, and the cause of justice and good government triumphed.

Thus was the future fate of millions of inhabitants of a province of Hindostan decided, by the result of as skilful a series of party manœuvres, as was ever adopted on any petty question for harassing a ministry. The meetings of the Liberal party beforehand at Lord Palmerston's house, the appointing of proposers and seconders of the motion both in the Lords and Commons, the able speeches on both sides evading the main question and endeavouring to outwit their opponents—all this was brought to a happy conclusion by the intervention of the Derby day, and the time so

given to the Liberal and Independent members to consider the position in which they would be left in case of a defeat of ministers and a dissolution of Parliament. A more ridiculous cause for deciding a great question could not be assigned.

M. le Comte praises highly the tact of D'Israeli, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the manner in which he followed up the retreat of the discomfited forces of Lord Palmerston. He ascribed the success of the division to the action of the different independent sections of the House, who were too much actuated by fair policy and a love of justice to allow such a question to be decided by a mere party manœuvre. The leaders of the several liberal and radical independencies, Mr. Gladstone, Lord John Russell, Mr. Bright and Roebuck, congratulated the Commons and themselves on the issue, not foreseeing that this was the very thing D'Israeli aimed at, and their adhesion to the ministerial ranks was somewhat pledged by that line of conduct. Montalembert's impression from the whole debate seems to have been, that persuasion had worked its way by the mere force of speaking, and that the ministry gained by strength of argument. Lamentable shortsightedness of the foreigner, who knows not the ins and outs and tergiversations of English party politics! He left England with a very exalted notion of the freedom of speech used in the House and its effects on the members. The contrast with France seems to have struck him very forcibly, for he says :

“ While these reflections encompassed me, I quitted their great spectacle full of emotion, and contented, as ought to have been every man, who sees in a government something else besides an antechamber, and in a civilized people, something more than a flock of sheep, docilely indolent, to be fleeced and led forth to pasture, under the silent shadows of an enervated security. I felt myself more than ever attached to those liberal hopes, which have always animated, through the most regrettable phases of our history, the *élite* of honest men, whom neither disappointment nor defeat has ever bowed down, and who, even in exile or on the scaffold, have always preserved enough of patriotism to believe that France could, quite as well as England, endure the reign of right, light and liberty. Noble belief! well worthy to actuate the most painful sacrifice, and which, although betrayed by fortune, deserted by the crowd, and insulted by cowards, does not the less retain its invincible empire over proud souls and generous spirits. When I returned to France, I read in the leading organ of the clergy, and of the new alliance of the Throne and

the Altar, that all I had just seen and heard was 'a farce played with great display of scenery,' such as are often found in the history of deliberative assemblies. Happy country, thought I, and still more happy clergy, to whom such excellent information is given in such noble language."

That France might endure a little more liberty, especially in the affairs of the Press, than she does at present, may be fairly conceded, but that such a debate could have been enacted in the Chamber of Representatives under the Bourbon dynasty, is a physical impossibility. The genius and temper of the French people is of a different stamp, the influence of the Crown had too direct an effect upon the deliberations of the deputies. In Louis Philippe's time the Throne exercised too corrupt and coercive a supervision upon the votes to allow of any extensive freedom of speech or opinion. The writer of this will never forget a discussion at which he was present in the year 1841 in the Chamber of deputies, on the conduct of the Spanish authorities of the Pyrenees towards some inhabitants of the French valleys, who had broken out into marauding parties, and pillaged some of the villages beyond the frontier. M. Guizot, who at that time held the reins of power, got into the tribune, and leaning on his elbows like a schoolmaster, lectured his audience in the most perfect manner, and was listened to in the most undisturbed silence. The scene impressed the mind of the writer at the time, with the idea of a pedagogue laying down the law, chapter and verse, to his pupils, who received it without dissent or approbation. Surely this is not the deliberative liberty, which M. De Montalembert hints at as having formerly existed in Constitutional France. The passage above cited is one of those, which formed the subject of the recent prosecution in Paris; it is not strong, but it reminds one very much of some of these parts of Junius, which were made in former days in England the grounds of indictment against the Morning Advertiser. At that time it was not considered unconstitutional for the crown to proceed against a newspaper containing matter which cast aspersions on the head of the state, and brought the government into disrepute. It is idle to say, that such a power should not be conceded to the supreme authority in every nation; it is another question whether in the case of M. De Montalembert, it was judicious or not to exercise it.

Having finished his description of the debate, M. le Comte proceeds to eulogize many of the institutions and peculiar manners of England. That of the capability of every citizen to complain against any official personage for grievances, whether real or fancied, he looks upon as something peculiar. He says it is, "a guarantee of British liberty, of enormous importance and but too little known, which contrasts with that inviolability of the pettiest officials of France, created by the constitution of year VIII, which people were simple enough, even under the constitutional *régime*, to place among the Conquests of 1789." Certainly there cannot be a greater cause of complaint among the inhabitants of a free country, than that the very people, whom by their public voice they place over themselves to manage either the magistrature or the affairs of the state, should be those from whom they receive the least civility, and that no redress can be had against the many petty acts of injustice of which they may be capable. The great remedy for such an evil exists in England in the Press, which may be brought to bear at any moment upon the offender, and show him up to public indignation. In France such a tribunal of opinion is not heard or dreamt of; there is no satisfaction for injuries done, except by some round about ordeal, which completely fails in its effect. The constant dread in which our employés are kept of their actions and dealings being exposed, is one of the greatest safeguards we possess, for the inviolability of the constitutional liberties.

M. de Montalambert rejoices in the defeat of Lord Palmerston, evidently on account of the foreign policy of that minister, and the support which he gave to the present ruling power in France. He congratulates himself also on the discomfiture which the *Times*, an overgrown organ of manysided views, received by the unexpected issue of the debate. The check given to this "immense engine of publicity" restored the "equilibrium of constitutional powers," and demonstrated the superiority held by the House of Commons over the Press in ruling public opinion. All the efforts of that journal were vain, to bring back its favorite premier, against the sense of justice and honesty residing in the bosoms of the representatives of the people. He attributes the great force of our form of government to the influence of the middle classes, who really rule the state

through those permitted to hold the reins, not quarrelling with the aristocracy on account of their birth, or the rich man on account of his riches. He says the middle class "willingly consents that that the aristocracy by birth, which for ages, is recruited from its ranks, shall represent at home and abroad the public authority and the national grandeur, just as a powerful sovereign, reposing in the tranquil and simple majesty of his power, willingly leaves to great men and lords the care of displaying the pomp of distant embassies, and obtaining the honours of onerous missions." This is but a portion of a more general idea, which he announces elsewhere, in his Essay on the Political Future of England, that there exists a come-and-go movement between the people and the peerage, by which the latter attracts all the notabilities of the nation, in law, in arms, in diplomacy, &c., and sends back its collateral branches to form connections with those beneath them in the scale of society. The nobility of the present day owe their principal influence in the community, to the care which they take to cultivate popular connexions, mix themselves in popular questions, sympathise with the lower classes, and very often take the lead in subjects of public interest or improvement. What ruined the ancient *noblesse* in France before the first revolution was its overweening pride and exclusiveness, its *insouciance* for the rights of those beneath them, its claims of exemption from many burthens cast upon the lower ranks, and the contempt it shewed for anything *roturier*. Such feelings are now happily nearly extinct, but such a consummation has been brought about by the almost total destruction of family property.

No considerable opposition to the influence of the nobility in England has been shewn since the days of Wat Tyler and Jack Cade. Two reasons have mainly contributed to this ; one arises from their exercising the general right of thought and speech, mixing in parliamentary government, and consulting the interests of the people, like any other constituent part of the commonwealth. The second resides in the influence of property preserved to them by the laws which allowed entails and family settlements, and preserved them from the consequences of confiscation by the crown. On this latter account there were found among the ranks of the parliamentary leaders, in the time of the civil war,

almost as many of the aristocracy, as on the side of the Royalists. As a contrast to this the law of "*morcellement*" or parcelling out estates among children, introduced into France by the Code Napoleon, has had a beneficial effect in beating down the power of the nobility, but it has done away altogether with a salutary check, which might have been used against the too democratic tendencies of the population. The crown is perfectly helpless, when left by itself to battle against the encroachments of revolutionary opinions, a counterpoise would be required in the influence of a large landed proprietary and titled families, who should have a large stake in the preservation of settled government.

There exists however in England a very grievous evil, threatening at some future time to wear out the machine of self-government, and crumble into ruins the whole edifice of the state. This is the increasing growth of pauperism, the mass of immense wealth to be compared with it, and the clashing of the two in the community. The amassing of riches and property to a very large amount induces a feeling of confidence and security, which leaves the party possessing them open to the insidious designs of those having an interest to dispossess them. On the other hand, poverty and want produce discontent, commensurate with the contrast afforded by an opposite state of luxury. A great mass of our labouring population, especially in large cities and manufacturing districts, are very easily roused by the cry of wages being too low, and that masters and landlords do not give sufficient value for the labour of the poor. The Poorhouse system has also become an overgrown grievance to the owners of estates, who are obliged in many cases to make use of harsh measures to check the spreading of the evil. The strictness of the rules of parish settlements presses very heavily upon the lower classes, and create a bad feeling between them and their superiors. All these causes operating together must in the end produce some movement, in which the working men will endeavour to overcome the too oppressive preponderance of wealth, and throw off the yoke of the millionaire. The only way, in which the progress of the evil can be checked, is by the government and entire country watching over the moral and material well-being of the working classes, and not allowing them to fall either into ignorance or indigence.

Montalembert considers that the military *prestige* of England is gone for ever, that the acquirements of her generals and officers are not equal to the exigencies of the age. The only ground for such opinions, is the fact, that she does not keep up such a large standing army as France, Austria, Russia, or even Prussia, and may be considered as only a third-rate power, in relation to the number of her soldiers. But what necessity could she have for maintaining such an immense body of men in arms. It is sufficient for her purposes, if there are enough of troops at home to recruit those, which are out on foreign service, and to keep up military knowledge in the minds of her officers. The actual force in time of peace, is but the nucleus of that which may be raised in time of war, but from this arises a serious consequence, that in the commencement of any campaign, from the rawness of the levies and the inexperience of the leaders, reverses are very much to be apprehended. Then M. Le Comte asserts that though her naval strength is very great, still that it may be yet equalled by that of France, as it was in the time of Louis XIV. and Louis XVI. Certainly the introduction of steam into ships of war will produce an enormous revolution in naval tactics, and dispense very much with the skill of sailors. But it cannot supply the hearts and hands of British seamen, who are in their element on the sea, and delight in a sea fight, while the Frenchman, no matter how much accustomed to the waves, never feels at home upon them, and curses the day he gave up the firm land for the unstable ocean.

There is so much lavish praise poured in the pages we are perusing, on the subject of the institutions of this country, that it is some relief to meet with a little censure, as a contrast. This is found in the antipathy aroused on the continent by the unsatisfactory manner of dealing in our political relations. M. le Comte treats of it in the following manner:—

“There exists, besides, against England, in the minds of many, a moral repulsion, which of itself alone, constitutes a serious danger. The English regard in the light of an honor, of a decoration, the abuse of that press which preaches fanaticism and despotism; but they would be far wrong in believing, that there exists against them in Europe, no antipathies other than those which they are right in considering an honor. Count de Maistre, whom they ought to reproach themselves with not knowing sufficiently well, who never saw England, but who divined it with the instincts of a genius, and ad-

mired it with the freedom of a great mind, has penned this judgment :
 ' Do not believe that I do not render full justice to the English, I admire their government, (without, however, believing, I do not say that it ought not, but that it cannot be transplanted elsewhere); I pay homage to their criminal law, their arts, their science, their public spirit, &c. ; but all that is spoiled in their external political life, by intolerable national prejudice, and by a pride without limit and without prudence, which is revolting to other nations, and prevents them from uniting for the good cause. Do you know the great difficulty of the extraordinary epoch (1803) at which we are living ? It is that the cause one loves is defended by the nation one does not love.'

" As for me, who love the nation almost as much as the cause which it defends, I regret that M. de Maistre is no longer living, to stigmatise with that anger of love, which rendered him so eloquent, the clumsy effrontery which British egoisme has manifested in the affair of the Isthmus of Suez, whose gates England would fain close against all the world ; although, prepared in advance, she holds the keys at Perim. He would have been quite as well worth hearing on the subject of the ridiculous susceptibility of a portion of the English Press, regarding the Russian coal depôt at Villafranca ; as if a nation which extends every day its maritime domination in every part of the world, and which occupies in the Mediterranean positions such as Malta, Gibraltar, and Corfu, could complain with a good grace that other peoples should endeavour to extend their commerce and navigation. On one side, then, the legitimate resentments, excited by the imprudent and illogical policy of England in her relations with other states ; on the other, the horror and spite with which the spectacle of her enduring and prosperous liberty fills servile souls, have created in Europe a common ground of animosity against her. It will be easy for any one, who may wish it, to turn to good account this animosity, and to profit by it, for the purpose of engaging England in some conflict, out of which she runs a great risk of issuing either vanquished or diminished."

He has here resumed two subjects, on which the ship of England's constitution may hereafter be wrecked. The selfishness of her external policy, which sets nearly every state in Europe against her, and will one day raise them all to crush her in her hour of need. Unfortunately, she has sought every means, right and wrong, to extend her trade and commerce, and amass wealth, even at the expense of those who, though weak, had been once her firm allies and friends. Witness the destruction of the fleet of Denmark by the great Nelson, because it might fall into the hands of the French, and be made use of by them for a descent upon the northern coasts ; then, the desertion of Portugal recently, and the winking at the illegitimate traffic in slaves to the French settlements ; and now, very

lately, she has abandoned the right of search, for which she had entered into a war with America in 1811, merely because to insist upon it may endanger her amicable relations with that continent, whose trade produces her the most considerable returns. As to her military power, or rather weakness, descanted upon by M. le Comte in the above passage, it is idle to suppose that she can ever expect to be rated as anything but third-rate in point of numbers. In fact, to keep up such an army as those maintained either by Austria or France, would be preposterous; it would only serve to create a national bankruptcy, and could not be for an hour tolerated by the British people; neither is there the same necessity for it with her as with them. The incoherent elements of the Austrian Empire could never be held together but by an overwhelming force. The army in France also serves to check open rebellion, and to draw off the most dangerous part of the community within the range of discipline and employment. With England her wooden walls are certainly her best defence, but, as in the case of Athens of old, the time may come when they will no longer be an impregnable bulwark. Carthage was once the most prominent naval power in the Mediterranean; her pavilion swept the seas without challenge or rival. The perseverance, however, and growing strength of Rome, enabled her soon to contest the prize with the Queen of Africa, and Carthage was crushed in the encounter; not one trace of her very existence remains, except the name. We do not mean to complete the comparison, but it is senseless to rely upon too great a feeling of security, or shut our eyes to the effects of the revolution carried out by the application of steam to the navies of Europe. Ships of war will soon become nothing more than floating batteries, requiring no peculiar skill or hardiness of sailors to work them; and then comes the danger of England—she is too rich a prize not to excite the avaricious longings either of the Northern Tartar or the Western Celt.

This desire for overpraising the institutions of this country seems to have been growing on Montalembert for some time—to have become in him a kind of passion. He indulged in it before, to a large extent, in his *Essay on the Political Future of England*, of the greater part of which

the present *brochure* is only a repetition; but he did not institute the same amount of comparison with France. On this account there are many instructive matters in the former, now omitted in the latter, to which it may be useful to draw the reader's attention. He notices an undercurrent of revolutionary spirit existing in the middle classes, shewn by a strong discontent at the commencement of the Crimean war against the incompetency of the administration, and in the columns of the radical newspapers. Criticism and depreciation of the aristocratic classes, and of the time-honored customs of the nobility, have become very common. Some have gone even so far as to denounce the House of Lords as a bore, and to hint that the crown possessing no real power in the community should be deposed from its rights altogether. Happily, those opinions are but of the very few, and directly opposed to the inclinations and common sense of the whole realm. They denote, however, a certain amount of discontent, which deserves to be taken notice of, and watched carefully so as not to allow it to corrupt the body politic. Then, the merchants of England have fallen of late into very great disrepute all over the world, on account of the gigantic frauds practised in their names upon unsuspecting individuals. Enormous bank and other failures have disclosed a system of carrying on trade, which makes it doubtful how much of the fabled wealth of the island is real, and how much based merely on credit or speculation, vanishing into thin air at the touch of the accurate investigator. It is impossible to say what amount of corruption exists under that cloak of riches and religion, business and bigotry, where one hand is distributing bibles or building churches, and the other thrust into the pockets of the widow or the orphan. All these symptoms of corruption and discontent shew that there is still a great deal of amelioration to be effected, and of humbug and hypocrisy to be guarded against.

On the subject of the spread of Catholicism in England, Montalembert has said nothing in his last production, but in his former there is a good deal of instructive matter. He shews how the true faith has been gaining ground there by degrees since Emancipation; how the Puseyite element has been growing in the University of Oxford, and has produced its fruits among the Protestant clergy, who are

every day approaching nearer and nearer to the observances of the Roman ritual; then, the animosity which has been aroused among the Protestants, and the sense of terror they feel at the falling off of many of their great lights; how, in order to prevent the influence of the Church of Rome from working too rapidly amongst them, they refused to receive, as nuncio from the Papal See, any ecclesiastical dignitary, and attempted in vain to carry out the bill brought in by Lord John Russell, in pursuance of his Durham Letter policy, for the prevention of the assumption of titles among the Catholic Hierarchy. All these he discusses with peculiar felicity, and without any ultramontane or sectarian views, ending with the following passage:—

“Alas! the Church is wanting to England and England to the Church. What would not the English, if they had remained true to the old faith, have done for it with their indefatigable activity, their indomitable energy, the propagandising influence of their commerce, their fleet, the munificence of their contributions, now so profusely given to error. . . . The most venerated institutions of England, her best and purest glories, are connected with Catholicism. Trial by jury, the Parliament, the Universities, date from the time when England was the submissive daughter of the Holy See. It was Catholic Barons got Magna Charta from King John—Irish Catholics contributed the principal strength of the English armies in the Peninsula and in the Crimea. Except Queen Elizabeth, the only surviving sovereigns, of whom the people have kept the memory, are Catholic kings—Alfred, Edward the Confessor, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, Edward III., Henry V. The cathedrals, the churches, the castles, all those ecclesiastical and feudal edifices—which was an English taste before it was ours, and which they preserve or restore with such pious care, are exclusively the work of Catholic generations.”

Every day shows more and more the insufficiency of the Established Church for the wants of the lower classes in England. All those rich livings, rectories and bishoprics, are only of use to those scions of the aristocracy or gentry, who get promoted to them, and leave the work of curing souls to unfortunate half paid curates. The solemn, hard, dry style of service adopted does not touch the heart of the common people or affect their imagination. Christianity should be not only a religion of belief and doctrine, but also of feeling, charity, and awe-inspiring observance. In France, among the educated classes, there exists a vast amount of infidelity and deism, or disregard altogether of the outward forms of religion, acknowledging indeed the actuality of the

Divinity, but avoiding all worship. In England the reverse is the case, it is the lower classes and some of the middle, who make no observance of religion, are plunged in complete ignorance of all faith, and act only according to their natural instincts of moral good. This is a species of Heathenism in the midst of Christianity, showing how insufficient is the teaching of the Establishment for the religious education of the masses. A servant girl in London being asked on a Sunday why she had not gone to Church, replied; "Law Sir, Church wasn't made for the likes of me"—meaning thereby, that one should have a carriage or fine dress to show oneself off, before he or she could have a right to appear before the fashionable congregation. There is nothing more striking in the worship in Catholic countries on the continent, than the mixture of poor and rich, kneeling near one another under the lofty venerable aisles to worship the most High. Such a contrast is never seen in this country; it would outrage the aristocratic notions of the upper classes, and the lower portion of the community would find itself altogether out of place.

It is abundantly evident, from many passages already cited, or others not brought forward, of this last publication of M. de Montalembert, that his object in writing was to depreciate in the eyes of Frenchmen, their present constitution and form of government, and to criticize, in many cases very strongly, several of the recent laws. Such a thing cannot be done in France, without exciting a great deal of public attention, and arousing many other kindred spirits, who might take occasion to propagate the same opinions. We must not judge in this country of the effect, which may be produced by such a publication, merely by the tame phlegmatic manner, in which a crowd of English artizans, labourers, or factorymen, may listen to a long and violent harangue. Speaking or writing has not the same influence upon them as upon the fiery volatile Frenchman, who one day may dance at the *jardin mabille*, and the next throw up barricades and fire on the troops from behind them. The Imperial Government, judging no doubt, that if such a style of composition were tolerated, the license of the press would very soon know no bounds, decided upon bringing M. le Comte before the Tribunal of Correctional Police, in order to put a stop to the evil in its inception. It must be conceded, that

the composition itself was not worthy of prosecution ; so far the authorities acted foolishly in ascribing to it too much weight. It would never have been much noticed, except by opposing journals, which might reply indignantly to the wholesale attacks on the French people contained in it. There was however a further object gained by the government, in instituting the prosecution before the court of *quasi* police magistrates, who are very subject to the control of the executive, and in treating the offence as one to be punished by the most ordinary tribunals, taking away thus much of the dignity and importance to be assigned to the accusation. This failed to a certain extent, on account of the great public excitement attending the trial, the high position of many persons, who were present at it, and above all by the advocacy of the celebrated Maitre Berryer lending all the effect of his imposing eloquence to the scene.

The charges made against the accused seem to us, so much accustomed to the exact statements of indictable offences, to be of a very general and vague character. "Exciting to hatred and contempt of the Emperor's Government"—"attacking the respect due to the laws, the rights of the Emperor under the constitution, and the principle of universal suffrage"—"endeavouring to excite the contempt and hatred of the citizens against each other"—appear to be accusations of such a wide compass, allowing so much latitude to the imagination of a judge, that they could never be tolerated in a court of justice in this country. They resemble however very much a species of crime, which was invented specially for the benefit of Ireland some ten years ago in the troubles of '48, when treason-felony, a constructive offence formerly unknown to the common or written law, was added to the Statute book. Several of our fellow countrymen were convicted under it, when the country was ripe for rebellion, and the minds of the common people aroused to an apprehension of civil troubles. It was then considered a wholesome and necessary enactment, notwithstanding that it violated the spirit of the British constitution, and all the preconceived rules of law on the subject. The French code seems to be nearly identical in its provisions, merely that it is more general in its terms, and must be kept in force at all times on account of the excitable character of the population. The application of it however may be very much

moderated, and the punishment mitigated, as occasion may require. From the nature of the charges made, it is quite plain, that it lay altogether with the judges on the meaning of the passages cited, whether they came within the law. No proof was required—M. de Montalembert having admitted the authorship. The Procureur Imperial, who opened the case, laboured very assiduously from English history to show, that the statements and conclusions in the *brochure* were not accurate, that they were an outrage and insult to the Institutions of France. The only portion of the report of the trial worthy of notice as given in the pamphlet, second at the head of this article, is the speech of M. Berryer, who both as friend and advocate appeared to support M. de Montalembert.

He commenced by identifying himself completely with the conduct and opinions of his client through his political career, a most dangerous ground for an advocate to take, for it does not exculpate his client, while it condemns himself. He said; “yes, in the midst of political terrors, we were fully united—we had the same feelings—to save society, but to save liberty likewise, and it is with the same motto, the same battle cry, that I am come here to repel an unjust, unfounded, imprudent, and ill-timed accusation: I was going to add—rash.” He next proceeds to draw a sketch with great eloquence of the past services of M. de Montalembert to his country.

“He was still young when France escaped from the sufferings and disgrace, which the three tyrannies of the Convention, the Directory, and the Empire, had inflicted on her, and was resting under a constitutional monarchy—a government strong and free. It was in the midst of this work, of this movement, of these jealous apprehensions, that the intelligence and conscience of M. de Montalembert developed themselves. Brought up in the traditions of a noble and Christian family, he felt himself from his youth called upon to defend the institutions, the principles, the liberties, for which France sacrificed and suffered so much; and soon, in obedience to these noble inspirations, he declared himself the defender, the friend, of the religious and political liberties of the country. Inconsistencies have been sought for in his words and in his writings. Ah! I, too, have my memory; he presented a noble spectacle in 1830; in the midst of the Chamber of Peers, this young man, hardly twenty, coming to justify his attempt to open a school of liberty at Paris. That does not constitute a passing remembrance; all were profoundly affected at hearing this young gentleman, of an old, liberal, and Catholic race, publicly making this profession of faith—‘Faith is not dead in every

heart; it is to that I gave early my heart and my life—the life of a man. To-day, especially, it is but little; but this little, joined to a great and holy cause, may grow greater with it. When a man has consecrated his future to such a cause, I have ever believed, and I still believe, that he should not fly from any of its consequences, any of its dangers.’ And who can say that since then he has once broken his word? Seventeen years later (the body of the magistracy would be truly ungrateful if it forgot it), he defended, in the tribune of the National Assembly, the principle of judicial irremovability. It was he again, in 1855, who energetically defended the liberty of the press, at a time when rigorous measures were called for against it after the commission of a great crime. Are you going to ask of a man, whose conduct and language were such, if on a solemn occasion, in presence of great questions, he has wished to have recourse to the daily puerile, and lying resources of the pen of a libeller and pamphleteer? No. It is with more dignity that, faithful to himself, he takes up subjects of this nature; he has seen the tribune fall, he has seen the press chained—yes, chained, that is the word. You said it yourself, adding that it was the wish of the country.”

Here the whole royalist breaks out, he recalls the constitutional liberties of France, which existed merely in name under the Bourbons, and hints strongly at the usurpation of the Emperor; another dangerous ground, most likely to injure his client. He next alludes to his visit to England, the impression made upon him by the debate on the Indian question, the regret he felt at the lost liberties of his country, and his indignation at some Catholic writers, who had attacked the English for their revengeful reprisals against the Sepoys. He denies then that there is any libel against France.—“But,” says the prosecution, “a direct attack is not in question—you know the ability of the language—the attack exists in the perpetual contrasts which you establish between the liberties of England, and the present condition of France;” and is about to repeat and endorse some of the expressions made use of when the president of the tribunal interrupts him, and reminds him of the oath he had taken, when called to the Bar in 1811, to respect the laws of France. Berryer then continues—“I remember my oath, but you make me shudder, M. le President; you carry back my thoughts to a time, when the praise of a good man, the approval of a virtue, of a good sentiment, of a good law, was not considered a crime. No, I do not wish to recall that period to my memory, “*legimus capitale fuisse.*”

This is certainly very bold, worthy of the character of the great advocate, but most injurious to the interests of his

client. He then endeavors to show, that Montalembert has always upheld the alliance between England and France, in order that the latter might gain something of the liberties of the former by contact with her; that he deplored the lost colonial greatness of the former, and tried to prove, that she was as capable of being free.

He next considered the question of the applicability of the laws of 1848 and 1849 under which the prosecution was instituted. They were passed at the commencement and during the progress of the last revolution, in order to protect the press and the government, but since that *regime* has passed away, the advocate argues that the laws are extinct. "The law of 1848 was enacted on the morrow of the days of June, at a time when, in seeking to quell excesses, it was sought also to guarantee free discussion, a free tribune, and free press; and do you believe, that the sentence which should be based to-day on such a law, would not excite in society universal stupefaction?"—In fact that because the Emperor had been chosen by the people, to hold the supreme dominion with a strong, dictatorial hand, the laws previously passed were to be of no avail. This is to uproot the very foundations of society in France, if at every change of government all the former decrees or statutes are *ipso facto* abrogated. He then applies himself to each of the passages, subject to accusation, in detail, the first of which compared the executive of the Empire to an "antechamber" full of flatterers, &c., whom he had known to exist under every rule, and had therefore become moderate in his opinions and in his support of monarchy. "I have seen these men, at the beginning of 1814, wish to monopolize Royalty; six months had not gone by, when they prostrated themselves at the threshold of the government of the Hundred Days. These are the men, who people antechambers, who are their chroniclers, and who are the curse of every *régime*. These are the men whom M. de Montalembert addresses, those who conspire against the dignity of our Church and against that of France." But it is notorious, that in the time of the monarchy, especially under the last branch of the Bourbons, there was more backstair influence and sycophancy made use of, than existed at any time under the new or old Empire. This argument is much keener against the cause of M. le Comte than for him.

The passages, in which France is said to be insulted, by stating, that she has allowed these institutions to be taken from her, which still exist in Canada, and that she is held in a condition of pupillage unworthy of her antecedents, he does not seek to palliate, but boldly asserts they are facts not to be gainsayed, and therefore not libellous. That they are so, might be easily contested, and that France has very much improved in her condition and constitution, since these colonies were separated from her, might be shewn without difficulty; therein however does not lie the point of the accusation, which applies only to the insult cast upon the government, the intent to make the people discontented, and the motive, to bring back their minds to the former rule and dynasty.

The third offence is that relating to the press, where he attacks the interference of the government, and calls it an official gag. This part of Berryer's speech is so characteristic, that it must be given in full.

"First, can M. de Montalembert be reproached with having recalled to mind, that in France, the journalist, the writer, the editor himself, ought never to divest himself of the salutary terror of a warning. In truth, gentlemen, I ask how can there be in that an offence? Warning is legal. The government may say at any moment to a writer, 'I warned you once, twice, and pay attention, the third time I suppress you, I annihilate your journal; the idea of your property in it will not stop me.' The warning is then salutary, which can prevent such a suppression; but in the eyes of a man, who knows the state of affairs,—and here I must give full expression to my thoughts, for in a judicial discussion one cannot speak with a double meaning, and in a low voice, as if one were in a sick room,—the official gag is something other than the legal warning; there is not a journal which has not, one day or another, received a visit from a gentleman in a black coat, possessing sometimes the exterior of a respectable man, who, sent in pursuance of an official order, comes to say to the editor, 'In such a trial you will not say this—in such a discussion you will not reply to such and such an attack, you will be so good as not to publish such or such a document.'

The President. You spoke a moment ago, M. Berryer, of the sick room; you deceived yourself, but now you think yourself in the tribune. You have forbidden yourself the mere thought of attacking the laws, and that is precisely what you are going to do.

M. Berryer. It is precisely what I was not going to do. For the official gag, which intervenes to prevent the journalist from venturing on dangerous ground, is not the legal warning; it is the official warning, the government warning, which although illegal ought to inspire salutary terror; and we may well be permitted, without

fearing to be accused of attacking the laws, to call that warning a gag. That does not constitute an attack against the law. It is at most only a censure passed on certain acts in the administration; a censure, which even in the terms of the laws which you invoke, is expressly authorised."

There certainly the advocate is right in the distinction he draws between the legal warning, an absolutely necessary check on the licentiousness of the press in France, and the police terror system, which prevents the discussion of all matters of a public nature clashing with the views of the Executive. The great utility of the press, as an engine of opinion, consists in the pressure it brings to bear upon officials, the detection by it of malpractices and incompetency, and its watchfulness in guarding public rights and liberties. All these are done away with by the command of authority; it becomes a mere chronicle of facts, often distorted and untrue, by the suppression of those most material for the elucidation of opinions and events. If the present Imperialism desires to preserve its popularity, its hold on the affections of the people, it must find out some method of allowing greater latitude to free discussion. It has nothing to fear from the advocates of the passed state of things, except that the people may become restive under a too absolute and coercive stretch of power or restraint of liberty. The day of the Bourbons is gone by; they can never regain the attachment of the middle or lower classes, who are too much wound up with the fate and fortunes of the reigning dynasty, and look up to it too much, as the creature of their own will, the product of their revolutionary ideas, to suffer for a moment that it should be cast down, or a substitute provided except by themselves.

The last heads of accusation are those relating to the attacks on universal suffrage, and the rights which the Emperor holds under the constitution. The first he deals with in a few words, by shewing that M. de Montalembert respected the right of universal suffrage, at the same time that he disapproved of many of the consequences following from it. The second, the most dangerous ground of all, he treats in a noble style, identifying himself with his client, attacking the conduct of the Emperor in the boldest manner, and advocating the cause of monarchy.

"The prosecution has recourse, in order to punish the pretended offence, to the laws of 1848 and 1849. Those laws had for object

to maintain the respect due to the trustees of public power in the terms of the constitution of 1848. This constitution has been violated. Have you any other laws? You accuse M. de Montalembert of having attacked the rights and the authority, which the Emperor holds under the actually existing constitution, and this by virtue of a law, which had for end to defend the constitution, which was violated in 1851. Is it by analogy, that you would wish to extend this penal provision to M. de Montalembert? But to proceed by analogy in the case of penal offences is unheard of and monstrous. The law of 1819 had for object, to punish attacks against the person of the King and the constitutional authority with which he is clothed. The law of 1825 modified this provision by protecting against attack the rights which the king held from hereditary birth. After the Revolution of 1830, it was felt that these provisions were no longer applicable, and on the 29th November of the same year, a new law, having for end, to protect the new rights of the Royalty of July, was voted by the Chambers. In 1848, the sovereignty passed into the hands of a single Assembly, and the law of the 11th of August, 1848, assured the respect due to Republican institutions. A few months afterwards the constitution of 1848, confided the executive power to a responsible president, and immediately the law of the 27th of July, 1849, offered its protection to the President of the Republic, such as it was defined to be by the republican constitution. Did anything similar take place on the day of the accession of the Empire? Where then is the law which protects the rights which are vested in the new Emperor? I do not know of such a law, and what signify to me the causes of such a blank? Is it not quite enough for me to declare its existence? Even if M. de Montalembert had attacked the rights attributed to the new Government, by the constitution which the Emperor has made, you cannot make use against him of the laws passed for the protection of the constitution, which the Emperor has violated. I have done, gentlemen, and it only remains for me to sum up, in a few words, what I should have said for the defence of M. de Montalembert. Swayed by the great memories which penetrated the soul of M. de Montalembert, I have sometimes yielded to all my emotions, and thus weakened the arguments for the defence; but I hope that you will not forget, that you will not for an instant lose sight, in the course of your deliberations, of the character and of the whole life of the man whom you are to judge. M. de Montalembert holding so elevated a rank, not only by birth, by the ineffaceable dignity of the Peerage, but still more and above all by his sentiments, his talents, and his soul, is not a libeller, a pamphleteer. He has obeyed a twofold inspiration,—he wished to express his regret for the liberties we have lost, and to protest energetically against self-styled religious writers calling themselves Catholics, who set at naught all the principles of religion, of humanity and honour, not fearing to insult England, and to applaud the massacres of Delhi and Cawnpore. In glorifying England M. de Montalembert has not committed any offence—this is admitted—and as for the contrast brought into relief by the incriminated article, between the institutions of the two countries, my client did not seek it—he found it.

To say that this contrast ought to cease, to wish and hope that it may, is not to insult France, but to honour her. As for the laws, which you invoke, they have been passed to defend the institutions, which M. de Montalembert defends and regrets. You would not wish then to apply them to him, and you cannot, since in penal accusations recourse is not had to analogy. Ah ! Gentlemen, do not regard as a crime our legitimate regrets. We are already far advanced in life, we have but a warmth which is passing away, allow us to die tranquil and faithful. We are sufficiently unfortunate in seeing our holy and glorious cause betrayed, vanquished, denied, insulted ; suffer us to believe, that we can preserve for it an inviolable attachment in the bottom of our hearts—suffer us to think so—suffer us to say so ! Allow us to preserve and to recall the remembrance of those great combats of eloquence which have made known to us, and have caused us to love, the generous institutions which we have defended, which we will always defend, and to which we will be faithful to our very last hour."

Here we have the gauntlet thrown down to the Imperial Government, not only on the part of M. de Montalembert by his advocate, but on M. Berryer's own part. For a lawyer to attack the existing laws, and thereby to exculpate his client, is absurd ; therefore it is quite plain, that the same intention was carried out in this speech as in the *Brochure* itself, to find fault with the institutions of France, and to direct the attention of the French people to the defects in them, amongst the rest the usurpation of the Emperor. That this is the speech of a Royalist, and on behalf of a Royalist, cannot for a moment be doubted, merely that the different phases of opinion of the two persons do not appear to be the same. One may be a Legitimist, the other a constitutional Royalist, but that both are opposed to the present form of Government in France, and so to the will of the people there, is abundantly evident. From the Constitution of the particular Court before which he was tried, it was very easy to predict from the first what would be the decision in the case. The article was prosecuted by the executive, as a mere newspaper effusion, and treated as such in the sentence.

When it first became known in this country that this *Brochure* was to be prosecuted, the press took the matter up very warmly, praised M. le Comte up to the skies, because he had flattered themselves, and glorified English affairs to the highest. The object of the publication was altogether lost sight of, the Imperial Government was at-

tacked for its want of liberality in suppressing the publication of opinion, and the accused sympathised with in every shape and form. But when Montalembert would not accept the pardon from the Emperor, ostensibly because it left behind a sort of temporal punishment hanging over his head, and thereby shewed that he hoped to enlist the sympathies also of the French people, and to cause an impression on the public mind abroad; then some of the English newspapers began to turn their backs upon the unfortunate writer, and to exclaim against the absurdity of contesting a point of etiquette or law with absolute power. The *Times*, which at first declared Montalembert to be "a sort of martyr in our cause," when it perceived the end of the publication, and that it was merely written for a Royalist purpose, and after the *Cour de Cassation* had refused to reverse the sentence except in part, then that mighty organ of public truth was obliged to admit, that M. le Comte had placed himself in a false position, had justly incurred the censure of the Imperial Government, and been fairly dealt with by it according to the laws. It would now appear that the conduct of the Executive in Paris has been straightforward in the case, that they have only made use of a prudential measure to give a general warning, to all persons desirous of having the present dynasty changed, that they will not suffer any attempt to raise a disturbance, or to make the people discontented with their rule. France requires a strong Government, prompt to act within the range of the law, more dictatorial than our own, because the people do not reason so much, nor wish to interfere so much in the administration of affairs. The peace of Europe depends on the security of the throne in France; is it to be endangered in order that a few Royalists may express their opinions without restraint.

As to M. de Montalembert himself, it must be admitted that he is nobly consistent to the opinions which he always expressed regarding the affairs both of church and state. Perhaps the best trait in his public character is his opposition to the spread of ultramontane or other bigotry into the hitherto liberally disciplined church of his country. One passage of his publication is eminently expressive of this feeling, and, as such, merits to be cited here. "For my own part—I say without circumlocution—I hold in

horror that orthodoxy which makes no account of justice or truth, of humanity or honour; and I am never tired of repeating the significant words, lately expressed by the Bishop of Rochelle:—‘Would it not be well to give to many Catholics a course of lectures on the virtues prescribed by the law of nature, on the respect due to one’s neighbour, on upright dealing even towards our enemies, on the spirit of equity and charity? The virtues of the natural order are essential, and from their exercise the church herself has not power to dispense.’” This is, no doubt, a strong hint to the writers in *l’Univers*, whose doctrines and sharp practice in ecclesiastical matters threaten to do more damage to the interests of the Roman Catholic church, not only in France, but over all Europe, than the influence of all the freethinkers. The political ideas of M de Montalembert cannot be approved of to the same extent, except in this, that he adheres to them manfully, and desires a constitutional government for his country. We are afraid, however, that this is very much mixed up with the return of the Bourbon race to the soil of France, a thing at present impossible according to all political prospects, and anything but desirable considering the revolutionary tendencies of the people. That unfortunate family has twice lost the throne through their own imbecility and weakness; they have learned nothing by adversity, they are completely unfit to govern such a warlike and excitable nation. The constitution which they did give the people at one time, was frequently found insufficient; Louis Philippe himself was obliged several times to resort to “coups d’etat” to master his difficulties, and finally tried an underhand process of corruption to maintain his hold on the sceptre. He might have held on much longer but for his vacillation of purpose, and his consciousness of having lost the affections of his subjects. Still there were some bright days under that effeminate government; there were some men, such as Montalembert and M. Berryer, respected, honoured, and allowed to announce their opinions. Hence we can understand the expression of regret which the able advocate so feelingly put forth both for his client and himself, and feel some sympathy for the consistent patriot and politician even though somewhat in the wrong. These men are in the same position as the Scotch Jacobites of the last century,

whose devoted adherence to a lost cause every one admired, but lamented that their talents were thrown away to such a useless purpose.

The publication of this *brochure*, the trial and speeches of the advocates, shew most forcibly the difference of public opinion and feeling in France and England. Any person in this country, who should undertake to write down almost every institution in it, would be looked upon as a pitiable "maniac," as M. le Comte has chosen to designate those of his own phase of opinion, whereas in France he is regarded as a dangerous theorist, playing with an edged weapon, which may prove destructive to himself and others. Again, if an advocate of our courts, especially of such standing as M. Berryer, dared to call in question the right of the sovereign to the throne in such an open undisguised manner, and to strike at the very foundation of the government, he would run a great risk of having his gown stripped from his back by the Lord Chancellor, and be incapacitated from further practice. In one of these cases there exists less liberty of discussion in France, because it threatens directly the public peace; in the other there is more license permitted, because free scope is given for every argument calculated to benefit or prejudice the accused. But with respect to public feeling, it cannot be doubted that very little sympathy exists among the great body of the French nation, for the upholders of what they designate a constitutional monarchy, on the model of English institutions. The Empire is their *beau idéal* of government, and the antipathy re-aroused by the insulting rejection of the Imperial dispatch of last year, has only served to increase their attachment to a rule, which has been always the antagonist of the British monopoly of trade, and the egotism of the British foreign policy.

ART. X.—HEALTHY MUSHROOMS.

1. *Checkmate, a Tale* : London : Bentley. 1858.
2. *The Coquette*, by Biddulph Warner : Dublin : William Robertson. 1858.
3. *Hills and Hollows* : London : Newby. 1858.

The great and good St. Francis of Sales, deep versed as he was in the science of souls, was but an indifferent adept in natural history. Yet it is probable that if ever the pure-minded and humble servant of God felt a temptation to vanity, it would arise from his quasi-respectable stock of information concerning the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Among passages breathing of heart-felt piety, profound theological science, and deep skill in the direction of souls, you will be surprised into a smile by some amusing mistake concerning the habits of animals or properties of plants, quoted from Pliny, Aristotle, or some lazy naturalist, who preferred hearsay to actual observation. One chapter is devoted to a parallel between mushrooms in the physical order, and amusements in the moral order (so to say); and as he probably knew as much about that shy and discreet production of nature as Dr. Goldsmith at all events, we do not scruple to make a quotation in order to help out our own design.

“I say of dances, *Philothea*, as Physicians say of *Mushromes*;* the best of them are nothing worth; yet if you will needs eat *Mushromes*, be sure they be well drest.—If you must go to a Ball, &c. Eat but seldom and little of *Mushromes* (say the Physicians); for be they never so well dressed, the quantity makes them poysonous.—Dance but little, and very seldom, &c. *Mushromes*, according to *Pliny*, being spongy and porous, easily draw infection to them; so that being near Serpents and Toads, they receive venom from them.—Masques, Dances, &c., attract the vices and sins of the time, &c. But above all, they say that after *Mushromes* we must drink wine;—and I say, that after dancing it is necessary to use good and holy meditations, &c.”

. Taking the liberty of classing Novel and Romance-reading with the dances and other amusements quoted from *Philothea*,

* Our quotations are from a scrubby little copy, printed in 1705; but by whom or where published the title-page does not condescend to say. The Italics and spelling are not ours.

we require the reader's respect for the admonition of the Saint, in the selections he makes at the circulating library, which since the days when George the Third was king, has become a kind of necessary evil.

Requesting the reader advanced in life, to recal how interested and engrossed he was, more than one time in his youth, even to the neglect or bad execution of necessary duties, by the perusal of an exciting work of fiction ; let him lay hand on heart, and say if indiscriminate and unrestrained novel reading can possibly be a healthy occupation for the young heart or the young understanding. If the book can be merely taken up to pass an unoccupied or weary hour during a journey, or after mental fatigue, and if the work is innocent of inculcating false doctrine or unsound morality, there is nothing to be said.

Compared with the corresponding class of literature in France, we may be said to possess a sound and healthy crop of fictitious literature, but still it requires the utmost care in the pulling up of weeds and noxious plants, before we can let our youth wander at will through the garden, and pluck up and eat at random.

Checkmate is a vigorously written and interesting book, and when read from beginning to end, of an edifying tendency. This we say advisedly, for if the reader leaves off in the middle, or with two-thirds of the number of pages accomplished, it will not be a bit more edifying than any other exciting story of the ordinary run. Indeed one particular incident may be fairly objected to, where a conscientious lady consents to use her influence in a manner directly the reverse of what her conscience approves, in order to save her scamp of a brother from an imminent danger.

It is probably the first production of the author. There is a surprising absence of decision in a war of wits between the good presiding genius and the evil character for the time. One is determined to gain his selfish object, the other equally determined to frustrate his designs ; yet each merely watches the other's motions, and seems as ignorant of what the next move may be, as of the quadrature of the circle. It reminded us how

“ Lord Chatham with his long sword drawn,
Was waiting for Sir Richard Strahan :
Sir Richard, eager to be at 'em,
Was waiting for the Earl of Chatham.”

In a later stage of the story, the person who represents the hero, and who has both penetration and resolution, has to perform two exploits, the second depending on the success of the first. He takes time enough for reflection on the connection of both, but when the first step is won, he is completely at fault as to how he may place his foot on the second, though character, fortune, and happiness are at stake.

Again, the chief incidents of the story are powerfully and spiritedly narrated, but the reader does not clearly see the natural connection of each with its predecessor: and he finds that after the good genius already mentioned has outraged her own conscience, engaging herself to do such and such things, she still remains with folded arms, and does——nothing. She acts with as much energy as *Box* or *Cox*, we forget which, who with the wish fathering the thought, and anxious to get a few minutes' sleep, hoped the rasher of bacon would considerably give itself a turn on the coals.

The work more resembles a number of scenes and situations with the connection and the disposing causes very slightly indicated, than a compact story.

The proofs do not seem corrected with the care which the merit of the work and the good appearance of the volume ought to require.

Whoever goes through the book, will not be at a loss to feel that the author is a Catholic; but there is no controversy, nor sketching of Protestants in Indian ink, or sepia, or bistre, nor any conversion,—these processes so dear to Mrs. Sherwood and Charlotte Elizabeth, as applied to Catholics. Whatever villany occurs is perpetrated by a Catholic who has discarded his early religious impressions. In the excellent novel of *Mount St Laurence* there is a fault in our eyes: among all the members of her Protestant family, there is scarcely an estimable character. Very probably there are Protestant families so circumstanced: would to God they had no counterparts among ourselves.

• • • • • “The Deil’s in Hell
And Dublin City;
That nigher he should come t’ oursel,
Is unco pity.”

Burns.

But a person in fault will bear a reproof from a relative or friend, which will only make him angry when coming from an indifferent person or a stranger. Our author is certainly

wrong in allowing the sincere and unselfish Julia Manners, a Protestant lady, to consent to a wrong line of conduct, even under the terrible circumstance alluded to.

In the opening of the work we have a graphic sketch of the family and home of a French nobleman, an Emigré, settled in the North of England. The early part of the day is spent by him in the dress and occupations of an English country gentleman: in the evening he resumes the tongue, and manners, and "garb of old Gaul." We suspect our author to have spent some of his life east of the *Manche*, from the spirit of many passages in his work. The daughter of this gentleman, *Lucy Deguseau*,* is the *Ingenue* of the story. *Julia Manners*, an elderly maid, cherishes her with the love of a mother. These, with the dissipated Lieutenant *Rawson*, *Julia's* half brother, and *Ernest Deguseau*, *Lucy's* cousin, who has forsaken his early devout practices, and squandered his property, make up the principal personages of the story.

The Count has lost his beloved wife, and a cloud has in consequence fallen on his daily life. We will here use our author's words.

"For some years his existence was very melancholy, until gradually his affections became absorbed in his daughter. As she grew up into youth and loveliness, he found himself imperceptibly weaned back to the world, engaged in its interests for her sake, bound to life by a fresh and natural tie.

We men are always clumsy at feminine descriptions: though we may sometimes succeed in drawing a caricature, a vindictive old maid, a managing mother, yet it must be some revolting monster, a 'campaignre,' or a *Becky Sharp*. Maidenhood, fresh, blue-eyed, laughing maidenhood,—anything really feminine, requiring quick sight, and delicate pencilling, is utterly beyond our reach, mere hevers of wood as we are.

If I tell the reader, that *Lucy Deguseau* was fresh-colored, had blueish eyes, a neither very long or well-formed nose, that she generally dressed in light-colored airy fabrics, and that her expression was bright and pleasing, I have given nearly all the information I possess. . . . The Misses Smyth of Smythgrove, said she was unformed, vulgar, had no manners whatever: how could she, with her fondness for poor people, and her disgusting habit of kissing their nasty children? The rich manufacturer's lady . . . had much pious commiseration for the poor little creature, brought up in Popish darkness; and took care to keep her supplied with the newest editions of the Rev. Ebenezer Glyde's remarks on the Bishop

* The compositor occasionally improves the name for the worse, by setting it down *de Guseau*.

of Rome and other improving publications. . . . Experience forces me to believe that even the most perfect feminine hearts are not always invulnerable to jealousy. Indeed there are moments when my judgment will ungallantly insist, that if a good looking young person be universally spoken ill of by her own dear friends and acquaintances, she must necessarily possess some very estimable qualities which would render it most desirable to love, win, or run away with her, as the case may be."

Our reader will hardly require to be told after reading the above extracts, that we have before us, a writer of an agreeable, lively, and observant turn. The under quoted will show that he has seen or heard of the disagreeable relations of dissipated, unprincipled young gentlemen and their victims of the various guilds of trade.

" 'Once for all you can't see him : he is not up yet.' 'I insist upon it, I must.' 'Tis as much as my place is worth to take your message at this hour.' 'Make way then, and I'll take it myself. Your place indeed ! We'll find your master a safe place enough, if he don't pay honest folk their own. Give way.' 'Can't you leave your note ! I'll deliver it when he comes down.' 'Leave my note !—leave my note indeed !' . . . said he, turning to the half dozen people who were waiting with him in the hall. 'Gentlemen he wants me to leave my note.' (*They make a rush, and Hawks the valet, slips on the door chain and addresses his besiegers.*) 'If you think gentlemen's doors are to be invaded by a set of greasy, beer swilling tinkers, the police shall teach you better manners.' . . . 'Here is the devil to pay,' said Hawks to his master : . . . 'they will force open the door.' . . . 'Nothing for it but a bold face,' said Deguseau decisively, after a moment's thought. 'Must let them in.' He pointed to the door, and re-entered his dressing room. (*Hawks ad victimas loquitur,*) 'A pretty din to make . . . you must be proud of your morning's work. May I enquire your worships' business ?' . . . 'Of course you couldn't guess,' said Bilton with a grin. 'Here, my fine fellow, take this note to your master, and tell him we'll none of us leave without an answer.' 'Go o' your own messages. You pay me no wages.' (*Now when the way is free, they dare not go up stairs, but depute Bilton to speak for them.*) 'Come in, you booby. Why don't you bring my boots ? I rang a dozen times.' Bilton opened the door. 'Here get some chocolate, and be smart about it.' . . . 'Ahem ! 'tis me,' said Bilton, timidly. . . . 'Ah Mr. Bilton, excuse me ! a thousand pardons. I thought it was my man. Pray take a chair. Have some breakfast. A cold morning. Perhaps you would prefer something better than this. I have capital brandy.' . . . 'Nothing for me, thank ye. Fact is : come on business : have a large family to support (*lays down his own and associates' bills*) . . . We are resolved to have our money.' 'And I assure you,' said Deguseau lolling back, 'none of you wish you may get it more sincerely than I.' . . . 'If you don't pay me freely, I'll have it the best way

I can.' (*An oath is here pretty freely implied, for which and other instances of bad language we censure the writer. Things unfit to be read aloud are unfit to be written, when the expression is liable to fall under the eyes of young and old.*) . . . 'I'll get out an execution, and sell the very shirt off your back, and (*an oath*) if you drive me to it I will.' . . . 'And your dividend out of the sale would amount to something like four-pence; . . . and if I be imprisoned, my uncle would not leave me six-pence, and your claim not be worth the paper it is written on. Pshaw! you can do nothing. . . . What right have you to come battering at my door? I might put you all in the tread-mill for storming my house.' 'I'm sorry about that, sir,' replied the man, with his head bent, fumbling at the leaf of his hat, 'we want our money—what are we to do?' 'I'll tell you what you, Bilton, must do,' continued Deguseau in a friendly tone, as he applied a light to the bowl of his meerschaum: 'I shall be married, let me see, somewhere about Christmas. Bring your account in February, and it shall be paid. . . . Meanwhile, here is five pounds, not on account, but as a kind of interest till then. Now you will go down and dismiss the people below.'"

That our author is successful in personal description, will be evident from the following passage:—

"This Miss Manners was a quiet lady-like person, slightly made, over the average height, and of that settled age when women give over all thoughts of marriage. In her youth she had been a belle, and was sought after . . . She had still remains of beauty; but her dark restless eyes and high, well developed forehead made the expression too hard, too intellectual to please in a woman. It was said she had suffered an early disappointment; . . . and an attentive observer would easily perceive that her life had been lived; that she had passed through some great trial, whose traces were still visible. When in repose, the face assumed a saddened interesting expression that tempted you to a prolonged gaze, until you turned abashed from those flashing eyes, sentinels that never slumbered, ever on the watch to baffle scrutiny, and guard their secret."

Apropos to the weak fondness she felt for her worthless half-brother, Lieutenant Rawson, we get this apostrophe.

"Old maidens—kind hearted old maidens, the most exemplary portion of the community! unselfish, miraculously patient, meekly enduring wrong and cruel ridicule, often from those for whom your pure lives are sacrificed, how understand your bizarre weakness for all sorts of bad characters! Is it a desire to reform the sinner, or simply a love of contrast that renders you so partial to all suffering from their own wickedness or folly? If Master Tom is sentenced to a whipping for robbing the garden, whose intercession does he seek? If Mr. Bob runs into debt, or away with a ballet girl, who goes to soothe his offended parents? O ye venerable sisters, ye maiden aunts! to obtain your sympathy and assistance, we only need be unworthy of either—ye domestic guardian angels, how little do we know your worth!"

Now for a bit of landscape word-painting.

"The rays of the morning sun absorbed in milky vapour, spread their light evenly over the landscape. It was one of these mornings peculiar to the North, no strong shadows, no bright prominent lights: all abrupt and rugged outlines were lost in a thin pearly glaze. The ladies were in capital spirits as they passed the park gates; so was our hero: fresh air was a luxury to him.

'Compare town to this!' he exclaimed, inhaling the frosty breeze. 'Now, Lucy, I understand your love for the country. See the sparkling glory of that hedge, the diamond drop glistening on each thorn! This bracing air makes one young again, Cockney that I was, to think the country dull! Ah! if in common gratitude we delayed our mad chase after the miserable vanities of the world to enjoy the wealth nature places at our feet, how much happier we should be!'

The religious element is only sparingly evident through the volume: we must, though limited for space, give room to a devotional gem.

"One extremity of this passage shone with rich colored light; a mere spot of color it seemed at a distance. On nearer approach, it resolved itself into a semicircular oratory built outwards from the walls of the house. . . . Pushing the curtains aside, . . . you raised your eyes. The walls were painted in deep blue, richly gilt, decorated with fleurs-de-lis and sacred monograms. A top light of stained glass shed around a solemn splendor; and there, pure, bright, and transparent as a sunlit cloud, a figure of the Virgin stood floating in the mellow light, her gentle hands outspread, the seraph head bent in lowly loveliness; it was breathing marble. For a moment your eyes fell with involuntary awe; for a moment it seemed, indeed, the very person, the ever blessed presence of her, before whose radiant holiness, even Gabriel—Gabriel the Archangel—knelt."

Probably some Protestant reader may think this smacks of idolatry; but let him not be frightened. In the course of a *tolerably* long life we have never met a genuine pagan, though we have questioned and catechised to some extent: so it is probable that the number is very small through the Christian world.

Readers who enjoy scenes where intense feeling or passion is exhibited, will find pabulum to their taste in this volume. Provocation to a duel by the smashing of a glass on a gentleman's forehead, introduces us to a fire-eating stage Irishman, enjoying the Welsh appellation of Morgan; and we have details of the miserable preparation of next morning calculated to disgust even a duellist by profession.

If the talented author comes again before the public, let

him by all means take the roomy suite of three volumes to develope his constructive powers: he will thereby make a more compact story than he can do in one. Let him give more space to scenes of humor which he can manage right well if so inclined. Our private opinion is that if a young lady with a vocation has a fond father advanced in life, she may without sin defer her vows till his decease; and as the general prejudice of novel readers naturally runs in favor of happy marriages, let us by all means have one in the next three volume novel.

The same fault applies to the *Coquette* as to *Checkmate*, as far as the want of a connecting medium is in question; but in the *Coquette* the relation of every part to the preceding one is seen without trouble. It has a resemblance in this respect to a comedy or domestic drama; and as the story is interesting, the characters varied, the scenes of humor, and passion, and feeling, and plotting, not few, we wonder that some play-wright has not taken the very little trouble it would give him to *mount* it for the stage, as they say in the Green Room.

But the author does not enjoy the name of Charles Dickens, Charles Reade, or Charles Mathews, and has not a London reputation. He is a mere warm-hearted, talented, and patriotic young Irish gentleman, rejoicing in the *yet* unrenowned name of Biddulph Warner, and must bide his time.

We have for *Dramatis Personæ* a brusque and benevolent Doctor, under whose cloak we think we recognise one who not only deserves well of his own circle, but of the country at large, by the efforts of his patriotic and benevolent pen; a large-hearted *Mrs MacAdam*, a broken-spirited, reduced barrister, and his amiable, affectionate daughter; the *Coquette* (a coquette in the worst sense of the word) and her mother, (daughter and mother worthy of each other), the ~~lover~~, a humorous jackeen of Dublin streets, *Lieutenant Galopade*, and the keeper of a very low lodging house, who knows everything and every body. Whoever wishes to inspect the structure of the web, in which the fortunes of these people cross and mingle with each other, may easily gratify their curiosity, as the book is well printed, on good paper, and very moderate in price.

We have registered a vow never to shock an author's nerves by exhibiting to himself or an indifferent public, the skeleton of the comely child of his brain and heart. So we will only present glimpses of the line which connects the rounded cheek to the delicate chin, or that which joins neck

and finely formed shoulder, the fair forehead defined by the waving hair, the straight nose, short upper lip or dimpled hand with its taper fingers. If the reader can set the whole symmetrical figure before his mind's eye from our partial sketches, as Dr. Owen would give you the whole animal by the help of a bone or two, let him gratify himself; he has our full permission and entire sympathy.

The characteristics of our author's powers are sprightliness, distinctive marking of character, facile command of language, dramatic spirit, and genial humor. We know not by what process, course of study, or intuition, he has been able to depict the two terrible *unprotected females*, who compose the dark portion of the picture; but his forte lies in pleasing sketches of genuine good nature in a husky envelope. True religion, in his view, must be strongly imbued with sympathy for our fellow mortals. Whatever makes us think proudly of ourselves, and despise or dislike our neighbour, may be what you will, but is not Religion.

Mrs MacAdam, the Lady Bountiful and good genius of the book, has been on her round of good offices to her poor neighbours. She *foregathers* with the newly imported rector, and finds him bestowing his hearty contempt on some vulgarians, who were not well up in the cosmogony or use of the globes. By the way, the young folk catechised are more ignorant of Scripture history than they need. *Mrs. MacAdam loquitur*.

“ ‘Here, boy’ (to a youth with an Ass and a Creel of Turf.) ‘Pr-r-r-ew! yes, my lady.’ ‘Is that good turf?’ Bedad is it, your ladyship never seen such turf.’ ‘What do you want for it? Stay, Mr. Absolute: what ought I give for this load of turf?’ ‘Load of turf! Why—a—really I have not the slightest conception. In fact I hardly ever saw any before.’ ‘Bless me! don’t you know how much a creel of turf’s worth? Why! every child here knows it.’ ‘They have heard it a hundred times. You seem amused, my good madam.’ And so she was, for the good old soul laughed, till the tears threw a haze over her spectacle glasses. ‘Well, well, well, oh, dear me!’ said she, wiping her spectacles, ‘how illiterate you must be, never to have heard the price of turf! don’t look shocked.’ You

* *Mrs. M^cAdam* allows English poor children to be better grounded in religious and secular knowledge than the same class in Ireland. If better acquainted with rural life in England, she would find the reverse to be the plain fact. As to submitting to oppression, commend us to the English man, who will not submit to hunger or nakedness with the same resignation as his Irish brother has so often done.

English don't understand our people. They have been accused of being insubordinate—the reason is, the Irish are almost the only people who won't submit to oppression. You may think their grievances light; but a man with a large family to support, and ten-pence a day to feed them with, is very easily oppressed. No! don't give that boy anything. He knows that if he wants any work, I'll get it for him: and he has no excuse for begging, since he is not ill. Even if he were, he would be taken care of."

Let the ladies decide on the truth of the following sketch of the *Coquette*.

"Adaline Marsden was a coquette, she was not a flirt. You may think the terms synonymous, they are not."

She was about five-and-twenty years of age, and under the middle height. She seemed even less tall than she really was, so perfectly proportioned and exquisitely modelled were her members. Her face, shaded by dark glossy hair, wore an expression of melancholy, which was heightened by the almost entire absence of color. But when excited, a slight flush would spread over her entire face and neck, suddenly appearing, to disappear as quickly.

Had she been very fair, this absence of color, together with the darkness of her hair, would have given a disagreeable palor to her features; but this was not the case, for though not a brunette, a slight olive tinge was perceptible. She had dark hazel eyes, and long dark lashes, which she generally *kept down*, so that when she raised them and looked at you, the effect was heightened. She spoke very little, but what she said was to the purpose, and she was an excellent listener. But then, so seldom, so very seldom, did she suggest an idea, that to talk to her required considerable ingenuity, and would have been rather a weary task, were it not that she encouraged you now and then with those soft liquid eyes. To *others* there was no apparent coquetry in her glance, but there was a light, which unobserved, hidden from the rest of the occupants of the room, fell on you for a moment, and sent the blood faster to your heart. *A dangerous young Lady!* you think so: so do I. With this fair creature Henry Leslie was in love.

"Adaline Marsden lived with her mother, who was a lady of weak nerves but strong principles; she was a great manœuverer, and managed with a small income, to live or appear to live well. She was a great patroness, and a small subscriber to charities innumerable. For a woman who looked on this world as a thing of no consequence, and its inhabitants generally as several degrees worse than those before the flood, it is truly astonishing what struggles she made for its good opinion. . . Tall, thin, and angular was Mrs. Marsden, with a hooked nose and a pair of black eyes. Her manner was sometimes so sweet that it was quite painful; partly because it was so palpably *put on*, and partly because on such occasions, she displayed her teeth in a very unpleasant manner."

Rev. Mr. Sadly is one of the aspirants to the hand of our coquette: we wish him a safe deliverance. He pays a visit, sits far

enough from his heart's object, drops his hat, stoops for it, and ends by scrutinising the pattern of the carpet.

"Mr. Sadly was a clever man as far as Greek and Latin went. He wrote a good sermon and read it well ; but alas he was shy, and could no more succeed in small talk than he could preach extempore. He was a good-hearted man and a wise one, except where worldly wisdom was concerned. He had a good property, was consequently a *catch*, and Adaline the silent talked in order to catch him. She did not wait to permit him to become embarrassed, . . . but said, looking up quietly, 'I have been thinking of a remark I heard made the other day, that we Irish are of Carthaginian origin. I longed to ask you about it. He said that the people inhabiting the Pays Basque near the Pyrenees speaking a language quite distinct from French or Spanish, one most difficult to acquire, are descended from the same source, and speak a kind of Irish : so much so, that an Irishman from the west can understand many of their words. Now do tell me all about it ; pray do, for I know you understand all these difficult questions. Indeed I am rather afraid of you ; people say you are so clever.' Here she looked at him in a half timid, half trustful manner, saw him redden with pleasure ; and as soon as she heard him 'hem,' a signal that he was about to launch deeply into the subject, took up her work, and began to think of something else, looking up encouragingly now and then, and asking the meaning of some difficult word."

To the work itself we refer for a most exquisite picture of the reduced gentleman, *Simon Denning*, despairing of comfort in his old age, and incapable of making any exertion towards acquiring independence. And if in the gallery of fiction, there be an amiable female character more finely imagined, or better drawn than *Mary Denning*, taking the size of the canvas into account, we have not met with it, that's all.

We go back to the country to scrape acquaintance with the parish priest who ruled conjointly with *Mrs. McAdam*.

"Father Murt did not look as if fasting injured him : his face was ruddy and expressive of unalterable good humor and philanthropy.

* * He loved his people and understood them, for he was the son of a farmer. He was by no means formed to shine in society : His rusty black clothes were generally more or less travel-stained ; he shaved twice a week, and his waistcoat exhibited frequent traces of snuff. He was deeply read. . . . Since the day Mr. Absolute had determined to shine in Ireland, a mighty bug-bear had loomed in the distance for him, and that bug-bear was a popish priest."

On coming into *Father Murt's* presence he feels the chivalrous energy experienced by St. George on meeting the dragon, while the dragon looks on him as a well-dressed, elegant-look-

ing rector with a handful of parishioners to look after. He receives the stranger cordially and presents his snuff-box, but *Mr. Absolute* smells the cheese baiting the Romish trap, and keeps a freezing distance. The priest is anxious that secular instruction should be in common between the Catholic and Protestant children of the school, and that their respective clergymen should give them separate religious instruction at convenient times; but *Mr. Absolute* will not agree, and much good is prevented.*

The scenes of passion, of antagonism, of pathos, must be sought in the book itself. *Mrs. McAdam* will, of course, endeavor to turn the eyes of *Young Waverley* from the heartless coquette to the true hearted and good *Mary Denning*. Our author has not listened as sharply as he ought to have done (not being to the manner born), to the peculiar phraseology of country lad or Dublin jackeen, or he would not allow them to say, "the man *as* has no music in his soul," or something similar. But we can't expect everything even in the world of imagination. May our author's health allow him to write as many volumes as Mr. G. P. R. James or Mrs. Charles Gore.

We suspect the author of the third book on our list to be a lady. She has given herself room to develop her plot and characters, and has consequently presented a more acceptable treat to the ordinary run of novel readers than Mr. Warner or the author of *Checkmate*. Though a considerable portion of the work relates to occurrences in London and Jersey, we guess our authoress to be a native of our isle from her evident sympathy with the people and the native gentry, and the very few mistakes that occur in the pronunciation and idiom of the peasantry. She is as sparing of conversions or of discussions as the author of *Checkmate*, though evidently of a sincerely religious spirit. Considered from the Catholic point of view, the work will probably do more good than if written with a controversial turn. She merely commends her faith by shewing its healthy effect on the personages of the story who are not ashamed of the Cross of CHRIST. The others are good or bad according as the exigencies of the tale require, and the reader is full as much interested about them. On one point she has very strong prejudices indeed. She will not admit into our

* Our author's imagery is preserved in this extract, but not the exact words, as space failed us.

graces under any circumstances, those regenerators who throw down whole villages, and send the poor, the naked, and the dying, out into the wintry day without shelter or resource, merely to have a wide extent of grazing land under their eyes. There are perhaps too many personages introduced, but they do not jostle each other out of the reader's memory, as much as in other works of the kind, and each is kept very distinct by delicate though decided touches of the pencil. Readers who are tired of striving to fix the outlines of the numerous landscapes in works of fiction in their minds, and to remember the peculiar grouping and hues of the clouds, when *Ada the houseless* sunk down exhausted on the heath, will feel much refreshed among these *Hills and Hollows*, for they are not even required to pass through a rustic gap in a hedge through the entire history, much less to keep on the mind's retina, the intersection of the outlines of distant hills, nor bear in mind how much of the valley side was encumbered with old thorns, nor where the tangled copse ceased, and the heath commenced.

We strove from beginning to end to tolerate *Donald* as the prefix to *O'Neil* in the appellation of our Irish gentleman, but with small success. We also felt some qualms at *Raymond O'Neil*, but with some exertions got over them. If the loving husband who left his amiable partner to make a fortune for her at the gold fields, without previously mentioning his purpose, had nothing for it on his return but to lament over her tomb, whom would he have to blame?

Nothing is more grateful to the gods and goddesses of the "Royal" or the "Queen's," when their nerves are wrung by a picture of family distress, than to see the respectable, heavy, old merchant or gentleman with his brown overcoat, cocked hat, breeches, shoe buckles and cane, enter at the centre of flat, walk down the stage, look pityingly on the distressed occupants of the garret, pull out his well-filled purse (of Counters), and change the woful spectacle to a scene of joy and gratitude. We find in the work under consideration, something of this kind, where we would prefer to see comfort and independence wrought out, with God's blessing, by the heads and hands of the vigorous young people about whose fortunes we are anxious. Now, with a hint to the corrector of the press that he has not thoroughly satisfied us, we make an end to fault finding.

We have no character from the ranks of the peasantry liv-

ing through the work, and amusing or interesting the reader. They merely form a group on occasions, and though their dialogue is characteristic and applicable, they do not help the plot much more than the chorus in *Antigone*, except that they have brought, and will still bring, in one or two scenes, tears to the eyes of those who can feel pity for misery and suffering. We defy any writer of the "Spasmodic" School to produce a more painfully interesting passage than that, where *Lady Hampton* flies from her Lord's house. What a delightful mist, confusing the boundaries of right and wrong, would not some of our literati raise between our eyes and the circumstances of this rash step, if *they* held the pen! but as here related, every thing is made to promote sound principles of moral conduct. The young hero is in a cockle-shell of a boat with two ladies; for one he feels the most earnest attachment, for the other high esteem and friendship. They are about being overset in a sudden squall; he can only save one at best—which shall it be? The account of the peril, and of the conduct of the personages, is most spiritedly given. The forte of our authoress however lies in pictures of social and family relations, in characteristic and lively dialogue and repartee, and in her delicately though firmly-tinted female portraits. Her gentlemen are respectably painted, but beside the living and breathing faces and figures of the ladies, they are only men of wood and canvass such as we find in studios.

While going through the volumes we were strongly reminded of *the Changeling* and *Canvassing*, by Miss Martin; but this lady loved to conduct her peasant or peasantess through her book, and amuse us with their native wit and idiomatic phrases, to dwell on the quiet or sublime features of a western landscape, or a little tempest in a tea-cup,—the small politics of a village coterie; and none could excel her in her felicitous way of presenting these things. We are disagreeably reminded by the mention of this lady's name, of one at least of our old Irish gentle families, who to save their poor dependants from starving during the awful years of famine, reduced themselves to poverty, and are now strangers to the old feudal homes, where they once ruled absolute in the affections and attachments of their devoted dependants.

The story begins with the marriage of two sisters, one to an elderly English nobleman, the other to an Irish gentleman. One consequently moves in the exclusive circle of the aristo-

crazy, the other rules her little Connaught kingdom, improves her dwelling, and its accompanying gardens, but is ignorant of the meaning of the word "Economy." The splendid misery experienced in the lordly palace, and the worldly reverses, and trials, and exertions of the Irish family, form the chief interest of the plot. The young *O'Neil* is everything that a patriotic, warm-hearted, young Irish gentleman, and a good son and a good Christian, should be. We might wonder how his sister should turn out so heartless and worthless, with such a father, mother, and brother, encircling her young life, were we not convinced by experience, of many a young person taking to vicious courses in the bosom of families where devotion and family affection formed the very atmosphere of their abodes.

Lady Hampton has a refined mind, pure literary taste, a keen sense of moral dignity as apart from religious influence, and pride is not wanting. *Mrs. O'Neil's* happiness is concentrated in the love of her gallant husband and her children. Then we have the rich *Leonora Eden*, sincere, independent, rash, seeking for religious light after receiving an infidel education; her delicately nurtured, sentimental, and false mamma; the old campaigner, *Mrs. Selwyn*, and other female personages, every one well worth the reader's acquaintance. We beg to introduce *Lady Hampton*. She finds no congeniality with her tastes in her stately, proud lord, and there is no one to understand her or converse with her on her artistic or literary favorite subjects, but a worthy early friend, *Mr. Ernest Bland*.

"It was when she found herself in solitude of mind once again, that Isabel Hampton experienced the loss of some friend to whom she could utter even the mere passing ideas suggested by books or contemplation. She was essentially a pure-minded but undisciplined woman. She thought and acted virtuously, and was refined from choice and habit of life; but religion was not her actuating principle, any more than was salvation her desired goal. She loathed doing all evil, but only did as much of good as was agreeable."

Mrs. Selwyn (the old soldier) is enlightening a peasant's wife in the country.

" 'You should never marry at all—you poor Irish,' remarked *Mrs. Selwyn* in a law-giving voice, 'filling the country with paupers. The English are not such fools.' 'Well, sure, 'tis no sin any how,' retorted the woman, nettled at the tone of the stranger. 'I'm tould them in England are quare enough—that's the poor sort; they don't trouble the priest often at any rate.' 'The priest!' echoed the lady

scornfully. 'They have none of your priests there: they are nice clean, clever people that go to church decorously, and never tell lies.' 'I'm sure your ladyship is right if you mane *the Quality*, or them that's got schooling and good feeding,' responded Nelly Flynn: 'but my husband's brother is living in Manchester these eight years, and he came over this Patrick's-tide with his two children to lave them with his father till they get some edication and religion. He tould us the eildher in them big towns is all as one as haythens.—Lord save us! and as for prayers, he says they never say any.' What an impudent woman! exclaimed Mrs. Selwyn, unable to defend her cause in that line: 'she contradicts me as if she knew how to read the *Times*.'"

They say the Devil keeps a hard service: so it appears does the genius that rules the high caste folk in London that have nothing to do—but mischief.

"The season had begun anew with its tyrannical enslavement of time, energy, and health. Existence was seemingly bestowed for the one engrossing aim of wasting it all in London! Day and night, the self-constituted minions worked on at the great tread-mill of fashionable toil; the rich and noble (men and women), for so-called pleasure; the artizans and needle women for bread—all consuming their lives in the pursuit. Lady Hampton followed in the perfumed, prosperous concourse, still escaping censure, and still indifferent to all."

Young *Grantley*, a precocious lordling yet in his teens, and his first cousin, *Raymond O'Neil*, become acquainted. Alas that there should be so much untimely depravity among young lordlings in London, and their example so closely imitated by the unhappy crowd of shop boys in the monster houses of Dublin, and the unthinking creatures they drag into ruin along with them!

"Although of the same age, Raymond was much stouter, more muscular, and high colored: his fine beaming countenance, full of sense and spirit, looked doubly so next Grantley's pale face and *blasé* expression. One was a manly boy, the other a boy man. . . . The boyman whistled up an Italian air, and touched up his locks at the pier-glass: Raymond was soon deep in a book of prints of the Peninsular war. . . . 'Shall we look up the general (their grand father) at his club, O'Neil?' asked Grantley (he liked surnames best, they sounded *mannish*), and he buttoned himself in his top coat. 'With all my heart. Why do you muffle—have you a cold?' 'No; but is this muffling? You are a hardy cove (*would a young nobleman use such a slangy expression?*): you Irish bear anything good or bad,' observed Grantley with a smile; he fancied O'Neil was a muff. 'We know what to bear, depend on it,' he answered coolly; 'it is rather good fun to pitch into a fellow when he is insolent.' 'I say, shall we try a sherry cobbler? it is killing cold,' returned the Viscount as they went out. 'I do not know what it is,'

said Raymond, 'it sounds funny.' 'I shall initiate you,' was the patronising reply, 'and shew you a pretty girl into the bargain.' The boy-man winked as he had seen others. 'I do not care a straw about your pretty girls,' retorted the manly country-bred boy contemptuously. 'I hate girls, they are so prim. Do you think I am such a *Miss Molly*?' The boy-man felt ashamed somehow and inferior too. 'You are a great big child, O'Neil,' he sneered: 'here we are.' . . . Lord Grantley had melted jelly and a biscuit, and then called for half a glass of *liqueur*. 'There's brandy in that,' suggested O'Neil with dislike. 'I should rather think there is. . . . Now for the cobbler:' he was pedantically knowing, he exhibited for the other's instruction. O'Neil tried it, and not feeling amused, nor caring for wine, he threw it by. . . . 'I wish I had you at Eton, old boy; they'd make a hare of you for your greenness.' 'Would they? they didn't at Oscott.' 'Oh! they are a slow set—all papists there.' 'I'll tell you what, my young lord: you may try your wit and your fashion on me to a certain point, and welcome; but if you were the Prince of Wales, and sneered at my religion, I would pummel you into a pancake.' He looked as if he could: the Viscount stammered an excuse. 'Have a cigar,' he added as they passed a shop. 'No, thank you,' replied Raymond smiling, 'I have no taste for aping big chaps; it does not amuse me.' 'What do you like then—marbles?' asked the other. 'No, I like riding, and shooting, and fishing, and reading, and music. Now you have all my pursuits,' said Raymond playfully: 'tell me yours if you have any.' 'I am tired of a good many things; but I like billiards and betting and horses best. . . . My governor keeps me cruelly tight every way; so I am always on the sly, and hard up!' 'Do you mean your master or your father?' asked Raymond."

We admit the following colloquy, as we know that a very large proportion of well educated and sincere Protestants are very far from approving of the proceedings here censured. Two peasants are conversing.

" 'Mr. Barlow is a good civil gentleman; he is a hard honest man. What do we want but that and a civil word? but them ladies of his is the mischief. They are ever and always stopping to lay down parables, and making little of themselves in every poor man's kitchen, pretending to be mighty free with us, but all the while as disdainful as you plase, afeard of the pig, and the gander, and the ebincough, and not letting their feet to the flure past their toes.' 'Yes, and then drawing down the religion, and puttending to read their foolish little stories, but always bringing in some *sliver* agin the priest or the Holy Catholic Church, and praising the jumpers. Faix, I'll keep them new turncoat preachers out of this village any how. Bad manners to them! it was the meal that brought them.'

" 'Tis thrue for you, Mick. 'Tis no fit thing to come into any man's house to offend him and his family, jibing about the Blessed Mother of God, and what we'd die for, and did evermore. I'd sooner lose the sight of my eyes, than listen to the impudent tormenting

talk of them mean jumpers. What brought such intruders into our parish at all? thank God we're not starving. Let them go to the big facthory towns and them mines under ground full of haythens. We had priests, and prayers, and patience enough without going to thim for it. If we hadn't the true faith, how could we come through the starvation time without plunder, and murdher, and every other villany? Didn't I see stout men wither away into *thrawnecans*, and their wives and babbies gasping for death th' other side of thim, 'till the hair grew out of their bodies; and they never laid a wet finger on sheep, nor cattle, nor corn, tho' the land was teeming with them.' 'Tisn't that same,' rejoined the other, 'but they never turned an angry face up to heaven, nor said, 'why was it,' nor begrudged them that had enough (and good *they* were about it), but took it all from the GREAT God, for they knew it was for their good, and that HIMSELF had suffered.' 'And why did we bear it?' asked Mick. 'Was it for fraid of the magistrates? no. What had we in jail, but better feeding than we had at home, and we waiting for death all the time? 'Twas because we had the rale thrue faith, and the hopes of heaven, and because it was the will of God. Arrah! do you think the English would sit down empty and hungry, and have beef and mutton in the next field?' 'And sure if the bread is only any way small or dear over in Manchester, arn't they rising like bees in a swarm, and smashing windies, and tearing away loafis from the bakers? It's long till they'd wait till the life dropped out of them, and then be ashamed to own they were empty. Oh! they ought to larn their own side first, before they'd be tazing the likes of us. I'm not saying a word again the rale ould ministhers that war in it formerly, that minded theirselves and *came honest* by their flocks, and had civil manners for the poorest in the parish, and kep a good house: them had every one's good will. But now whoever turns from our side, and puts on a white handkercher, is as good as a rale parson, and has no manners nayther. 'Twas poverty done it.'"

Being embarrassed with the number of passages worthy of being presented to the reader, we take the first at hand, and introduce *Mrs. Eden*, a widow of forty-three, with "wonderful hair unstained by one silvery streak, but with skin roughened by many beautifying applications."

"This lady's air was usually sentimental, although in moving about she indulged in gay little hops now and then, such as growing girls are seen to practise, when on some joyous expedition with an amiable governess who walks a trifle too fast. She idolised two or three delightful doctors and pathetic parsons, and 'worshipped genius' even in petticoats! *Mrs. Eden* insisted on calling herself 'Eve' (having been christened 'Sarah'), it was so tempting with 'Eden,' and she imagined herself the type of her too irresistible first mother. (*Mr. O'Neil is presented to her*). 'I am indeed most happy to behold him again' (*he had rescued herself and daughter from insult on a former occasion*), she uttered with affected rapture. 'Mr.

O'Neil, I only regret it did not occur in some woodland glade where the vesper hymn of birds falls sweetly on the ear; and that they were not real daring bandits that you put so boldly to flight. Fine fellows are those brave banditti, with their black beards, and plumed hats, and glittering daggers! I should like to be a bandit's bride dwelling in some forest cave, gorgeously attired—'In stolen goods,' added her daughter, contemptuously. 'You are too downright for your mother,' said Mr. Bland. 'She views things fancifully, poetically.' 'Yes, that is my bane: I am ever taking the graceful views; my feelings rule me: I am a slave to sensibility. I found a wounded pigeon yesterday in the park, and kept my maid up all night, nursing the dear dumb thing. It looks up into my face like an answering spirit; I am sure it has a human soul.' 'Your maid is very ill all day,' said Leonora, 'her cough is much worse. I would have put the useless pigeon out of pain, and allowed the sick maid to lie down in bed. I wish people had human souls for one another. Why didn't you sit up yourself?' "

No marriage-disposed young lady need lay the work aside for fear of finding all the heroines immured in convents towards the end of third volume. One only (and she not reared up in any belief) out of half-a-dozen, devotes herself and her property to the works of the Sisters of Charity. Our extracts are not from those parts of the work that interest the most by human interest, or evince the sound judgment, and deep-seated religious convictions and philanthropy of the writer. She has written another novel, *Blanche and her Betrothed*, and we hope that these are only the first of a score at least.

A fitting conclusion of this paper will be to give a list of unobjectionable works of modern fiction, as far as our experience goes, beginning with those known to be written by Catholic authors. Geraldine, Rome and the Abbey, by *Miss Agnew*; the Pope—Isidora the Neapolitan—Modern Society in Rome—the Alcazar, by *J. R. Beste*; Bertha, Florine, Queen Adelaide, the Robber Chief-tain, by *W. B. Maccabe*; Alban, the Forest, by *J. V. Huntingdon* ;*

* This gentleman conducts a Catholic periodical at Baltimore, U.S. His first work was "*Lady Alice or the New Una*," the scene being laid chiefly in Italy and England. The Catholic hero of the tale being in danger of death, declines the aid of his own clergymen, and becomes an Anglo-Catholic in a style that would for ever endear him to Dr. Pusey. The talented author had at the time the fearful example of poor Blanco White before his eyes, and might have known that when a Catholic pitches himself off the platform, he will not halt on the next step with the earnest, truth-seeking Anglicans: he tumbles down to the lowest level of Christianity, or rolls off into the outer void of unbelief. Before his next work, "*Alban*" was published, he had furnished a practical proof of the correctness of his views when writing "*Lady Alice*," by becoming a Catholic himself.

Shandy M'Guire, the Spas Wife, by *Rev. Mr. Boyce*; Ellea Middleton, Grantley Manor, Lady Bird, the Countess of Bonneval, by *Lady G. Fullarton*; the Mussulman, by *Dr. R. R. Madden*; John Bull and the Papists, by *Edgar*; the Tudor Sisters, Kate Devereux, Florence the Aspirant, Hidden Links, by *authors* whose names are as yet unknown to us; Mount St. Laurence, the Witch of Melton Hill, Margaret Danvers, Mary Star of the Sea, by *Mrs. Thompson*; Palmario, and Tales of an Arctic Voyager, by *R. P. Gillies*, whom we suppose to be a Catholic; Lizzie Maitland, edited by *Dr. Brownson*; Pauline Seward, by *Dr. J. D. Bryant*; all the novels by *Miss Kavanagh*, *Hendrik Conscience*, *Banim*, *Griffin*, and *Carleton*, the Nowlans, the Station, Tales of Ireland, and the Lough Derg Pilgrim excepted; generally, all the works published by *Burns* and *Lambert*, *Duffy*, *Dolman*, and *Richardson*, at the head of which stand *Fabiola*, *Callista*, *Antoine de Bonneval*, and *Alice Sherwin*. From the Italian we have *Marco Visconti*, by *Tomaso Grossi*; the *Betrothed Lovers*, by *Manzoni*; the *Nun of Monza*, and the *Convent and Harem*, by *Rossini*; this last translated by *Mme. Pisani (Mrs. Col. Gardiner)*, herself the authoress of the *Banker Lord*, and *Vandeleur*.

'The Citizen of Prague' from the German is an excellent story of the days of Maria Theresa.

The following works, mostly of an excellent character in their way, are from the pens of writers of high Anglican principles.

The Heir of Redcliffe, Heart's Ease, Daisy Chain, Little Duke, Lances of Linwood, Henrietta's Wish, Dynevor Terrace, by *Miss Yonge*; Ivors, Margaret Percival, the Earl's Daughter, Amy Herbert, Katharine Ashton, Cleve Hall, Experience of Life, Ursula, by *Miss Sewell*; the Fortunes of the Falconars, Sir Gervase Grey, King's Connel, Musgrave, by *Mrs. Gordon*; the Story of a Family, the Maiden Aunt, the Use of Sunshine, and Nina, by *Mrs. Smedley*; Eastbury, by *Miss Drury*; Dorothy, Still Waters, Uncle Ralph, by *Miss Colville*; Anschar, by *Mr. King*; Everley, the Owlet of Owlstone Edge, the Curate of Holy Cross, Mignonette, Lady Una and her Queendom, these last by anonymous writers. We have heard 'Emily Howard,' by *Mrs. Dunlop*, a story of Portugal, very well spoken of. Mrs. Gore, Mrs. Grey, Mrs. Burbury, and our countless Galaxy of novel writers,* will excuse our apparent neglect of them. A writer in Blackwood or some other periodical, once gave minute instructions as to the dressing of a cucumber: the process was intricate and long, but the final direction was to raise the window and throw out the delicacy untasted. We will not be so cruel to our article of cookery, merely requesting our friends, in the words of the Saint quoted above, 'to eat seldom and in small quantity.'

* A list of our chief female novelists will be found in the paper on *Delphine Gay*, in our NUMBER for last October.

QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF REFORMATORY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS, AND OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

In our last Record we referred to the establishment of the Cork Agricultural Reformatory, and in our present Record we are enabled to present to our readers the following most interesting Report of a visit to English and Continental Reformatories, by the President of the Cork Reformatory Committee :—

I have thought it desirable to lay before you a report of the visit which I have just paid to several Reformatory institutions in this country, in England and on the Continent, accompanied by Mr. Edmond Paul Townsend, of the Presentation order. I shall not in this, trouble you with arguments in favor of Reformatories, nor adduce statistics to prove their success. Of the necessity for such institutions I know that you are deeply convinced, and as to their success, it may be sufficient for me to state that in no instance have the conductors of those which I had the pleasure of visiting, ever thought of the possibility of failure. They may have had, and they have had, great difficulties to contend against and many troubles to overcome ; but in patience, firm resolve, entire devotion to their labour, and confidence in God, they have striven on, and conquered. In no one case have they failed ; they have all had their difficulties, and all have surmounted them. May we not hope, that with the Divine assistance, a similar success awaits our undertaking. We, too, shall have our trials, but we shall overcome them, if we earnestly use those means by which others have triumphed.

I shall then confine myself to a simple narrative of what we have seen, and a statement of any suggestions that may have occurred to Mr. Townsend or myself.

The first institution which we visited was the Female Reformatory at Golden Bridge, near Dublin. It is intended for females of all ages, selected from the several Convict Prisons, for whose maintenance 5s. per week are paid. It contains 40 inmates, all of whom appear to be under excellent discipline, and to perform their work diligently and cheerfully ; their sole employment, at present, except the house duties, is washing for private families in Dublin : at this they are fully occupied—a small sum out of their earnings is laid aside for each woman, to be given to her on her discharge. The establishment is managed by the Sisters of Mercy, and I had the pleasure of conversing for a short time with the Superioress, who appears to be eminently suited for the work she has in hand. Her manner, which is gentle and winning, yet evidences a decisive and energetic will, cannot but exercise a powerful influence on those whom she has to control, which in fact it does, as she told me she never finds much resistance to any thing that she wishes to have done. She shews the inmates in a calm and firm manner, that she is determined it should be done :—she takes great pain to convince them that what she directs is for their good, and she has thus gradually obtained so great a mastery

over them, that now, at the meeting which is held every evening for instruction and prayer, the women accuse themselves openly and before all, of any transgressions of the rules of which they may have been guilty during the day. At first this was difficult, they were apt to bring stories of one another—the result of prison habits. This she was resolved to suppress, and so mentioned the circumstance at instruction, saying that on the next occasion she would tell the fault, the person guilty of it, and her informant, but recommended, in order to avoid this, that each woman should confess her fault herself. This plan, however, effectually put a stop to tale-bearing, and now the women say to each other, if they notice any fault, “mind you tell that at instruction.” There is now no trouble with them, they observe the rules rigidly, and are anxious to give every proof that they are worthy to be given back to society. In many instances, indeed, it is necessary rather to encourage hope, than to enforce humility, so deeply are they impressed with their faults, and so desirous to retrieve them. The superioress said that she found the most rigid discipline, tempered by kindness, to be necessary. She recommended that new inmates should be brought in gradually, that they may be broken by those long in the Reformatory; for instance, on the day I visited, she was informed that there were ten women to be sent from the prisons; she requested that they may be sent in groups of five each, with a few week’s interval between. The buildings at present occupied are not sufficiently extensive for the number of inmates, nor were they originally intended for their present use, so that the arrangements cannot be said to be perfect. The grounds are unwallled and unguarded, but there is no attempt at escape. Every thing is perfectly orderly and clean, and I have no doubt, that when the suite of buildings, now in progress, shall have been completed, this institution will, under its excellent management, become a model for all such establishments.

We next visited Newgate and Mountjoy prisons, as they are both Reformatories, so far as prisons can be. They are conducted upon the separate system, the only plan by which a prisoner may be saved from the contamination of vice, although he may not be brought back to virtue. Newgate is an old structure, adapted, as far as it could be, to the cellular plan; it is occupied by females, and appears to be admirably managed. The Mountjoy Model Prison is a magnificent building; it contains 499 separate cells, and is so constructed that the entire prison lies under your eye at a glance. It contained 300 prisoners at the time of my visit, and although the discipline is necessarily most strict, and is rigorously enforced, there was not a single person confined in the punishment cells, a circumstance most creditable to its management.

This is the first prison to which convicts are sent, that they may be broken to discipline: they may be retained here for nine months, but seldom require to be kept so long. They are drafted from it to the several depots, such as Spike Island. It is impossible to over praise the admirable arrangements of this prison. Every thing appears to be attended to in the most careful manner, but however worthy of examination in many points, and suggestive of instruction, as it does

not immediately bear upon the subject that we have in view, I need not enter into further details. In these visits we were accompanied by Dr. Lentaigne, and Mr. J. Murray, and through Mountjoy prison by Mr. Netterville, its able governor, from each of whom we received the greatest kindness and attention.

Our next visit was paid to the Reformatory of Mount St. Bernard, in Leicestershire, within about six or seven miles of Loughboro'; it is by far the largest Reformatory in these countries. It contained at the time of my visit about 300 boys, of ages varying from 5 to 15 years. It has been established nearly four years, and its success is stated to be very satisfactory. The entire establishment is now in a transition state, most of the old building having been pulled down, and new ones in progress, but still quite unfinished; it would be therefore, unjust to form any conclusions from present arrangements, which are only temporary, and such as necessity compelled its managers to adopt; but when the projected plans will have been completed, it will possess all the means and appliances for carrying into effect the most perfect and effective system of training, both educational and industrial. A much larger number of boys were sent to the institution than had been at all anticipated, or than there had been time to make preparations for, and this occasioned the superiors the most serious embarrassment; so great, indeed, as to have made them all but despair. That is a feeling unknown to religious in the cause of charity. They labored and succeeded, and their success under such difficulties and embarrassments as they have had to encounter, is a lesson and an encouragement to all engaged in similar undertakings. Although the superiors are the Trappist monks whose abbey is about the eighth of a mile distant from the Reformatory, and both the lord Abbot and the Prior constantly visit the colony, its immediate management is confided to eight Brothers of the third order, who are assisted in the industrial education of the boys by several master tradesmen. The former are unpaid and wear the religious habit; the tradesmen are paid, but only a small sum, as the object is to get men who have a desire to engage themselves in this sort of life, and who do not embrace it for merely pecuniary consideration. The boys address their teachers, as they do one another, by the title of "brother." This is one of many expedients used to try and gain their confidence and affections, to which all the efforts of the superiors appear to be directed, and they seem to have succeeded wonderfully, for the boys address them in a frank, kind and fearless manner; affectionately, but by no means wanting in respect; and go through their work diligently and cheerfully. I was much struck with a young fellow about 14 years of age, who was working in the smith's forge, making a screw, and working as hard and as well at it, as if he were paid largely. I noticed his industry and skill to the brother superior who was with me. "Yes," said he, "he is now one of our very best boys, and promises to be an excellent and intelligent tradesman; his application is unceasing, and his name is inscribed on the Tablet of Honor for his uniform good conduct; yet that boy was at one time the terror of Yorkshire, as a pickpocket and burglar. We had a good deal of trouble with him at first, but he is completely changed, and I should have no hesitation to recommend

him to any one to-morrow. We have not had him three years." Another boy of about the same age he pointed out to me, as the model boy of the whole colony; the first in all that was good; who for two years past had not incurred a reprimand even for a breach of rules, who was looked up to and respected by his fellows, and held the highest position of confidence entrusted to a colonist. Still, that boy had suffered three or four convictions, his father was a robber and a drunkard, a man of the most infamous character; he mentioned his name, which, he said, had a bad notoriety. The poor child had been turned out upon the streets, by his bad father, to beg and steal, when upon his third or fourth committal he was transferred to Mount St. Bernard, and now is what I have described. Cheering facts these!

During work, meals and instruction, and also in the dormitories at night, strict silence is enjoined: but at recreation they are allowed perfect freedom, and they certainly enjoy it. The Brothers are always with them, by day and night, sharing even in their sports. They are gradually introducing military discipline, and have a tolerable band of drums and fifes; they get the boys to march in order and to go through some evolutions, but they evidently do not wish to be too rigid, they must keep the boys in good temper, and manage them by kindness. There is a large quantity of land, some 300 acres, in connection with the colony, and by far the largest number of boys are employed upon it. There are also taught tailoring, shoemaking, tin work, smiths' work, carpentering, clog making, joining, sawing, mason work, brick-laying, stocking weaving and book-binding. All the boys wear clogs, with leather uppers, and their week day dress is a blouse, just the same as the French peasant or labourer; they have besides a Sunday dress, which has the honorary distinction, such as Lieutenant, Sergeant, Corporal, to which they are entitled marked upon it. They have adopted the division into families, but do not carry it out very strictly; the boys sleep in large dormitories, each in a separate bed, and the superior sleeps in the same room with them. The clothes of the boys are taken from them each night, and placed in a press under the superior's bed. This is a precautionary measure, which I hope present circumstances alone render necessary, and which may soon be discontinued, for it is not in conformity with that confidence and trust which all their training and education should tend to inspire. A small sum is put aside out of their earnings, and bearing a proportion to *their* industry, not to *its* profit, which is funded for them until they are leaving the colony, or if they are very well conducted, and that the privilege of corresponding with their relatives or friends is awarded to them by their superiors, they are sometimes accorded to send a little out of their fund to a parent or near relation; but this is a great favor, and must be earned by distinguished good conduct. On the whole, we were greatly pleased with our visit to the colony of Mount St. Bernard, every part of which we examined most minutely, and received the fullest information and kindest attention both from the Father Prior and Brother Superior. I look forward to the time when it will bear comparison, as I am sure it will, with the noblest institutions of the Continent.

In order to close my report on the English institutions, I may now

depart from the order of time in which I made my visits, and speak of the two Reformatories at Hammersmith, near London, and the Home for outcast boys, Belvedere Crescent, near Hungerford bridge.

The Reformatory at Blythe house, Brook-green, Hammersmith, is superintended by five Monks of the order of Our Lady of Mercy; four of them are Belgians, from the house of St. Hubert, where they have a Reformatory, and one, the brother who accompanied us, an Irishman. This house was established in 1855, and they represent the results of their labors as satisfactory; so also have they been spoken of by the Press and from the Bench. The superiors are assisted by two trade masters, a shoemaker and a tailor. There were at my visit 78 inmates; there is no land attached, and the only training which the boys receive, besides literary education, is instruction in either of the two trades mentioned.

There is a large play-ground where the boys enjoy themselves very much. The arrangements of the house, &c., do not seem to be very suitable, and as they are about to remove to a larger place, with land, the superiors do not care to make any changes now. The dormitories are divided into separate cells, latticed all round, into which the boys are locked at night. This is a transplant from the prison system, with which I think it had much better have been left. The superiors, however, say that the boys with whom they have to deal are a very difficult class indeed, the experienced London pickpocket, and that they require precautions which with any others would not be needed. I can well believe this, for nearly all their boys are 14 or 16 years of age, and one can easily imagine how much of vice and craft boys of that age must become acquainted with in London. They all appear to be under great control, and look cheerful and contented. The family system is not adopted, but the boys' manners to their superiors is very affectionate. In this, as well as in Mount St. Bernard's, 7s. a week are paid by government for the support of each boy; the diet is very good; they get three meals a day, and meat is allowed four times a week.

The Female Reformatory at Hammersmith, managed by the Sisters of the Order of the Good Shepherd, is only an infant institution. They have at present but six inmates, who are very young, and the superiors desire to increase them gradually; they have made preparations for about twenty. All the arrangements are most admirable, exquisitely neat and orderly. The time of the children is occupied by literary instruction, vocal music, recreation, and needle work; there is ample ground attached, and I cannot but anticipate the greatest success from the labors of the good sisters. There is a house of refuge for female penitents in connexion with this establishment, which is excellently managed; the inmates are employed only in washing and domestic duties.

The Home for outcast boys at Belvedere Crescent, near Hungerford bridge (Surrey-side), is a most interesting institution. It is superintended by Mr. Driver, a man of great intelligence, and thoroughly devoted to his work. I do not know any place that affords stronger hopes or greater encouragement to those interested in Reformatories than this little Home, the success of which is undoubted. At first Mr.

Driver used to go out at night, and take the poor children out of door ways, from under arches of bridges, and such other "Tom all alones" as afford night shelter to the London outcast; but now, he says, he has come to be known, and that parents and benevolent persons bring children to him, who are taking to bad courses, or who picked up with bad companions, and whom they cannot control. Sometimes boys come to him of their own accord. He is all in all to them—the head of the family—the industrial teacher—the school-master—the religious and moral instructor—the companion and friend. In the evening the boys sit with himself, his wife and child; they work, read or write—they have evening prayer and instruction, and sometimes he accompanies their songs and choruses on the harmonium, which he plays with considerable skill. He has now twenty boys under his care, whom he treats quite as members of his family. I thought it probable that he would have had some Irish boys amongst them, and I asked him if he had; he had not. I was curious to know how that had arisen, "Well," said he, "I refuse them when they apply." I asked, "Why so?" "To say the truth," said he, "they generally are not 'first-raters' amongst us, though I had one Irish boy and he turned out very well; that is he" (pointing to a photograph of a boy in rags, one of many that hung round the room). "But my principal reason is, that they are Roman Catholics; and, though our teaching here is as little sectarian as is possible, we read our Bible and try to be Christians, still, I feel somehow, that whenever I may find it necessary to explain many portions of the sacred text, he may suspect and doubt me; he has been thought to believe what, I trust, is as true for him as what I believe is for me; he loves that belief, and I feel that, in this matter, I do not possess his full confidence, without which I cannot succeed. If I do not obtain the full and undoubting confidence of my boys, the power for good which I should have over them is lost. This is my experience, and I therefore prefer to have boys, as I easily can—as many as I can manage—with whom this difficulty does not exist."

Their only industrial employment is making band-boxes and ornamental card-boxes for soaps, perfumery, &c. The boys receive only their support and clothing, for their labor, and they work very hard for 12 hours a day. To some he gives 6s. a week wages, 5s. of which they pay him back for their support, and also leave the other shilling in his hands to purchase clothes. There is a large play ground attached, where the boys are obliged to exercise twice a day. They never go out; the door is on the latch, but for years past not one has attempted to desert. The object which Mr. Driver has, is to train the boys to habits of order and industry, to make them handy, to impress them with strong religious principles, and to educate them in the practices of a Christian life. After one or two years the boys are either taken into employment by gentlemen interested in the home, or assisted to emigrate to the colonies, Canada principally, from whence most gratifying letters have been received. Relapses, Mr. Driver assured me, were very, very rare. Is not the success of this little colony, in the very heart of dreadful London, full of promise, of hope, and of encouragement? In this we have proved how much even one earnest, intelligent man can do.

I shall now describe to you, as briefly as I can, our visit to Mettray, as you are aware of many of the details of that invaluable establishment. We spent two entire days there from morning till night, minutely inspected everything, and saw each detail of their every-day life, from getting up in the morning to going to bed at night, in actual operation. The colony is about four or five miles from Tours, and consists of ten separate houses, five at each side, and the church in the centre, closing the view. Each house is named after individuals or a locality that had largely contributed to its erection, such as *Maison de Courteilles*, the *Maison d'Ourches*, the *Maison de Tours*, &c., and is devoted to the use of a family. It contains three floors, the lower being used as a workshop, the first and second as refectories and dormitories. The number in each family vary—40 is the number assigned, but it ranges from that to 60. M. de Metz advised us in our arrangements, to limit our families to 25. "Do not," said he, "fall into the error which I did, in making my families too large; 25 is sufficiently large to give variety and not cause difficulty in its management." Besides the 10 houses at the colony, there are four large farm houses on the land, each of which is fitted up for 50 boys. The whole now consists of 700 boys, 500 being at the colony and 200 on the farm. They are superintended by 50 employés—who are engaged as *chefs de famille*, agriculturists, masters of trades, and literary teachers. There are, besides, the *sous-chefs*, pupils of the preparatory school, who are not paid, but who are supported and educated, and elder-brothers, who are selected from the colonists themselves, two for each family. The families are selected principally according to age, but upon this I was much struck by an observation of M. de Metz,—“In the formation of my families,” said he, “I endeavour to produce a moral chemistry, by bringing together opposite dispositions—mixing with the quick and lively people of this south, the less excitable youths from Brittany and Strasbourg, and thus check and calm them.”

There are 270 hectares (nearly 700 acres) of land attached to the colony; one-third of this is free, and for two-thirds a rent of 50 francs per hectare is paid. The entire is admirably farmed; the principal crops are grain, and green crops for the feeding of cattle, of which they have a very fine stock. They have also some vines, but not many; they endeavoured to promote the cultivation of the silkworm, but the climate was found to be too cold, and they have had to abandon it. Almost every trade is taught at the colony, and they manufacture the greater part of what they require for their own consumption; they grind their own corn, make their own bread, and manufacture nearly all their own clothing. The boys are comfortably dressed; each wears *sabots* and blouse, and in winter a short cloak, which of course they lay aside at work. In the washhouse, however, there are some women who assist, and the hospital and room for repairing the clothes, &c., are superintended by the Sisters of the Order of Our Lady of the Presentation. This assistance has not been found necessary at Buysselede, where the boys do all for themselves, and I think if it can be dispensed with, so much the better. Everything is done with military precision, and to sound of trumpet. They have a

nice band of eight brass instruments, on which they perform very well. The employment of their time each day in winter, is thus distributed: They rise at six, breakfast at half-past six, labor at seven, dinner at 12, recreation at half-past 12, labour at 1, instruction at half-past 5, supper at half-past 7, and prayers and bed at quarter past 8 o'clock—there is of course some change for summer, but not much. Before each employment, they are paraded in the court yard; at word of command the boys for agriculture or for each trade form in front, and to the sound of trumpet they march with perfect precision to their respective destinations—the discipline is perfect. I never shall forget being present when a family of the youngest children in the colony were going to bed—even in this they carried out their order and discipline. When the little fellows marched upstairs, they ranged themselves around the room, keeping up the military tramp. At the command, “a genoux,” each was in one instant on his knees, and from a corner of the room came a weak, tiny voice beginning, *Notre Pere, que es aux cieux*, the response of the fifty was spoken as if one voice, “Ainsi.” After prayer the order was given to arrange hammocks, which was done in three movements each at the same second; they now put off their clothes, as commanded, and hung them on the hook beside their hammock, and at the last order, all were in bed. This will give an idea of how everything is done.

I had the pleasure of two interviews with M. de Metz, who received Mr. Townsend and myself with the greatest kindness. He appears about 60 years of age, dark complexion and eyes, and of most prepossessing appearance and manner. He speaks with great fluency and singular eloquence, and displays the liveliest interest in his subject and a thorough mastery of it. The points upon which he principally advised me were the following:—

1. To commence with a small number, say 12—he thought that a good number, as it would not be too many to manage, and would be sufficiently numerous to prevent any feeling of solitude on the part of the boys.

2. To limit the number of the family to, say, 25. It was an error, he said, on his part to have his families so numerous as 50, with which he commenced—25 was more easily managed and gave sufficient variety.

3. In answer to a question of mine, as to whether it would be of much importance to take land either with or without buildings on it, he said, by all means, if you can, get your land without building. Any that you may get, you will have to alter, at perhaps considerable expense, and they will never be quite what you would wish; do not let stone walls make laws for you; make your own laws, and let the walls be obedient to them. The building may, of course, be as light and inexpensive as possible.

4. He was especially impressive in recommending the family system. I recommend it, he said, after an experience of 20 years, and if there be anything which this long experience has convinced me of, it is the excellence of the family system, especially with a small number, such as 25, which I now adopt, if it were in my power. The system of Mettray, said he, is embraced in three principles—religion for its

foundation, military discipline, and family culture—(*Le fondement religieux, la discipline militaire, le culture de famille.*)

5. He also spoke of the great advantages of the *Société Paternelle*, and of the desirableness of having some such organisation to patronize the boys and look after them, after they had left the Colony. He found it of great use to allow the boys to come back to the colony, when they may be out of employment, so that they may not be tempted to fall again into crime. I urged the usual argument, that this facility may have the effect of preventing the boys from making sufficient exertion for their own maintenance in the world, that they may be indifferent about employment. if they were always sure of a shelter, and that this may destroy their spirit of self-dependence. To this he answered, that he received back none but good boys, of whose conduct he was sure, and that he found, in fact, that no boy would return to the diet, the hard work and the rigid discipline of Mettray, who could get any employment outside. He did not allow the slightest wages to any boy so received back. He said that after his long and extended experience, he did not find that this rule, which he strongly recommended, produced the slightest ill effect upon the boy's characters, or injured their principles of self-reliance; on the contrary, said he, this feeling gives them confidence and prevents them from falling back into crime; it gives them as it were wings, which sustain them in their good intentions. In fine, he kindly said, that if difficulties should at any time arise, he would be most happy to answer any question, and afford me every information in his power. We left Mettray deeply impressed with the conviction of the success that must necessarily attend an institution, so beautifully conducted, and under such enlightened management. We were accompanied through the colony by M. Arnaud, head of the Preparatory School, and through the Farm by M. Warren, the sous-chef of the Agricultural Department, both of whom afforded us the fullest information.

The last Institution which we visited was the Reformatory at Ruysselede; it is within 4 miles of the station of Bloemendaal, between Ghent and Bruges. It is under the superintendence of M. Poll, assisted by eight employes and a chief superintendent; it is entirely supported by the Belgium Government, which allows 70 centimes a day for each boy; in Mettray 14 sous are paid by government.

The same system prevails here as at Mettray, but in consequence of the form of the building which the government bought and repaired, it is differently applied. The family system is fully recognised, but the children are not kept in separate houses. They sleep in four great dormitories, each containing 125 beds. They eat in the same refectory, and receive instruction in the same school-room; but they are divided into 8 families, each under its chief. The teachers here are also chefs de famille, and a considerable number of officers is thus spared. There is the same perfect military discipline as at Mettray. They have also a band which numbers 40 performers—they played several pieces for us, and played them excellently and with great precision. So well are the boys trained to music, that there is quite a contest for them amongst the different regiments, and M. Poll told

me that there are now in one of the regiments stationed in Bruges 12 of his boys in the band, and in another, 10.

There are 500 boys in the colony, and in a house situate at a short distance, 100 more, who are destined for the navy. They have a three-masted ship built by themselves, in front of the house ; it is surrounded by a large pond, and here the boys are exercised in naval tactics, and instructed in the technical terms in Flemish, French, and English. There is a vessel also at Mettray, but it is not much attended to, except in Summer, when the boys are exercised at it. In the parent house, the boys sleep in neat iron bedsteads, but in the naval establishment in hammocks, certainly the neatest, cleanest, and most orderly I ever saw. In fact, the perfect neatness and order that prevail in every part of Ruyselede, is beyond all praise. I did not think it possible that any establishment could have been kept in such condition, and everything is done by the boys themselves without any help. There are 250 hectores (about 600 acres) of land attached, for which no rent is paid, the government having given the entire plant, buildings, land, cattle and implements. It is all admirably farmed by the boys ; the stock of cattle is very fine, and they are excellently kept.

Pleased as we had been with Mettray, we were infinitely more delighted with Ruyselede ; the order, neatness and cleanliness that prevailed were quite unequalled, and we left it with the full conviction that of all the establishments we had seen, it was indeed the model. We were shown the entire colony by M. Poll, for whom we received the greatest kindness and attention.

The result of our visit has left the conviction on my mind, and what is of far greater importance, on that of my friend Mr. Townsend, that there is nothing to be feared in undertaking our work here. It is a serious responsibility, but it is one which we may accept without dread. It will be more expensive than we had anticipated, but we have no fear that the public will permit a good work to perish for want of funds. With then a firm resolve, a thorough earnestness of purpose, and an unbounded confidence in God's fostering aid and blessing, we joyfully and trustfully anticipate success.

This is a most admirable report, and in the passages referring to Mettray the writer, Mr. O'Shaughnessy, shows that he has fully caught the spirit of M. Demetz. An English friend, who knows M. Demetz thoroughly, and with whom he has conversed oftener, and more fully, than with any other in England, states, that he has heard M. Demetz "say the same things related by Mr. O'Shaughnessy, frequently."

There are, however, two points noted by Mr. O'Shaughnessy to which it is right we should draw attention. He refers to the "*Société Paternelle*" as a *Patronage* Society. This is not a patronage society, but it is the society which established Mettray, and it was founded by M. Demetz and M. de Courteilles in order that the sixty-sixth article of the Civil Code might no longer be a dead letter.

The second particular which we must note is that in which a reference is made to the numbers in each "family." We do not think that M. Demetz has made the numbers in each of his "families" *forty* through any mistake of his own. He has always told us that *he* would wish the number to be *twenty-five*, but that the smaller the number the more expensive is the maintenance of the "family;" and as he depends upon subscriptions for this maintenance he cannot increase the expense of his "families" beyond a certain point.

These are very small errors in the Report, and the promoters of the Cork Reformatory may well feel proud of their President, and of the noble example shown by them, and by their good city, to Ireland.

The Bristol Ragged School, on St. James's Back, is well known to most of our readers who are acquainted with Miss Carpenter's labors in the Reformatory cause. From the *Eleventh Annual Report*, that for 1857, we extract the following passages. The Committee of Council have given just £50 to this school, when from its requirements, and through its services, it should have received at least £150.

THE Managers of this School regret that in the twelfth year of its action and efficient operations they should be compelled to make a special appeal to all who take an interest in the cause for liberal pecuniary aid, not only to pay a large balance due to the Treasurer for the past year, but to insure the existence of the School in its present condition, one which they believe has never been exceeded, or even equalled in past years.

The cause of this most unexpected position of the pecuniary state of the School is as follows:—

It was stated in the last Report, that on June 2, 1856, the Committee of Council on Education passed a Minute in aid of "Ragged and Reformatory Schools," by which liberal assistance was offered, adapted to the needs of such Schools.

As Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, three of whom had in succession closely examined the School, had uniformly borne a high testimony to the Master and Mistress, and expressed great satisfaction with the efforts made to enforce obedience, cleanliness, and order in the School, and the result of those efforts on the children, the Managers proceeded at once to act on this Minute. They increased the salary of the Master, which they considered due to one who had for ten years zealously devoted himself to the School, and on whom its efficiency mainly depended; they engaged an Assistant Master, especially with the view of carrying on better the Industrial department of the School, on which the Committee of Council judiciously lay great stress, and of throwing regular help, which was greatly needed, into the Evening School; and they engaged as Assistants

in the Juvenile and Infant Schools two young women, who were desirous of preparing themselves to be Teachers, in the place of the two Pupil Teachers, whose discontinuance had been recommended by Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools. In his official report he says,—“ I think it a dangerous place for training Apprentices, especially when the Pupil Teachers reach a critical age ; *but I believe it to be as good as any Ragged School can be made.*” Such increase of staff necessarily involved considerably additional outlay, but it was calculated that this would be fully met by the increased aid promised by the Council.

But to the surprise and perplexity of the Committee, early in the present year, the following minute was added :—“ If the establishment has not been licensed by the Secretary of State, the following Certificate must be signed by two Justices of the Peace :—

“ We, the undersigned, being two of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for * * * * * have satisfied ourselves, through the Police, and by other means, that the young persons received into this establishment have either been *legally convicted of crime*, or have been *accustomed to begging and vagrancy, not having any home or settled place of abode, or proper guardianship, and having no lawful or visible means of subsistence.*”

It is evident that the Committee could not ask any Justice of the Peace to sign this Certificate. A Free Day School cannot maintain children who have “ no visible means of subsistence,” nor supply a home to those who have none ; and though many children have been received into the School who have been convicted of crime, if they have manifested a desire to change their course of life, yet it is evident that it cannot take the place of a Reformatory. And however deficient we may consider the parental care exercised over a large proportion of the children, we should not be prepared to ask Magistrates to declare that they have satisfied themselves “ that the children had no proper guardianship.”

Existing Minutes under which the St. James's Back School had received aid in former years, having now been cancelled as regarded Ragged Schools, the Committee were thus virtually excluded from any aid from the Parliamentary grants. After some correspondence, however, on the subject, Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, under the Minutes of June 2nd, 1856, Jelinger Symonds, Esq., Inspector of Union Schools, was sent to inspect that at St. James's Back. Though he reported that the School is under fair discipline, and containing the class of children contemplated by the Council, yet his report did not satisfy the Council of the general claims of the School to receive aid under the Minutes of June 2nd, 1856. Her Majesty's Inspector having requested that the grants might not be altogether withdrawn for the current year, a grant of £45 was made to the Infant department of the School, the mistress being certificated, together with £13 for the rent and Industrial Implements, but the Secretary of the Committee of Council thus wrote to the Managers :—“ The rest of the School *does not fulfil the conditions of any Minute now in force. It is neither a Feeding School for outcasts, nor an Elementary School of the common kind.* In order to prevent

misconception, I am to state expressly that if the School continues to be organized as at present, it will not receive any grant for the year ending April, 1858. The grants now allowed are not strictly regular, and will not be admitted as a precedent for others."

Under these circumstances the Committee immediately dismissed the Assistant Master, substituted an Assistant for the Infant School Mistress, and gave up the Evening School, placing the Industrial Afternoon School under the management of Mr. Andrews, thereby lessening the expenditure of the School, but greatly diminishing its usefulness.

Yet the Committee could not contemplate the diminution of the usefulness of the School, which must be the result of this unexpected withdrawal of pecuniary aid from the Committee of Council, without a strong effort to obtain some modification of existing arrangements, especially as they considered that the present position of the St. James's Back Ragged School involved a most important general principle, viz., that the benefit of education should be brought to bear on a large class of the population hitherto untouched by any other agency than Ragged Schools, and that these, carried on by a larger amount of voluntary, pecuniary, and personal effort than any other Schools, are entitled to a fair share of the Parliamentary Educational Grants. The Managers of this School had striven for nearly ten years to fulfil the conditions of the Minutes framed for Elementary Schools of the common kind. They had done so as fully as the peculiar nature and condition of the children permitted, and valuable testimony to this was borne by three successive Inspectors. But their utmost efforts had proved that those Minutes were utterly inapplicable to the Ragged Schools, which were now excluded from the new Minutes. It appeared a fit time to bring the whole subject before the Privy Council Educational Committee. A Memorial was therefore prepared, developing this principle. It was signed by every member of the Committee, and forwarded to the Managers of other Ragged Schools. It was signed by those of Liverpool, Manchester, Hull, Ipswich, Gloucester, and Cardiff. This Memorial was presented to the Lord President on the 4th of December, by a very influential deputation headed by Sir John Pakington, and supported by Lord Shaftesbury, with the Secretaries of the London Ragged School Union. The courteous and favourable manner in which the deputation was received, and the justice of our cause, give every hope that ere long arrangements may be made enabling such Schools to receive their fair share of aid. But the result cannot of course be as yet known, and the Committee must therefore strongly appeal to their friends and the public for the means of enabling them to carry on the School. The annual outlay for the Day and Evening Schools in an efficient state cannot be less than £300; the present subscriptions do not exceed £140; there will therefore be a deficiency of £160 on the current year, unless prompt and efficient aid be given; and the Managers do not feel that it would be right again to encounter a large adverse balance.

The nature and operations of the School are as follow:—The scholars are gathered from the lowest parts of Bristol. A portion

of them are simply extremely poor, and unable to pay for schooling, but the larger number are so low in habits and character, that when seen in their ordinary condition in the streets, it would appear almost impossible to bring them under good School training, yet when in the School they make such efforts to improve their condition, and are so orderly and attentive, that inexperienced visitors usually imagine that they must belong to a higher class. About 220 children are taught in the Day School, with an average attendance of from 70 to 90 in the Juvenile School, and from 80 to 100 in the Infant School. Of the nature of the instruction given the Committee can speak with satisfaction, from the reports of three successive Inspectors, as well as from their own personal knowledge and the observations of visitors.

The Industrial occupation of the Afternoon School forms a considerable item in the expenditure ; but it is a very important part of the education, as infusing both the ability and the will to work. The completeness with which these departments are conducted will be seen from the accounts of the respective Treasurers. Many of the children bring their dinners with them, and others are provided with them by a small payment during the winter months ; these remain in the play-ground in the interval between the Morning and Afternoon School, and are consequently withdrawn from the bad influences of the streets, from 9 a.m. till 4 p.m. Notwithstanding the very uncertain resources of the School, the Committee felt that a larger and more airy play-ground would be very important ; they therefore accepted the offer of the proprietor of the four adjoining houses to remove them, greatly enlarging the play-ground, and rendering the premises more complete, on an addition of £10 per annum to the rent. This alteration is a very great improvement, not only by giving more space, but by the withdrawal of continual annoyance and bad influence, arising from the tenants of the houses. There are also outhouses for bathing, washing, and wood chopping. The Evening School has been temporarily carried on at private expense, with the sanction of the Committee, and has considerable influence for good on a class of boys too old for the Day School. The Girls' Evening School has been discontinued for want of funds.

Such is a brief sketch of the general working of the School. Its actual results it is of course impossible to state, but it is certain that numbers are now useful, self-supporting members of society, who owe all to this School ; that numbers are thus brought under Christian influences who were living entirely cut off from the respectable portion of society ; and that when the children of any family have continued for some time in the School, a decided change is visible in their habits and character. In many cases where the elder children have been convicted delinquents, the younger ones, being kept at School, have turned out respectable members of society.

If our reader is a conventional "gentleman," or a fully developed, i. e. crinolined "lady," we advise him or her never to go near our honored friend, Miss Mary Carpenter. She will first of all make our lady or gentleman think himself so

small, and worthless, and will, secondly, shew him how much he could do if he liked, that he, unhappy mortal, can never again think of himself as he thought before. Mary Carpenter is not Martha, nor yet is she Mary, but she is what was best in each. Her's is an active, not "a cloistered virtue:" in the beautiful life of a Christian woman she shows all that a genuine Christian woman may, and can do ; and she may say, in the noble words of Jeremy Taylor to Lord Carbery—" My work here is not to please the speculative part of men, but to assist the penitent, to strengthen weak hands and feeble knees, having scarce any other possibilities left me of doing alms, or exercising that charity of which we shall be judged at dooms-day. It is enough for me to be an under-builder in the house of God, and I glory in the employment. I labor in the foundations ; and therefore the work needs no apology for being plain, so it be strong and well laid."

All our readers are fully acquainted with Miss Carpenter's School at Bristol, the Red Lodge Girls' Reformatory, and from the *Third Report*, that for 1857, we extract the following passages :—

The financial condition of the School is very good ; £300 have been vested from the year's income towards the eventual purchase of the premises. The whole outlay, including the alterations and furnishing of the adjoining Cottage, is only £831 1s. 6d. The average number of girls during the year is 56 ; the whole expense of each therefore is only £14 16s. 9d., and deducting the alterations and additional furniture which cannot fairly come under the year's expenditure, is only £13. When therefore a sufficient sum is vested for the eventual purchase and present rent of the premises, it is evident that the School may be well supported by the Treasury allowance of £18 per annum for each girl. Under these circumstances it has been thought right to decline with thanks any further aid from the Committee of Council on Education, trusting to the additional help of voluntary contributions alone to place the Institution on a permanent basis.

The Cottage has formed a very important addition to the establishment. It is calculated to hold eight or nine girls with a Matron ; it is provided with a wash-house and oven for baking bread, and is, in all respects, furnished and arranged like any small house for an ordinary family, without peculiar means of punishment or confinement. Into this are drafted by degrees older the girls, in whom most confidence can be reposed, and who are best prepared for domestic service. They all live as a family, being occupied as much as possible in the various departments of housework, besides baking all the bread consumed by themselves and the girls in the Lodge. They are also taught to cut out and repair their own clothes, and they take as far as practicable the position of young servants in a family.

The Matron does not lock up her stores and private property more than would be done in an ordinary house, and sends the girls out on errands, or occasionally leaves them alone in the house, without having had to complain of a breach of such trust.

The increased liberty allowed at the Cottage has in some instance developed evil which had been kept in check under the stricter discipline of the Red Lodge, but generally a decided improvement is perceived in the girls, when they find that a greater responsibility rests on them, and that their future prospects are directly dependent on themselves. The residence in the Cottage is at the same time so true a test of fitness for entering into the world, and a preparation for it, that it will generally be advisable for all the girls to pass through it before leaving the School. No girl once settled at the Cottage after a month's probation has made any attempt to abscond, nor has any one been obliged to be sent back to Red Lodge for persevering misconduct. The difficulty of placing the girls out at service has been greatly lightened by a clause in Sir George Grey's recent Reformatory Bill, permitting young persons in Reformatories, who have gone through half the time of their sentence, to be put out on trial for a month, before application is made for their discharge. This has been done in the case of five girls up to December 31, 1857, and no one of these has abused the privilege, or committed any dishonesty. Indeed the applications for young servants from Red Lodge are becoming more frequent than can be supplied. Small families, where the Mistress herself superintends the work, are found the most suitable.

Before entering on a brief sketch of the chief points of interest in the School during the year, a few incidents may be mentioned to prove that the Reformatories are not regarded either by the honest poor on the one hand, nor by the criminal class on the other, as a "premium on crime." In a neighbouring Day School the young daughters of two very poor families, where the mothers with difficulty found for their children the needful sustenance, were detected in pilfering half-pence, which it then appeared they had been in the habit of doing for some time, making excuses at home to account for the possession of money. The thought occurred to the Managers of the School whether these two little girls should be prosecuted, with a view of having them sent to a Reformatory, which it was thought would be a great boon to both parents and children. It was ultimately determined to retain the girls in the School, inflicting suitable punishment on them and to summon the mothers to chastise them, which they did, grateful that their children were not expelled. A short time after, the Red Lodge girls were permitted to be present at an examination of this very School, and their neat appearance, orderly demeanour, and physical condition betokening abundant food, might naturally have excited envy in the minds of these parents, and regret that their children had not been placed where they could enjoy similar advantages. Instead of this the mothers afterwards expressed to one of the Committee the gratitude they felt when they looked at the fifty poor girls in the Reformatory, that their children were not, like those, *prisoners*. No persons have expressed greater

interest in the School or desire to serve it, than these very industrious, honest, poor persons, who, it is supposed, are aggrieved by what is done to rescue these outcasts. While they acknowledge that they should gladly have secured for their children similar advantages of training and instruction, they have expressed warm satisfaction that these unfortunate children were so cared for, and have proved their sincerity by such small gifts of money or services gratuitously rendered as lay within their power. The "honest poor," daily toiling for their own children, have even a deeper feeling of compassion for these misused and neglected young creatures, than those whose social position places them entirely beyond their sphere,—and show a generous sympathy with those who are working for them. They are greatly belied in this matter.

With respect to the *criminal class* themselves, it is generally forgotten that those have long been living a wild and unrestrained life, prize this liberty, law-less as it is, and accompanied with every kind of privation, even more than those who are habitually accustomed to the restraints of society. This is especially the case as regards children. In the case of the parents, even where their general conduct would betoken rather brutal neglect or savage hatred, there exists also a strong instinctive affection, (if such it may be called, which would never deny itself for the future or even present good of their children), and a strong sense of the possession of property in them. These two feelings are greatly mortified by having their offspring taken forcibly from them and placed under other guardianship, however good that may be ; and when, in addition, they are compelled to pay for this unwilling abdication of nature's rights, the punishment is severely felt. A domiciliary visit to the homes of many of the Liverpool girls during the autumn, was a strong proof of this. Though the parents were generally in the lowest condition, in no one case was the removal of the daughter spoken of otherwise than as a severe domestic calamity, which, in some instances, had left permanent ill effects in the family ; at the same time grateful appreciation was expressed of the kind care bestowed on their girl, and with one exception, an earnest desire that she should not return to the scene of her misdeeds, on the expiration of her sentence. The same feeling is generally manifested in the letters to the children from their homes. But the notoriously bad woman, whose withdrawal of her daughter (not under sentence) from Red Lodge was spoken of in the last Report, writes of her children as "incarcerated in durance vile," i.e., *under sentence* in Reformatories, though in the same letter she says, "I should feel highly satisfied if my daughter Jane was under your kind protection ; her age is 8 years." So very great a degradation is a magisterial sentence to a Reformatory felt by those who hold a decent position in life, that some tradespeople who are utterly unable to manage an orphan child, or prevent her from being taken before the bench, begged admission for her as a volunteer, they themselves undertaking the whole cost of her maintenance, which has been faithfully paid in advance every quarter.

Nor is compulsory detention in the School less disliked by the very poor, whom some persons most erroneously suppose likely to incite

their children to crime, to obtain shelter in such an asylum. Last summer a wretched little street-sweeper, having been through motives of compassion taken into domestic service, committed theft, and after a second gross and daring act of the kind, ran away. In the hope of saving her from a life of vice, she was prosecuted and placed under sentence at the Red Lodge. In a few weeks she ran away and was known to be in her miserable home. The parents absolutely refused to give her up, alleging that she had been punished for the offence by being sent to Bridewell, and that the Magistrates had no right to punish her twice for the same offence. No arguments or entreaties availed, and at that time there was no law against harbouring runaways from Reformatories. The parents *preferred* to keep her at home in vice and starvation. Within a week, however, she was discovered begging with the younger children, and was apprehended and sent to Bridewell, for a month, to prove to both parents and child, the power of the law. Now the poor girl is thankful for the benefits thus bestowed on her, and entreats for the admission of her younger sister:—A girl was sent a year ago to Red Lodge on conditional pardon; her former character had been very bad; after a previous imprisonment for picking pockets, she had been sentenced at Sessions to a *year's imprisonment*. The father is a cab-driver. The girl's improvement, and a change in his domestic circumstances, rendering it probable that she should now maintain herself honestly, she was, at his desire, recently sent home in florid health, great strength, and with respectable, useful clothing. The father thus writes after receiving her,—“I was told when she went there, she would have the best of everything; I find it quite different * * as to her living and clothing it quite disgraceful * * I have a cat in my house as better vittles every day one is left and what the child has had ever since she has been there and if I have known it she never should have went there I was quite ashamed to see her,—Please to answer this letter as soon as possible if not I have a friend that will write for me to Sir George Gray and will state to him every particular [particular?] about the child.” This shows the importance of compelling payments from parents, many of whom are living, as this one describes himself, in plenty and luxury; also it proves that such a man as the writer of this does not esteem it a boon to have his child in a Reformatory even instead of a prison, nor is the fare in it considered luxurious, or as abundant as might be enjoyed at home. The girl herself had spontaneously written the evening before she left:—“Dear Miss C., you have been very kind to me, and I am very sorry for all the trouble you have taken with me, but I hope you will forgive me. I shall be very sorry to leave you.”

The past year has not presented as great an amount of obvious progress in the order and discipline of the School as was hoped at its commencement. The School had been very rapidly increasing in numbers; and though the staff was abundantly equal in size to the number of the girls in the School, averaging a proportion of one Teacher to ten Scholars, yet the newer members of it were painfully feeling how impossible it is to imagine, without actual experience, the difficulty of inducing habits of *willing* obedience, on those who had never before submitted to controul.

In April, the Red Lodge Cottage was opened with four girls, and these were gradually increased, until in August they amounted to eight. For some time it was rather difficult to make these girls understand their exact position, especially as their kind Matron made them feel as a family, rather than a School; but gathering experience from every failure, a gradual improvement in tone of feeling has been manifested, until at the present time they appear quite sensible of the advantages they enjoy, and grateful for them. It is found advisable to keep these girls as much as possible distinct from those in the Red Lodge permitting them to join their former associates only on special occasions, and at the Sunday afternoon religious instruction; they have also trifling distinctions in dress, &c., which are prized by girls, and in various ways greater privileges. Thus, promotion to the Cottage is an object of great ambition, especially as it is a certain step towards being placed out at service, six having been placed out from thence on trial during the latter part of the year. This separate house affords also the very desirable power of giving a temporary home to girls who have been placed out, when obliged from ill health or other causes to leave service, without causing inconvenience in the large establishment. This has frequently been done, particularly in the case of girls who had left during the former year.

The death of two little girls before alluded to formed a solemn and important epoch in the School. The first sickened in the early spring. She was a gentle good child, beloved both by Teachers and Scholars. It appeared as if filial obedience only could have led to the theft for which she had been exposed to a public trial, for she left her mother and sister in gaol, and many were the secret tears she shed for them. She did not play with the other children, but spent her little earnings and her leisure time in knitting socks for her brothers and sisters. Her illness was long and painful. She had always taken special delight in the Word of God and in prayer, and now these were her great comfort. She was very patient and quite resigned, though she wished to live, if it should be God's will. She was tenderly nursed by a girl who was full of violent passions and vicious inclinations, but who had still a loving heart. While she was on her dying bed, the other received an unlooked for summons. She had always shown a peculiarly low, vicious nature, very lying and at times spiteful; she had been sent for arson after three months' imprisonment. She had complained of slight indisposition and had been medically treated, but expressed herself as quite able to accompany her companion on a long promised excursion. Happily this was refused. In two days peculiar symptoms appeared; she soon became senseless, and on the third day breathed her last without the slightest suffering. The dark, low expression gave way to a sweet serenity, and an almost heavenly smile diffused itself over those features which had seemed formed in earth's coarsest mould. Never did the Angel of Death release a prisoner more gently, or enter a household more benignly. "The Heavenly Father has taken your companion's spirit to Himself," was the one feeling impressed on the minds of the children. All the arrangements were so made as to inspire solemnity, without superstitious dread, into their minds. At

their most earnest entreaty they carried her themselves to her grave in a quiet and beautiful cemetery at no great distance, followed by all her Teachers and school-fellows. They sang their favourite hymn, "Heaven is my home," with faltering voices round her open grave, when the solemn words of prayer had been uttered over the closed coffin, on which the falling clods had painfully resounded. The other little sufferer's end was evidently approaching; the mother of the departed one, though dwelling in the county, made no effort to give one last look at her child;—but the prison walls prevented this one from having a loving mother's arms around her; for the period of the sentence had not yet expired. The case was represented to the Secretary of State, with an earnest entreaty for pardon, and an intimation that unless that were granted speedily it would be too late. With most kind sympathy in the Home Office the prayer was granted, and within a week the poor mother's arms were around her child. She did not long survive;—her looks had said, "Now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace." The funerals were conducted with the greatest simplicity and economy, but the kindness of friends put some black crape on the children's bonnets that the solemn impression might not soon be obliterated, and a card was given to each in memory of their lost companions, with an appropriate text chosen by themselves.

These peaceful scenes of mourning were soon to be succeeded by very different ones. The Mistress, whom they greatly loved, and who had shown peculiar tact in controuling and influencing them, as well as devotion to the work, was about to leave England for a distant home. Their grief was excessive; and manifested itself in very rebellious conduct to her successor, who had been very highly recommended, but who showed herself unfit for her post, as well as utterly incapable of managing their difficult and peculiar tempers. Though another was found, who in different circumstances had shown considerable power of influencing, yet a month's misrule had sown many tares which could not easily be uprooted. Added to this, many young girls who, when they first came, had fallen into the general order, now laid aside the controul which they had at first imposed upon themselves, and displayed the natural bad dispositions which they had at first striven to conceal. This will not eventually be injurious; for it is only as the actually existing evil is fairly grappled with, that ultimate reformation can be hoped for; but for the present much trouble and inconvenience must arise when these repressed mischiefs reveal themselves. The rebellious feeling of the older girls showed itself in a tendency to abscond. A first offence of two older girls was forgiven, on their returning penitent, as well as an attempt on the part of some others, but at the end of October three of these again absconded, and when brought back in a few hours by the Police, showed such extreme violence and insubordination that it was considered necessary for the welfare of the household, as well as right for themselves, that they should be taken before the Magistrates, who sentenced them to three months' solitary confinement. These are among the painful trials connected with a Reformatory. The numberless encouraging and touching incidents which occur in

it and relieve the minds and hearts of those who are giving to it their daily labour and constant watchfulness and anxiety, cannot be easily described. Nor, indeed, can a stranger enter into the joy of seeing the first awakening of true penitence, or of receiving the yearning of grateful love from these once forsaken ones. These are the soul's secret which cannot be revealed. Yet it may be mentioned what deep sympathy the children felt when they heard that the house of a mechanic, who had worked on the premises, had taken fire, his wife and children escaping utterly destitute in the middle of the night. They subscribed from their little earnings above 30s., and made a number of pretty and neat articles of clothing for the family. They felt amply rewarded by being permitted to present them when finished, and their bright looks shewed that they understood, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." The children shew great delight in their Scripture lessons, and manifest great attention during the services of religion. Many of the girls who for sometime were very unsatisfactory, now manifest an evident determination to improve; one of these, indeed, whose mother was in prison when she came in on a second offence, is now giving much satisfaction in service. Altogether it is felt that decided progress has been made in the general stability of good order and right feeling in the School; that the actual results have more than ever surpassed our hopes, and that those who are interested in the work have reason to thank God and take courage.

MARY CARPENTER,

SUPERINTENDENT.

Bristol, Feb. 3rd, 1858.

We have frequently referred in our Record to the Park Row Asylum for Hopeful Discharged Female Prisoners at Bristol. We visited this Institution last October, and were extremely pleased with its details. Our satisfaction was certainly not lessened in discovering that the Lady Superintendent is a Tipperary woman. By the way, we may add, that the master of St. James's Back is an Irishman, and the mistress of work an Irishwoman. From the *Fifth* Report of the Park Row Asylum, that for 1857, we extract the following:—

The Park Row Asylum, as we stated last year, is not a "Reformatory School," under the controul of Magistrates or of Government, but a Refuge where the Hopeful Discharged Female Prisoner (above sixteen years of age) enters by her own free will, at her own desire, and under a willing promise to submit to the rules of the house, whither she comes *direct* from Prison. She undergoes at first a probation of three weeks or a month in her dormitory, associating gradually during this time with the other inmates, first at prayer in the chapel, then at lessons, and lastly at meal times. If after the time of probation she is still willing to remain in the Asylum, she is

then fully admitted, and receives the clothes of the house. Much benefit is derived from this time of semi-seclusion, as the candidate is daily visited by the Lady Superintendent, and by the Ladies of the Committee; and great moral influence is thus obtained before any free intercourse takes place with the other inmates.

The employment of the inmates consist of all sorts of household work; washing, cooking, baking, needle-work, knitting stockings and socks; boys' caps are also made. A few hours are daily devoted to religious instruction, reading, and writing; the first elements of arithmetic and geography are also taught, and singing of psalms and hymns is daily practised.

Since our last Report family washing has been taken in at the Asylum, and proves to be a healthy and remunerative work; the net produce, after deducting payments for ironers, messengers, &c., having been in less than six months £19:6:7.

Seventy-three pairs of stockings and thirty-eight pairs of socks have been knitted in the house during the year, being principally an order received from the Visiting Justices at the Bridewell, for which we return our best thanks. The profit of the knitting has been £6:12, of other work above £11, during the year.

The anniversary sermon in commemoration of the opening of the Asylum was preached in the chapel on February 1st, by the incumbent of the parish, the Rev. W. Knight.

The Rev. Walter Marriott has continued his valuable services as chaplain, officiating in the chapel on Sunday and Wednesday evenings.

The Rev. H. Montagu has also continued his visits to the Asylum in the absence or indisposition of the Chaplain, and has often very kindly conducted divine service twice on the Sunday.

With much satisfaction we may mention to our friends that on the day the anniversary sermon was preached at the Asylum a £5 note, folded up very small, was picked up by our youngest inmate, and immediately handed over to the Lady Superintendent, by whom it was restored to the owner on her calling to enquire for it a few hours afterwards.

Also a small gold brooch having been drooped by a lady, while visiting the Asylum, unknown to her, it was found by one of the inmates while cleaning the room, and given to the Lady Superintendent, who after many enquiries at last discovered the owner. These two incidents will, we trust, speak favourably of young women who may through want of education or other causes, have deviated from the paths of honesty, but who with care, kind advice, and persevering good instruction, do not prove irreclaimable. Ten young women have had respectable situations provided for them this year, and in two instances a second has been sent to the same place, at the special desire of the mistress. Of these ten not one has been accused of dishonesty, or again brought before a court of justice.

Since the opening of the Asylum forty young women have been sheltered; in this year twelve new cases have been admitted.

Seven from Bristol Gaol,

One, for a week, from Bristol Gaol,

One from Bristol Bridewell,

One from Shepton Mallet Gaol,
One from Taunton Gaol,
One from Gloucester Gaol.

Twelve have been provided for, and ten remain in the house.

At the suggestion of the Rev. W. C. Osborn, Chaplain of the Bath Gaol, an offer has been made by our Committee to leave two or four dormitories at his disposal, if sufficient subscriptions could be secured in Bath. The proposal was taken into consideration, and Mr. Osborn attended a meeting of our Committee, and expressed his hope and that of the Magistrates of Bath, that it might be so arranged, as no such institution as ours exist in Bath.

At the General Meeting of the Ladies' and Gentlemen's Committees, held on the 20th of January last, presided over by W. Miles, Esq. it was agreed to purchase a piece of ground offered for sale, at the back of the Asylum and to raise the requisite sum by donations. If a sufficient amount could not at once be obtained, it was resolved to accept a loan offered by a friend, at 4 per cent. interest, redeemable whenever funds should permit. The cost of the ground was nearly £600; donations then promised, and a few afterwards obtained, amounted to £248: 14; a loan of £340 was therefore required to effect the purchase, and has been obtained. An old house stood on the acquired premises; this after much careful thought and deliberation it was resolved to pull down, and sell the materials, thus avoiding all expenses, whether for repairs or taxes, which the low rent obtainable might not always cover; and the still more grave objection which letting might involve, namely, intrusion upon the privacy of the Asylum; the principal motive for the purchase having been to secure a large garden adjoining the Institution, for cultivation and for exercise.

Accordingly the sale was advertised in the newspapers by private tender, the Committee excluding the pumps, cisterns, outside boundary wall, and other matters which it was thought desirable to retain.

Considering the bad effect of the ensuing winter upon so old an house, as well as the danger of the lead being stolen, which had happened to some neighbouring houses, it was resolved that no time should be lost.

Mr. Tucker's offer of £60 was considered the most desirable, and we are glad to record that all the conditions named to him have been faithfully carried out; so that we have now our premises clear, surrounded by a boundary wall, and including the large addition to our garden ground, so much desired.

From the foundation of the Calder Farm Reformatory, we have placed its history and progress before our friends, and from its *Second Report*, that for 1857, we extract the following useful and interesting passages:—

From the last year's Report, it appears that up to 31st December, 1856, 26 boys had been received under detention; 24 more have been received up to Decr. 31st. 1857;—50 received altogether;—besides 9 not under detention, as mentioned in the last Report.

As regards Instruction, the state of the 50 was, on admission, as follows:—

15 could neither read nor write; 9 could read imperfectly, but not write; 12 could read and write imperfectly; 8 could read well, and write imperfectly; 3 could write well, and read imperfectly; 3 could read and write well.

As to social condition, 19 had lost one parent; 4 both; 27 neither. 16 were more or less without parental control; 21 had drunken or otherwise disreputable parents. As to age, 21 were under,—29 above—14 years. Of the 50 received, 1 absconded immediately after admission. Since the last Report it has been ascertained that this boy was re-convicted at Liverpool, and sentenced to penal servitude. 7 were removed to other Schools, by order of the Secretary of State, viz.:—2 to Market Weighton; 1 to Carlisle; 4 to the Reformatory Ship, *Akbar*, Liverpool. 42 belong to the School 31st December, 1857, making with 1 not under detention, 43—the present number.

Of moral results, it is yet premature to say much. The earliest admission of a boy under detention, dates from March 19th, 1856. The periods of detention vary from 2 to 5 years, the average being above 4. Hence, no boy under detention has yet been placed out. The Managers believe that the improvement apparent in many of the boys, will justify an application to the Secretary of State for their discharge before their full period of detention shall have expired. But they feel it incumbent on them to exercise the utmost caution in thus seeking to shorten the time during which boys are committed to their care. In all attempts to infuse good moral and religious principles, *time* is requisite that they be thoroughly wrought into the character, so as to be acted upon habitually, and withstand temptation. Time is needed, even when the seed is sown in soil under favourable conditions, to bring it to maturity; much more is it needed when, as in the Reformatory School, the fallow ground has to be broken up, and weeds resulting from long neglect, bad counsel, or worse example, have to be eradicated.

On the other hand, as soon as there is reasonable ground to hope that a boy's good impressions are confirmed, and he shews himself trustworthy, *handy*, and likely to be useful to an employer, it is desirable that he should be placed out, both to make room for others, and that he may get into the way of earning his livelihood more independently; and also on higher moral grounds,—to test and strengthen his good principles by engaging in the actual conflict of life.

The object sought in the School is to prepare him for this conflict, not by cutting off all access of temptation, but by letting the trial come upon him by degrees, as he seems able to bear it. Kept at first under strict *surveillance*, he is gradually, as he shews himself worthy of confidence, trusted out of sight, sent on errands to less or greater distances, entrusted with money, &c. In no instance of the last kind, and very rarely in any other, has the confidence thus reposed been abused. One boy thus employed, having found half-a-sovereign which had been accidentally dropped, immediately brought

it, though his office as messenger gave him peculiar facilities for otherwise disposing of it, and though he was a boy of whom his master before he came, said, that he could not trust him with anything.

In order more fully to carry out the principle of gradual re-admission to the temptations and responsibilities of common life, a very useful discretionary power has been vested in the Managers of Reformatory Schools, by the Act of last Session (20 and 21 VICT. c. 55). By § 13 of this Act, they are empowered, when a boy shall have been half his term in the School, to place him with an employer for a month *on trial*, before applying for his absolute discharge; retaining, during that period, the same power over him, in case of misconduct, as if he were in the School; and the power to recall him in case he should prove unfit for the situation, or it for him.

There are several boys to whom, during the ensuing year, this course would be applicable; and a most valuable service would be rendered by any one who would kindly look out for suitable situations for them,—particularly as farm servants,—and would communicate thereupon with the Head Master.

The chief employment in the School is farm and garden labour, and the boys are found, with scarcely an exception, to take to it, with a cheerfulness and heartiness which, considering the very different course of life which most of them had previously led, is surprising and most encouraging. Willingness to work may be said to characterize the School as a whole; and new-comers, though often lazily inclined, catch, more or less quickly, the prevailing habit.

From the first, each boy was allowed to have a small garden of about 2 perches, to be cultivated by him, in *his play time*, for his own advantage. Several felt the benefit of this so much, that they applied to have more land, paying *rent* for it. This was allowed on certain conditions, as to good cultivation, &c., and at the rate of 6d. a perch, or £4 an acre. Three-fourths of an acre have been occupied in that way since the harvest.

The chief characteristics of the criminal class being indolence and the reckless expending of their unlawful acquisitions on immediate sensual gratification,—this small allotment system affords a direct corrective, in that it requires and habituates them to labour and forego present gratification (except that found in work itself when freely undertaken), with a view to a remote future benefit;—a step, less trifling perhaps than it may seem, towards initiation into that course of discipline which this life is designed to be to them and to all.

The more immediate advantage is considerable. The boys, having a direct personal interest in the bit of ground, and the little agricultural operations thereon, which they feel to be their own, acquire a general interest in such operations, which carries them on when working for the School, and tends to form in them that real liking for work, and that notion of doing something for themselves, which are such valuable characteristics of the honest labourer. The last—the sense of independence—is one which requires the greatest care to foster, as it might otherwise be weakened, in an institution where,

from the nature of the case, much must necessarily be done *for* the inmates.

The work done by them for the School is as follows:—It is found that, taking the average of the older and younger boys, each one digs over, during the working day of eight hours, of the land in occupation, which is moderately light, from 4 to 7 perches, according to its previous state of cultivation, and the depth required for the intended crop.

In the Spring of the present year, 29 acres of land were taken, in addition to that previously occupied by the School, making in all—36A. 2R. 26P.

This has been cropped as follows.—Wheat, 8 acres and 3 roods; Beans, 1 acre and 1 rood; Barley, 1 acre and 1 rood; Oats, 3 acres; Clover, 4 acres and 2 roods; Potatoes, 3 acres and 2 roods; Turnips, 2 acres and 2 roods; Mangold, 2 acres and 2 roods; Lucerne, 1 acre; Scotch and other Cabbages, 3 roods; Carrots and Parsnips, 2 roods; General Garden Crops—Beans, Peas, Onions, &c., 2 acres; Boys' Gardens, 26 perches; Pasture, 3 acres; Meadow, 2 acres.

On entry to the new land, $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres of it were sown with wheat, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres in clover. During the season, all the rest was sown, and all the crops gathered, by the boys, under the charge of an additional Labour Master for the farm, with these exceptions. On taking the additional land, it was thought advisable to keep one horse for carting coals, manure, &c. It seemed also desirable that boys intended chiefly for farm labour, should learn to attend a horse. The season being advanced when the additional land was taken in hand, horse labour was used to some extent in getting in the seed. The hay and the first crop of clover was also *mown* by hired men, the boys being employed in *making* hay for hire on neighbouring farms. The second crop of clover was, however, mown by them, and all the other work of the farm done.

Since harvest, fifteen acres have been dug over by them, in preparation for the Spring; in addition to 14A. 1A. 26P. prepared and sown with Winter crops.

The School was visited during the Spring by M. de Metz, who spent a day in examining it with the minute attention to details suggested by his vast experience; and who says of it, in a letter since received—

“Compliment apart, I declare to you that it seems to me impossible to be placed under conditions more favourable to success, either as regards the choice of your Head Master, or of local position.”

To this strong testimony as regards the Head Master, the Managers add their own, founded on another year's experience of his efficiency; and also express their great satisfaction with the way in which the Schoolmaster, Mr. Crowther, and the two Labour Masters, have performed their duties.

From the *Cork Examiner* of April 2nd. we take the following report and Editorial notice. This is really to advance, it is the true way by which to succeed in juvenile Reformation and protection, it is the heart and soul of the Reformatory system—The Patronage Society.

BENEVOLENT APPRENTICING SOCIETY.

The first annual meeting of this Society was held yesterday, at twelve o'clock, in the Dispensary House, Grand Parade. Amongst the gentlemen present were, John F. Maguire, M.P., N. Mahony, Isaac Julian, Professor England, Dr. O'Connor, Dr. Townsend, Robert Scott, George Purcell, W. P. Harris, Edmond M'Carthy, R. J. O'Shaughnessy, Thomas Hayes, Patrick Hegarthy, James Hogg, J. T. Cleary, G. Smith, William D'Esterre Parker, Thomas Gallwey, &c.

On the motion of Dr. O'Connor, seconded by Mr. N. Mahony, the chair was taken by.

MR. WM. PRITTIE HARRIS.

Mr. R. J. O'Shaughnessy read the following:—

Report of the Committee of the Benevolent Apprenticing Society for the year ending 31st March, 1858.

In making their first annual report, the Committee of the "Benevolent Apprenticing Society" have great pleasure in being able to congratulate the subscribers on the complete success of their humble undertaking. About twelve months since, a few gentlemen acquainted with the condition of the orphan children reared in the workhouse, their good conduct and intelligence while in school, and their exposure to contamination should they pass to the able-bodied class, conceived the idea of apprenticing these children, while they were still innocent, and of becoming their guardians for a few years, till their acquaintance with the world might enable them to act for themselves. This proposal being warmly advocated by the local press, was readily adopted by the citizens of Cork and its vicinity, and a sufficient sum of money to carry out its objects was soon subscribed.—However, it must be admitted, that many who aided the undertaking, despaired of its success, from a conviction that boys reared in comparative idleness would not be got to submit to systematic labour. We are happy to be enabled to state, that this very natural apprehension has been proved, by experience, to be groundless. Of twenty-one boys apprenticed more than twelve months since, not a single complaint has been hitherto made by their masters. In one instance two apprentices suffered great privations, their master being reduced by domestic misfortune, from comparative affluence to distress. Nevertheless, they were willing to bear everything rather than return to the workhouse, even for the short time in which we might procure for them another master, such was the spirit of independence created in these boys by so short an experience of its value.

These facts are creditable to the guardians for the excellent training and education which procured these results; and they put be-

vond question the practicability, as well as benevolence, of this society. It is probable, however, that slight differences which occasionally arose between master and apprentice would have passed into one open rupture, but for the interference of members of the committee, whose visit at once reconciled the parties. This practice of visiting the homes of the apprentices periodically, we consider the main feature of utility in the society. It ensures justice from the master, and tends to control the conduct of the apprentice, as much by respect for his benefactor, as by his advice and counsel.

This duty has hitherto devolved on a few, but in future it is proposed that it be divided between the whole committee, each two members undertaking the patronage of a certain number of apprentices; and we are convinced that any trouble resulting to them will be compensated by the pleasure of witnessing so much good realised at so small a cost.

Seeing the good which has already resulted from this experiment, we would recommend that a similar effort should be made to rescue the Female Orphans from the lethargy, which a long residence in a workhouse is sure to generate. That they are entitled to consideration at our hands is proved by the fact, that the Inspector of National Schools was so pleased with their answering at a recent examination, that he selected four of their number to become Mistresses of National Schools. Whether the remainder, nearly their equals in school learning, and not their inferiors in good conduct, shall remain prisoners for life in a Workhouse, or purchase their liberty at the expense of virtue, or wait for the arrival of some speculator from Caffraria or Australia to export them as live stock useful to the new colony, depends upon the subscribers to this Society.

The Committee are confident, that by a little personal exertion on the part of some few ladies, aided by a small pecuniary assistance from the Society, many of those children will find a virtuous home in their own country, where their intelligence and industry, as in the case of the boys, may reward the benevolence that gives them shelter. The details of this plan will be submitted by a member of the Committee.

If we failed in everything else, we have succeeded in conferring a *good name*, not undeserved, on the poor children of the workhouse; and if without it the highest in rank are degraded, and the most successful in trade are sure to decay, how can the poor rise out of the difficulties which surround them, when divested of it?

We might urge many arguments derived from principles of economy, to recommend the objects of this Society to public notice, namely, the cost of support in a workhouse, the cost of emigration or the cost of punishing or reforming a criminal; but we would prefer that the citizens of Cork should have the full credit of uniting, from feelings of Christian philanthropy, unmixed even with justifiable selfishness; and we feel confident that from this motive alone, sufficient charity will flow to confer on the Society ample funds for its objects.

Mr. Maguire said that he had been just called upon to propose the adoption of the report; but so full was it of information and of

interest, that it really left nothing for him to add. However, he might be permitted to express his satisfaction at the authoritative proclamation of the fact, which the experience of the last twelve months had established, that although a poor child might have been reared in a workhouse, he yet was not entirely beyond the pale of society, or the hope of social redemption (hear, hear). There was at that moment, and had been for some time, a general and earnest feeling throughout the city, and amongst all classes of its citizens, in favour of Reformatories—a feeling most creditable to the citizens of Cork (hear, hear), who did not despair of redeeming the criminal child, and restoring him to society as a useful and valuable member. And, surely, if they did not despair of reforming the child who had fallen into crime, there was no reason to doubt of the social redemption of the child whose only crime was his poverty, caused perhaps by the loss of a parent, and not by any fault of his own (hear, hear). Crime brought one child to the reformatory; poverty brought the other to the workhouse. They did not despair of the criminal; why, then, despair of the pauper (cries of “hear, hear”)? On every ground, of common sense, economy, humanity, and charity, he was of opinion that the Benevolent Apprenticing Society was one of the most useful, practical, and benevolent institutions that could possibly have been organised in the city. It was right to make some effort to prove that a residence in a workhouse, often compulsory, was not degrading and debasing, or that it unfitted the child for any useful or creditable occupation. The moment the human plant, that was feeble and declining in the barren soil and uncongenial atmosphere of a workhouse, was transplanted to the vigorous soil and the genial atmosphere of freedom, it was certain to expand, and develop itself in health, in strength, and in energy (cries of “hear, hear”). For his part, he had always maintained the opinion, both at the Board of Guardians and elsewhere, that the best money expended was that expended in the industrial and literary education of the children in the workhouse (hear, hear). Some persons might cry out for economy when an attempt was made to improve the training of those children; but the economy which would reduce the number of schoolmasters or schoolmistresses, was a criminal economy,—it was folly—it was madness—it was an injury to the children, an injury to the ratepayers, and a heavy infliction on society (applause). The more that was done to form their habits, to improve their morals, and to add to their knowledge, the more certainly were they rendered discontented with their dependant position, the more anxious were they to leave the house, and, once having quitted its walls, the more determined were they to remain outside, supported by their own industry (hear, hear). The fact that some of the twenty-one boys who had been rescued from the workhouse by the society, had submitted to the severest privations, and perhaps to the harshness or even the tyranny of those to whom they had been apprenticed, proved their anxiety to leave the workhouse. If indeed our respected secretary reported the same of those boys who had not turned out well—if he had to say that there had been four, or six, or even ten failures, we should not still have been surprised, nor ought we have been disappointed

(hear, hear); we should have attributed those failures to the imperfection of our common nature. But there has not been a failure at all (hear, hear). The masters were not perfect, nor were the boys angels; still there was not a single instance in which the society had to record a failure. Under those circumstances, the report was the most cheering that could by possibility be presented to the society; and with such a report before them, the public were bound to assist the present effort, and, by contributions as well as by active co-operation, advance the objects of the society (hear, hear).

Mr. Thomas Hayes briefly seconded the adoption of the report, which was unanimously carried.

Mr. Robert Scott said he had been requested to propose that "The thanks of this meeting are due to the committee for the past year for the attention which they have given to the business of the society, and for the exertions which they have so successfully made to effect the objects for which the society was constituted." It was scarcely necessary for him to say anything in support of that resolution. The report which had been read, spoke sufficiently of the efforts made by the committee; and the success that attended those exertions was a matter of congratulation, and should excite the public to a deeper and greater interest in so laudable an institution (hear, hear). It was a very pleasing fact that after having apprenticed twenty-one poor children, none of them had acted in a way to bring discredit upon themselves or upon those who had taken an interest in them (hear, hear). If twenty-one of a better class of children were apprenticed, it would not be surprising if they turned out unsatisfactory, and when they found a number of boys, who were confined for a considerable period in a workhouse, distributed amongst different parties, and all turn out well, it spoke very highly not only for themselves, but for the description of training that fitted them to fill their situations. The humbler persons were, the more ought their desire for advancement be encouraged (hear, here). The society was worthy the regard of every benevolent person in Cork, and Cork was famous for the exercise of benevolence. There was scarcely any cause worthy of support, that was not assisted (hear). He was sure then the object of the society required only to be known to command a larger share of public interest and subscriptions. He need scarcely dwell upon the importance of taking young persons out of the workhouse and placing them in a position of making a livelihood for themselves and becoming respectable members of society (hear). After some further remarks, Mr. Scott concluded by moving the resolution.

Mr. George Purcell seconded it.

It was carried unanimously.

Dr. Townsend said he had been requested to propose that the following gentlemen be the committee for the coming year:—T. G. French, president; R. J. O'Shaughnessy, Hon. Sec.; J. England, Dr. W. C. Townsend, I. Julian, T. Hayes, P. Hegarty, G. Purcell, T. Gallwey, N. Mahony, Francis Lyons, Dr. O'Connor, and Alderman Robert Scott." After the able speeches the meeting had heard, he need not say a word. Any one conversant with the

interior of a workhouse must perceive with great satisfaction the prospect of getting the little boys out of it. He hoped an effort would be shortly made in behalf of the girls as well (hear). He could not see what crime it was to be poor, and he did not see why any one of these poor little boys should not aspire to high positions (hear, hear).

Professor England seconded the proposition which was carried.

Mr. Mahony stated that last year the sum of £90 was expended, leaving a balance of £60. This balance would not exactly pay the instalments coming on, but they would not be due before the end of two years.

Mr. Maguire—What is the amount of the fee?

Mr. Mahony—£5.

Mr. Maguire—Are they all at mechanical employments?

Mr. Mahony—Yes; we have got no suitable offers for farmers.

Mr. Maguire—Mr. Parker says he could get a few on board the Wizard. I got eight or nine from the Dungarvan workhouse on board her.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy—And there were six from our own workhouse.

Mr. Mahony thought that the boys who Mr. Maguire got engaged had a special advantage over the boys of the Cork workhouse.

Mr. Maguire—Well, they were certainly the sons of fishermen.

Mr. Mahony—They weigh the boys before they take them on board those vessels. Mr. French got a little fellow engaged, by putting a piece of lead in his trowsers in order that he might weigh heavier (great laughter). Mr. Mahony continued to say that it was the intention of the society to take up the girls, and they hoped to be able to hire them out as servants by the intervention of the ladies of Cork, whose aid the society solicited (hear, hear). There was to be an examination of the girls on Thursday, at which there would be a large attendance of ladies, and he was certain the moment they saw the little girls, so clean and nice, they would forward the view of the society, (hear, hear).

Mr. Hogg said there was a great want of domestic servants, and from what had been seen and heard of the boys, he was sure any effort to advance the girls would be successful. There was no employment that could be obtained but that contemplated, every mechanical business, such as shirt making, being done away with. He (Mr. Hogg) knew the men to whom the boys had been engaged, and he could say it authoritatively that it was surprising there should be no complaint.

Dr. O'Connor—Though we could not say there was no fault on the part of the boys, still there was no fault on the part of the men, perhaps owing to misfortune. We do not wish to overstate things.

Mr. Mahony said there would not be the same liability of failure on the part of the masters in future as there had been at first, because they were then afraid of the boys.

Mr. Julian—Indeed they turned out better than ourselves expected.

Mr. Mahony—As to the girls, a committee of the Guardians have it in contemplation to give the children of two years old, or just weaned, to well conducted girls in the first class to take as nurse-

lings, and by that means they will be habituated to the care of young children (hear, hear). The particulars have not been arranged yet. There must be a ward for these girls. With regard to the male and female schools, the Christian Brothers are, I believe, the best, but I have never seen a poor school to equal the workhouse schools (hear, hear). As for the funds I have no fear on that point. There were many places that we did not go to at all last year, for instance, the Weigh-house, a very liberal place; and then we did not ask the professional gentlemen living on the South Mall.

Mr. Smith was pleased that the girls had been taken up by the society, for he perceived by the new law that when they came to the age of 15 they were obliged to leave with the able-bodied. This, therefore, was the time to make exertions, previous to the law being carried out.

Dr. O'Connor said he thought that even if the poor law gave the Guardians the power of apprenticing the children, the present charitable and benevolent system was better (hear, hear). It would raise the society beyond mere legislature. Still the poor law was undoubtedly charitable in the extreme. It was written over the work-house entrance, "no man need starve"; it was the citadel of the poor man; the place where the old man may obtain an asylum, where young women could be reared without contamination, where the sick are received and treated admirably (hear). Therefore, the poor law was a grand institution and failed only in one point, and here the society stepped in, and showed that poor children were not out of the pale of society because they were in the workhouse. The training of those children was admirable, but it would be fruitless had not the society stepped in. The ship-builder erected the ship but had not prepared anything to launch her—so the young inmates of the workhouse were trained by excellent instructors, but nothing was done to launch them into society (hear, hear). He was convinced the expenditure this year would be much less than that of last. The guardians would, he was sure, clothe the children to be apprenticed not in paupers' clothing, but as became young persons entering into life. It was the intention to place the girls in respectable tradesmen's families for twelve months without any wages, and ladies would visit them frequently, and ascertain how they conducted themselves. It was a source of astonishment that the farmers did not apply for the boys, because they would be most useful to them, both in keeping their accounts and instructing their children.

Mr. Mahony—The farmers are proverbially slow. Mr. Mahony then stated that last year there were only fifteen guardians on the subscribers' list, but at the board meeting on Wednesday he got eleven new subscribers.

Mr. Hogg—Allow me to ask whether you apply for a donation or subscription?

Mr. Mahony—A donation.

Dr. O'Connor—But it is virtually a subscription.

Mr. Maguire—What is the average cost of maintaining a pauper in the workhouse?

Mr. Mahony—£7 a-year; but that is exclusive of general charges.

Mr. Gallwey having taken the second chair, thanks were given to Mr. Harris, and the meeting adjourned.

THE Benevolent Apprenticing Society has already successfully vindicated its claim to the support of the citizens of Cork, whether they are likely to be influenced by mere motives of prudence and economy, or animated by the loftiest impulses of charity and benevolence. It has already rescued 21 boys from the moral stagnation and social death of the workhouse, and added them as so many useful and self-supporting members to the community. It has rescued these 21 children from the dismal fate that awaited them the moment they reached a certain age, and were drafted from the juvenile to the adult class; and it has relieved the rate-payers of the burden of their support, not for a single year, but in all probability for ever. We admit this latter is the smallest consideration with us; still we by no means deny its importance as an element in the consideration of the rate-payer, and upon pecuniary grounds. For instance, the annual cost of supporting these 21 boys was, at £8 a-head, £168. This cost was, as a matter of course, supplied out of the rates levied on the industry and property of the union, or electoral division, as the case may have been. Let us suppose that no such attempt had been made as that which has turned out so successfully. The result would have been simply this—that these 21 boys would have grown up in apathetic idleness, demoralised and contaminated by association with the broken down class technically termed able-bodied; and that ten years might have past over their heads before they relieved the rate-payers of the burden of their support. What would the cost of their support for these ten years have been? No less a sum than £1,680! Even if they remained but *five* years in the workhouse, the cost of their support, in food and clothing, would be £840. And yet, for a present outlay of £2 or £3 a-head, these boys have been removed from the heavily burdened shoulders of the rate-payers, and planted firmly on their own legs, as self-supporting members of the community. Here, at once, is an economical, a social, and a moral result of the highest importance to the individual, to the rate-payer, and to society. But let the promoters of this wise and most benevolent scheme be supplied with additional means of usefulness, and they will be enabled to diminish the load of the rate-payer's burden in a far greater degree, and add many more members to the ranks of reproductive industry. For every shilling they receive, they will return twenty shillings to the community. Like good seed in a rich soil, it will be certain to bring forth an abundant harvest. Even then, were it only on economical grounds, the society ought to be zealously supported by the public. But read the report, and see how faithfully these 21 poor boys have repaid the prudent bounty of their benefactors. In all cases they have done well—in some instances gallantly battling with misery and privation, the result of depression of trade, and dearth of employment. Now, let us ask, could more than this be said for the sons of people in decent circumstances—for boys delicately brought up, and carefully trained under the eyes of anxious and vigilant parents? Would there have been no single failure in their case? Surely, this almost miraculous success of an experiment which even the sanguine regarded

with anxiety, ought to remove all further doubt from the mind of the public, and satisfy them that here is a practical means of diminishing the dead load of pauperism, and preventing the fatal growth of the pauper child into the pauper adult. It will be seen that the same plan is about being adopted with the female children of the house; and that, in order to render the experiment as certain as possible of success, a probationary training, suited for the future child's maid and domestic servant, is to be given in the establishment, so soon as arrangements to that effect can be carried out. There is one feature, however, in the scheme which we must not omit to notice—namely, the watchful care of the Society over the apprentice during the most trying period of his career—the influence which its members exercise upon the conduct of the master towards the apprentice—and the consciousness that the latter is made to have of his not being without kind and anxious friends in the world. In all other respects the scheme is wise, practical, and humane,—here it rises to the lofty height of Christian charity. We shall only add this single remark, that if the juvenile criminal be worthy, as he clearly is, of the sympathy and succour of the benevolent, who contrive all kinds of institutions for his conversion and restoration to the paths of virtue and the ways of industry; the poor child, who has never committed any offence whatever, and whose only crime is his poverty or his state of orphanage, is not the less worthy of sympathy and succour; and that, of the two, the innocent and guiltless child has the stronger claim upon the assistance and protection of the community.

CERTIFIED INDUSTRIAL AND RAGGED SCHOOLS.

At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, the 31st day of December, 1857, by the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education.

Their Lordships having had under consideration the Acts of Parliament relative to *Reformatory* Schools; viz. :—

17 & 18 Vict. c. 86,
18 & 19 Vict. c. 87,
19 & 20 Vict. c. 109,
20 & 21 Vict. c. 55;

also the acts relative to *Industrial* Schools; viz. :—

17 & 18 Vict. c. 74 (Scotland),
20 & 21 Vict. c. 48 (England and Wales.)—

Resolved,—

1. To cancel the Minute dated 2nd June, 1856, except so far as that schools already receiving aid under it might continue to do so on the same conditions until the 31st March, 1859, but no longer.

2. That after 31 March, 1859, no *Reformatory School* certified under the Act 17 & 18 Vict. c. 86, should receive grants (except as provided in the 9th section below), from the Parliamentary Fund administered by the Committee of Council on Education, but that *Industrial Schools* certified under the Acts 20 & 21 Vict. c. 48, or 17 and 18 Vict. c. 74, and *Ragged Schools*, might be aided on the conditions set forth in the rest of this present Minute.

3. That their Lordships are prepared to consider applications for certifying Industrial Schools pursuant to the Industrial Schools' Act, 1857.

4. That the promoters of Ragged Schools, in applying for aid under this Minute, must state in detail:

Within what local limits they expect to gather scholars.

What day schools of the ordinary kind are maintained, or are about to be maintained, by charitable subscriptions for the education of children of the labouring and other poorer classes within the same limits. The name and address of a correspondent must be given for each school.

Why the school now proposed to the Committee of Council should be a Ragged School rather than one of the ordinary kind, and why it will not be likely to injure any of the day schools just named.

A map marked so as to illustrate the answers to these inquiries should be transmitted if possible.

5. That Ragged Schools must fulfil the following conditions:—

The title of Ragged School, or some other equivalent name of distinction, must be retained.

Both scholastic and industrial instruction must be given.

No fees must be received from any child attending the school or any of the classes.

Accurate accounts must be kept of all receipts and expenditure; and if the managers attempt other objects besides the daily instruction of children, the expenditure upon such other objects, and upon the instruction, must be separately stated.

The managers must certify and the inspector must report that adequate means are taken to confine the children attending the school to that class which cannot be associated with the children of respectable labouring men; that reading, writing, and arithmetic (as far as the first four rules, simple and compound), are well taught in the school; and that its discipline and moral influence are such as are calculated to benefit the special class of scholars.

6. Certified Industrial and Ragged Schools may receive grants equal per annum to—

One-half of the rent of the premises in which industrial instruction is carried on;

One third of the cost of tools and of raw material for labour;

Five shillings per annum per industrial scholar according to the average number under industrial instruction throughout the year preceding the date of inspection.

The ordinary rate for the purchase of books, maps, and apparatus;

The ordinary rate in augmentation of any certified teacher's salary.

Teachers in workhouse schools, who are rated in the first division of competency, and who, during the last three preceding years, shall have served continuously in such schools with rating not below competency, may take rank without further examination in Ragged or in certified Industrial Schools as certificated teachers, and may in those schools, but in none other, receive such augmentation as their salaries justify, on the usual conditions, up to £20.

Teachers who are at this date employed in Ragged or Industrial Schools, may obtain the like privilege by passing an examination equal to the rating of competency in workhouse schools, provided

that the inspector has reported favourably of their schools during each of three consecutive years.

7. That in schools certified under the Acts 20 & 21 Vict. c. 48, and 17 & 18 Vict. c. 74, there might be granted, in addition to the foregoing forms of aid,—

The sum of £5 for every child received during the year preceding the date of inspection into the establishment, under an order of the justices for its permanent detention, or who shall have been detained therein under such an order throughout the whole of the same year.

The sum of £40 or, in the case of females, £27 in respect of every person boarded, lodged, and trained as a teacher therein during the year preceding the date of inspection, on the following conditions:—

(1) That the school contain at least 40 inmates.

(2.) That Her Majesty's Inspector make a favourable report upon the means of training and upon the candidates presented by the managers for admission. The candidates will be examined for admission by the inspector in reading, in writing from dictation, and in the first four rules of arithmetic, simple and compound. The inspector will also report upon the apparent fitness of the candidates in respect of age, previous employment, manners, and physical strength, for the duties of a teacher in Reformatory or Industrial Schools. Candidates must have completed their 18th year.

(3.) That the payments may, on the recommendation of Her Majesty's Inspector, be continued for a second year, but that no fractional payment be allowed.

(4.) That teachers so trained may, on taking service in a Ragged or in a certified Industrial School, and after passing before the inspector, upon the papers given to workhouse school teachers, an examination equal to the rating of competency, receive augmentation pursuant to Section 6 (f), *supra*.

8. That all examinations and inspections made in pursuance of this Minute be, as a general rule, referred to such of Her Majesty's Inspectors as are charged with the inspection of workhouse schools.

9. That Reformatory Schools certified under the Act 17 & 18 Vic. c. 86, be allowed to have the benefit of Section 7 of this Minute so far as it relates to the reception of candidates for training as teachers; the inspector of prisons discharging the same functions as are thereby assigned to the inspector of schools, and making a report to the Secretary of State for transmission to the Committee of Council.

10. That grants for building Ragged Schools be made on the usual terms, so long as they provide for daily instruction only, or for daily instruction in a measure greatly beyond the accommodation for lodging, which latter must not be enough to characterize the buildings as other than those for a daily school.

Grants for building schools intended to be certified under the Industrial Schools' Act, will also be made, on the usual terms as regards the previous approval of plans, specifications, estimates, title, and conveyance in trust, and at a rate not exceeding half the approved expenditure, nor £30 per bed for which proper space is provided.

Grants will be made for building, (instead of an allowance for rent) in those cases only where the permanent provision of premises appears to be thoroughly adequate, and where circumstances in all respects are favourable to the undertaking.

Since the publication of our last Record we received the Rev. John Clay's final *Report* as Chaplain of the Preston House of Correction; he has retired from his office after thirty-six years of duty, discharged with an enlightened zeal which made him the most useful as he was the most distinguished of those able men holding the posts of Prison Chaplains. Mr. Frederick Hill, in his invaluable work on *Crime*, designates Mr. Clay, "the zealous, benevolent, and able chaplain of the prison at Preston." No description could be more true; no man has done more to aid us in solving the difficulties connected with prison discipline and the sources of crime than Mr. Clay, and he retires from his chaplaincy regretted and respected by all in these kingdoms who are interested in the noble work to which his life and genius were devoted. What he has done for social science we shall show in the next number of THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW. South tells us, "that which makes the clergy glorious is to be knowing in their profession, unspotted in their lives, active and laborious in their charges; and lastly, to be gentle, courteous, and compassionate to all. These are our rolls and our maces, our escutcheons and highest titles of honour"—such a man as this was and is the Reverend John Clay.

The following, from *The Southern Reporter* of April 9th, will show how actively the ladies have taken up the Reformatory question in Cork:—

BENEVOLENT APPRENTICING SOCIETY.

Upon yesterday the inspection and examination of the most advanced class of female orphans in the workhouse, was held. The extreme inclemency of the weather prevented the attendance of the ladies and gentlemen who so kindly interest themselves for these dependent and friendless young girls, from being so general as no doubt it otherwise would have been, but notwithstanding so serious a drawback, there was still a very considerable number present. Amongst the ladies were the Lady Mayoress, Mrs. N. Mahony, Mrs. Maguire, sen.; Mrs. W.C. Townsend, Mrs. O'Brien, Miss Donegan, &c. His Worship the Mayor and several members of the committee and other gentlemen attended, and evinced deep interest in the undertaking. Some erroneous feeling appears to have deterred many from visiting the workhouse. A doubt as to the admissability of strangers in the first place presented itself, but the principal repug-

nance no doubt arose, and even had most control over, the sensibilities of the kind and tender hearted, that they would in their visit discern so much misery which they could not relieve, and be brought in contact with such squalid and miserable beings as would disgust and pain them without being of the slightest avail or benefit to any one. This, at least as far as the juvenile class, that is those under fifteen years of age, is concerned, is quite a mistake. And so far from their condition and their appearance in their school room, leaving an uneasy or painful recollection, we heard upon every side expressions of pleased surprise, at the cheerful looks, the invariably excellent demeanour, the strict neatness of attire, and the intelligence of the children. The ladies were undisguisedly gladdened by the sight, so different from that which they may have anticipated, and, indeed, even the heart of that symbol of moroseness and discontent, "a rate-payer," would have been as light as he represents his purse to have become, had he seen how much contentment and real usefulness had been produced by his money. The school-room, which is a very large oblong department, divided by a barrier in the middle, contained 220 children, ranging from the ages of three to fifteen years. They sat in their places according to their classes, at the left of the entrance, the other division being set apart for the visitors and those under examination. The walls were, in honour of the occasion, festooned with laurels and evergreens, and over the door the word "Welcome" was neatly executed by those for whom we trust a hopeful future will date from this much-desired visit. The pleased and bright looks of the children, who seemed quite to appreciate what was going forward, relieved them from any appearance of forced constraint; yet they preserved the most complete order and unbroken silence, except when at the desire of their teachers, they stood up in file, and then their wooden shoes pattered along the floor as they marched off to be examined. One or two of the very young infants fell asleep, and we noticed that then the nearest class-fellow quietly and fondly wrapped its tiny arms about the little sleeper, and, although scarcely bigger than its nurseling, watched over its repose with all the gravity and affection of a parent. The greatest goodwill and generosity seems to exist among the pupils, and having drawn experience from the bitterest teachings of adversity, they have learned the worth of every little act of kindness, were it only conveyed in a gentle look or word. One of the assistant schoolmistresses, who seemed the personification of good humour herself, and who had an encouraging whisper for each of her little charge, pointed out one strong example of the yearning for the bonds of relationship which nature has implanted in our breasts. Two little girls, of about five years of age, were sitting side by side, very neat and happy, and apparently in love with each other, and such we found was indeed the case. They were both christened "Minnie," and although without any tie of kindred to bind them, save that they were both orphans, they have become so devoted to each other, that they are inseparable, at school or at play, bed or board. Providence has found even for these lone ones some compensation for the want of that fatherly protection and mother's love which they have never known.

The principal class consisted of nineteen girls, all approaching the prescribed age of fifteen, when they must be transferred to another part of the Asylum, away from their innocent companions and friends. They were ranged in a semicircle fronting the visitors, and Mr. O'Brien, Poor Law Inspector, clearly and cleverly tested their acquirements in the various branches of their educational course. In short, it was quite evident that they had received a well grounded, solid, English education. Some specimens of the writing were particularly beautiful, and such as the first in the land might be satisfied to emulate. In arithmetic also they displayed very considerable proficiency. The head teacher, who in turn examined them, and appeared most solitious to advance her pupils in position, as she had already to her credit, improved them by her instructions, informed the ladies that several of the girls embroidered and worked in a very superior manner. These girls then left the room, and after a few minutes the audience was invited to their laundry: where they were busily engaged in the different operations of washing their clothes, ironing them, &c., doing their work assiduously and tidily. Some junior classes were afterwards examined, but for the present we shall confine our remarks to those whose fortunes are peculiarly concerned. There appear to us two great reasons which should induce employers to take these girls into their service: first, because they will, by so doing, consult their own interest; and secondly, because they will be conferring an immense benefit upon those whom they release from living to maturity, and, perhaps old age, in the workhouse. It is for the good of one desiring a capable and quiet servant to have a person trained to do everything by rule, and at all times to be orderly and neat; and the long habit of acting at once upon being directed, has made them docile and attentive. We need not dilate upon the advantages which they must possess from their excellent education, which is such as may be looked for in vain in any ordinary servant. We are assured that equal reliance may be placed upon the excellence of their moral characters; indeed these orphans have, in many instances, been reared from the cradle in the workhouse, and have not been subject even to the chance of vicious companionship or the contamination of evil advisers. But were the value of these candidates for employment less approved than it is, yet their position should move the benevolent even at a risk to make an effort to protect them from the trials which they must otherwise now be subjected to. We have not overcoloured the amiability, skill, or good conduct of these young creatures, who are inmates of a workhouse without any fault of theirs, and were they always to remain amongst their present associates, although their energies might be thrown away, yet they might escape from the more dreadful evils which now, if they be not employed, will beset them. According to law they must at fifteen pass into the division of "able-bodied paupers." These are the originals from whom every picture of the vice, sloth, filth, and ignorance that surround the professional vagrant has been drawn. Thanklessly and doggedly they go to the workhouse as a lair in which they may escape from the cold and hunger of the sharp winter days, but they will be away, as incorrigible vagabonds as ever, to tramp and thief through the long

days of summer. There are fearful wards in this part of the house, to which the dark destiny of the orphan girls will probably lead them, if they be not now assisted. The companionship of such coarse and violent women must soon break down the purity and delicacy of their minds, for being constantly exposed to the influence "of sights and sounds unholy," the firmest determination must give way in despair. In this department there are two black solitary cells which, we are informed, are not unfrequently tenanted, yet amongst these vile viragoes must these modest children now pass to undergo a terrible probation if no hand be stretched to save them. Doubtless, the minds of our readers will suggest many other recommendations which would entitle these desolate girls to the protection and care of an uncoerced charity, and if they consult their hearts they will find promptings there which it will be well for them to follow.

From *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, of Monday, April 12th, we take the following most interesting passages :—

WARWICKSHIRE EASTER SESSIONS.

The County Reformatory.—The Committee of this Reformatory reported that the Institution continued to progress satisfactorily. It contained thirty-six boys, being within four of the number for which accommodation was provided. Since last Quarter Sessions they had obtained the admission of six boys convicted at the various Petty Sessions in the county into the under-mentioned Schools, viz. :—Three to Saltley, one to Red Hill, one to Milbourne Reformatory Schools, Dorset, and one to Hardwicke, Gloucestershire. —Mr. Bolton KING, M.P., remarked upon the expense of maintaining the boys, which was greater per head than that incurred by keeping pauper lunatics ; and urged that several persons had contributed to the Reformatory upon the understanding that it should be confined to boys committed from the rural parts of the county, while at the present time out of thirty-six boys in the Institution twenty were from Birmingham, while some boys from their own rural population were sent to Saltley and some as far as Dorsetshire. It did appear to him that this was not exactly the intention of the contributors to this Institution when it was first founded.—LORD LEIGH contended that the only way to meet the existing evil was to take the juvenile criminals from towns.—E. GRAVES, Esq., urged that the cost of maintaining the inmates was regulated upon a most moderate scale, and one that could not reasonably be diminished.—Lord Leigh said the Birmingham Gaol contained a large number of poor boys from ten to fourteen years of age who could not be accommodated at Saltley. He thought they were bound to receive the juvenile criminals from Birmingham, the largest manufacturing town in the county.—W. JAMES, Esq., testified to the value of sending boys as far from their friends and associates as possible. He could not look at the question in such a narrow point of view as to say that Birmingham must take care of Birmingham, and the county take care of the county. He contended that in reforming these boys they were doing good to the whole country, and he thought one of

the first steps to be pursued was their removal from old associates and haunts.—J. O. BACCHUS, Esq., would be sorry that Birmingham should consider itself left out, for when there was a deficiency in their funds he canvassed the Birmingham people, who readily gave £100, and he could go, with equal confidence, to them again when necessary. Of the twenty boys Mr. King had spoken of as coming from Birmingham, four were committed from Erdington and Saltley.—Some further discussion ensued, in which Bolton King, C. H. Bracebridge, H. T. Chamberlayne, and others took part, and the Report was then adopted.

BIRMINGHAM GIRLS' REFORMATORY.

The annual general meeting of the supporters of this Institution was held on Tuesday afternoon last, at Dee's Hotel, Mr. J. W. WHATELEY presiding. There were present Mrs. Whateley, Mrs. Kynnersley, Mrs. Hardy, Mrs. James, Mrs. Kekewich, Mrs. J. T. Chance, Mrs. Kempson, Mrs. Morgan, Mrs. J. Sturge, and Miss Albright; Mr. Sampson Hanbury, Secretary, the Rev. Sydney Gedge, the Rev. F. Morse, Chaplain, Mr. W. Morgan, and Mr. T. Kekewich.

The Report, which was read by the Rev. F. MORSE, stated that the number of girls in the Reformatory was 33. The state of the Institution was in every respect satisfactory. The work of education was gradually and steadily advancing, and it was hoped that no girl would leave the Institution without being able to read, write, and add up a sum, nor without being acquainted with at least the elementary truths of the Holy Scriptures. The state of the house afforded a gratifying indication of the girls' attention to house-work, and there was a great improvement in the girls' needle-work. The Institution had during the year been visited by Mr. Bowyer, one of her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, and also by Mr. Sidney Turner, one of the Inspectors of Reformatories; and the remarks of both these gentlemen upon its condition had been very gratifying. The sanitary state of the Reformatory had also been satisfactory, there having been unusually little illness; and this immunity, as was stated by Mr. Townsend, the surgeon, was owing not more to the advantage of the locality than the admirable arrangements of the Institution. With respect to the eleven removals, seven had been placed in situations, one had died, one had been sent to prison, one had absconded, and one had been taken away by her friends. Five out of the seven in employment had been most exemplary in their conduct, had kept their places, and were doing well. These results, the Report observed, could not but encourage the supporters of the Institution to persevere in their exertions with good hope for continued success.

The CHAIRMAN moved the adoption of the Report, and in doing so congratulated the meeting on the very satisfactory state of the Institution.—The Rev. Sydney GEDGE, in seconding the motion, took occasion to observe that the Report was one which could not fail to be gratifying to all of them. They had the testimony of Miss Carpenter

to the fact that in dealing with criminal girls they were dealing with a most difficult class, inasmuch as they were more depraved and hardened than criminal boys. At the same time it was obvious that the influence of girls in after-life for good or evil was far greater than that of boys. Therefore they had a harder and more important work to do, and he did feel deeply thankful to God that they were enabled to hear that five out of the eleven who had left the Institution had given such a satisfactory proof of having derived substantial benefit from the moral and religious instruction and training they had received in the Institution.

The financial statement, which was read by Mr. HANBURY, showed that the income of the Institution from all sources had amounted to £968 9s 3d. (including a balance of £115 from the previous year), whilst after defraying all household and other expenses, there remained a balance in hand of £97 17s. 10d. Mr. Hanbury stated that there was an item of expenditure for furniture which would not occur again, the Institution being now complete for forty girls.—Mr. MORGAN said that although there was a balance in favour of the Institution, it would be well not to relax their efforts, inasmuch as it was uncertain whether the Government grant might not be diminished.—Mr. HANBURY said he should be sorry if any impression got abroad that Government intended to withdraw or diminish the grant. He had made some enquiries and believed Government aid had been promised until March, 1859. He also believed, though he could not state it with certainty, that there was a disposition on the part of the Home Office to contribute some support if the Privy Council refused.

The Committees and officers were re-elected, and thanks were voted to them for their services, as well as to Mr. and Mrs. Hanbury for their devotion to the interests of the Reformatory, and to Mrs. Morse, on her retirement from the office of Secretary, to the Ladies' Committee.—The proceedings then terminated.

SALTLEY REFORMATORY INSTITUTION.

The annual meeting of the subscribers and friends of the Training College at Saltley was held on Wednesday evening last, at Dee's Royal Hotel, under the presidency of Lord LYTTELTON. Amongst those present were the Earl of Lichfield, John Ratcliff, Esq., Mayor, C. Shaw, C. H. Bracebridge, T. Bagnall, and T. C. S. Kynnersley, Esqrs., Dr. Melson, the Revds. Dr. Miller, I. Spooner, Sydney Gedge, A. A. Ellis, R. F. Williams, and J. T. Burt, Mr. Charles Ratcliff, Mr. W. Morgan, and Mr. W. R. Lloyd. Letters of apology were announced by Mr. Charles Ratcliff from Lord Calthorpe, Lord Leigh, the Right Hon. C. B. Adderley, M. P., the Right Hon. Sir John Parkington, M. P., Sir T. Winnington, the Revds. D. Melville, Sydney Turner, and W. Gover, and Mr. J. S. Wright.

Lord LYTTELTON, in opening the proceedings, said the meeting had been convened not so much to stimulate public sympathy to the Reformatory cause generally, as to make known the peculiar claims and

great progress of the Institution at Saltley. Although it was not easy to estimate the actual results of the system, there was no doubt that much good had resulted and would continue to result from the establishment of Reformatories. The legislature had wisely provided that the boys should remain inmates of such Institutions for a very considerable time before being sent forth into the world. From Saltley very few boys had as yet been discharged, whose conduct and course of life could be traced with clearness after leaving school. Many of them would probably attain to respectable positions in the colonies, and for his own part he believed that with reasonably good management and favourable circumstances, the best thing that could be done for these boys was to send them abroad. But whatever might be the apparent local results of the Saltley Institution, he (Lord Lyttelton) knew that in some parts of Great Britain the most remarkable results had been achieved through the working of Reformatories—(hear, hear). In Montrose, as they all knew, the experiment had succeeded, and the establishment of a Reformatory at Hardwicke had almost put an end to juvenile crime in the city and county of Gloucester. There were some grounds for believing that the Saltley Reformatory had not been without a good effect in this locality. The circumstance which occurred a short time back in this town, when there was not a single prisoner for trial, and a pair of white gloves were presented to Mr. Kynnersley, was a most unusual one, and augured well for the moral improvement of the inhabitants. He at one time had grave doubts whether two Reformatories could be supported in this county, but he now found that a sufficient number of juveniles were sent to fill both the establishment at Saltley and the county Reformatory, under the auspices of Lord Leigh. The alterations in the Saltley Institution would, he had no doubt, greatly promote its efficiency, while the improvement in the management would tend still further to diminish juvenile crime. Mr. Adderley had displayed the warmest interest in the Institution, and had given it the most substantial support, and to his enlightened views on this question they owed much of the success which had attended their efforts to benefit the members of the Institution—(applause.) His Lordship concluded by calling upon

Mr. W. MORGAN to read the Report. This document stated that the buildings at Saltley had been enlarged so as to afford accommodation for fifty boys, twenty of whom would be sent, under a contract with the Committee, by the Magistrates of Staffordshire. To complete the buildings Mr. Adderley had kindly advanced the sum of 500*l.* to the Committee, and a balance of 204*l.* was likewise due to the contractor. An additional two and a half acres of land, adjoining the school, had been placed under cultivation, in order to find employment for the increased number of inmates. The Report will be found in *extenso* in our advertising columns. Mr. Charles RATCLIFF then read a financial statement showing a deficiency of 500*l.* in the building fund.

The MAYOR, in moving the adoption of the Report, said the rapid progress which had been made at Saltley must be encouraging and satisfactory to all who felt an interest in the Reformatory movement. For his own part, he was delighted, on visiting the Institution

that day, to observe the careful management of the Superintendent, Mr. Humphreys, and the general good order that prevailed. It was interesting also to remark the cheerfulness of the inmates, and the interest they displayed in the proper execution of the work entrusted to them. The children seemed to look upon the Institution as a home rather than a place of detention. He believed that much good had already resulted from these institutions, and that much more would be achieved, he could not doubt after observing the excellent manner in which the School at Saltley was conducted.

C. H. BRACEBRIDGE, Esq., said he had watched the working of the Institution for some time past, and was glad to perceive a gradual and progressive improvement. He denied that there was any fear of exciting the envy of the children of the honest poor, or of arousing a desire in their minds to become inmates of such institutions ; and in reference to the ultimate restoration of the boys to the world as useful members of society, strongly recommended emigration to Canada, where, he had reason to believe, a large number could find employment in agricultural pursuits. Mr. Bracebridge concluded by seconding the adoption of the Report, which was unanimously agreed to.

T. C. S. KYNERSLEY, Esq., then moved "that this meeting gladly acknowledges that the experience of the five years which have elapsed since the establishment of the Reformatory School at Saltley, has fully proved that the Institution presents strong claims on the sympathy and support of all who recognise not only the necessity and importance, but also the duty and privilege of endeavouring to rescue and instruct children who from destitution or other causes have become vicious and depraved." He thought the experience of the past few years left no doubt as to the strong claims of Reformatory Institutions on the sympathy and support of all classes. Of the Saltley Reformatory he knew less, perhaps, than of many others throughout the country, inasmuch as during the time he had acted with the Magistrates of the borough, but few vacancies had occurred at Saltley, and the boys had therefore been sent to other institutions. He believed that at Christmas there were only ten Warwickshire boys in the school. Out of fifty boys committed at the Birmingham Police Court, four were sent to Saltley, and the conduct of these was reported as on the whole good. Seventeen boys had been sent to the Roman Catholic Reformatory, and of these the conduct of twelve was reported to have been either good or tolerably good. The results at other Reformatories had been equally satisfactory. A great object gained was the removal of the ringleaders of the gangs of thieves that infested our large towns. With reference to the recent "Maiden Sessions," he thought that might be attributed to a variety of causes, and the same might be said with respect to the comparatively light character of the crimes that appeared in the calendars at our Sessions and Assizes. The removal of so many juvenile offenders to Reformatory Schools, and the large extent to which recruiting had been carried on, had no doubt tended to diminish crime, but it was in the highest degree creditable to the working people of the town, that in a time of depressed trade and great suffering the calendars had been

much lighter than had been known in prosperous times. Mr. Kynnersley concluded, amidst loud applause, by commending the working of the Institution, observing that all the Reports he received as to the influence of such establishments on the future of young criminals strengthened his conviction to their usefulness and in the propriety of greatly extending their operations.—C SHAW, Esq., seconded the resolution. He said that after nearly fifty years' experience amongst working people, he had no hesitation in commending the Saltley Institution as a most valuable agency for cultivating an honest spirit of independence in the minds of youths who had unfortunately been led into crime. He concurred in the suggestion of Mr. Bracebridge as to the advantages of emigration to Canada. In none of our Colonies was there a greater demand for agricultural labour. On the general question he thought that the removal of the persons trained in these Schools to one of our Colonies was the best means of securing their ultimate and permanent reformation. The resolution was carried by acclamation.

The Rev. I. SPOONER moved a vote of thanks to the Committee for their services during the past year. Mr. Spooner urged that while a mild system should be adopted in Reformatories, the penal element should not be lost sight of. The boys should be made to feel that they were sent there for crime.—The Rev. A.A. ELLIS seconded it, and in doing so urged that while preserving the penal aspect of Reformatories, the feeling of self-respect should be encouraged, and indiscriminate punishments avoided.

On the motion of Dr. MELSON, seconded by the Rev. F. WILLIAMS, thanks were voted to Messrs Charles Ratcliff and W. Morgan, the Honorary Secretaries.

The Rev. Dr. MILLER moved a vote of thanks to the Honorary Chaplain, the Rev. F. Williams, and in doing so urged the importance of founding reformatory training on the basis of religion, and contended that it was necessary to maintain the penal element, and to train the children to hard work and plain food. The child must know that he had done wrong, and that to a certain extent he was suffering for that wrong. But it was not to be expected, however efficient these institutions might be, that the results would be palpable and immediate; they must not yield to the morbid desire for immediate results. In order to be thoroughly effective the movement must be gradual. Let it be remembered, too, that although there were but fifty boys in the Saltley Reformatory, each lad was a centre of crime, and therefore it was not improbable that 500 lads were represented by them—(hear, hear.)—Mr BAGNALL seconded the resolution, which was carried.

Thanks were then voted to Mr. Tarleton, the Honorary Surgeon, on the motion of Mr. W. R. LLOYD, seconded by the Rev. J. T. BURR. The first named gentlemen urged that greater attention should be paid to the education of children in the workhouse, many of whom, owing to early neglect there, afterwards became inmates of the gaol and the Reformatory.

The Earl of LITCHFIELD proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Charles Ratcliff, for his able and unwearied services as Treasurer of the

Institution—(cheers). The noble Earl passed a very warm eulogium upon Mr. Ratcliff whom, he said, he had always found ready to work with the utmost zeal and energy for the benefit of the College. He (Lord Litchfield) had inspected the accounts, which Mr. Ratcliff had made his especial care, and he must say that the admirable state in which he found them proved to his mind that their Treasurer took a strong interest in the College, and desired by every means in his power to advance its interests and prosperity—(applause). The accounts continually received of the career of former inmates of Reformatories amply proved the necessity for extending their good influences. He would suggest that the Committee should in their future Reports include some particulars of the career of the boys after leaving Saltley. Such facts would be not only deeply interesting but of the highest importance, as showing the real value of the Institution. The movement, he thought, stood pre-eminent for its practical utility in lessening crime and elevating the moral tone of the lowest class of the community, but whether they were in the right track to work it out fully it was not for him to say. He felt convinced, however, that great good would result from the system at present adopted, and he hoped therefore that in his own county, Staffordshire, one or two Institutions, similar to the one at Saltley, would ere long be established.—Mr. BRACEBRIDGE seconded the proposition, and warmly eulogised the unwearied devotion of Mr. Ratcliff to the interests of the College. The resolution was carried by acclamation.

The Rev. S. GEDGE next proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Harwood and the Teachers of the School, which was seconded by Mr. MORGAN, and carried unanimously.

The Earl of LITCHFIELD having taken the chair, Mr. Charles RATCLIFF moved, and C. SHAW Esq., seconded, a vote of thanks to Lord Littelton for presiding.—His Lordship briefly acknowledged the vote, and the proceedings then terminated.

REPORT.

The Committee of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution have great pleasure in presenting to their subscribers and friends the Fifth Annual Report of their proceedings.

Their work was formerly divided into two branches, namely, the Reformatory for Boys, at Saltley, and the Reformatory for Girls, in Camden-street; but the latter Institution has been transferred to the management of a separate Society, and is now carried on at the Coppice, at Smethwick. Your Committee have therefore been enabled to devote their whole attention to the School, at Saltley, which they are happy to report as being in a higher state of efficiency than at any previous period.

The experience of another year has, however, still further shown that the work is surrounded by difficulty, and that what has been called, "the extirpation of regular juvenile crime," is a social problem of no easy solution.

Reformatory Institutions are contributing to work out the pro-

blem, but many other agencies are required. Among these your Committee would earnestly press upon the consideration of all local authorities, employers of labour, and shopkeepers, particularly in a town like Birmingham, the duty of removing temptations to crime out of the way, while on the other hand the seeds of virtue and industry are sedulously cultivated, so that under God's blessing a reputable character may be attained by multitudes of those who now belong to the "perishing and dangerous class."

In their last Report your Committee referred to the inadequacy of the buildings at Saltley, which have been enlarged to furnish accommodation for fifty boys, thus enabling the Institution not only to provide for cases furnished by the town of Birmingham and elsewhere, but also to carry out the contract which had been made with the Staffordshire Magistrates to receive twenty boys committed from that county in preference to other applicants.

This enlargement of the institution has been now fully completed, and the buildings have been made as perfect as possible. Mr. Adderley kindly lent the sum of £500 towards defraying the cost of the erection, for which loan the Committee pay interest at the rate of £5 per cent. per annum. There is also a balance of £204 12s. due to the contractor. The Committee respectfully solicit contributions towards the discharge of these debts.

The enlargement has materially contributed to the efficiency of the Institution, not only by enabling the Committee to receive an increased number of inmates, but also by providing accommodation on the premises for a gardiner and a resident schoolmaster, neither of whom formerly lived at the school.

The officers of the school are the superintendent and Matron, two domestic Servants, the Schoolmaster, Gardiner, Shoemaker, and Tailor.

With the increase of the number of inmates has arisen a necessity for more land on which they may be employed. This want has been supplied by the Committee becoming yearly tenants of two and a half acres of the garden land adjoining the School at the same annual rent as the other land in the neighbourhood, so that the boys have seven acres and a half of land now under cultivation. Your Committee are satisfied that agricultural labour is the best of all employments, when used as a means for the moral discipline of lads committed to a Reformatory; and they anticipate that ere long a still further extension of the boundaries of the Institution must be sought. They are therefore glad to be able to state that they have secured the option of taking additional land at Michaelmas next.

There are at the present time 50 boys in the School, and in reference to the principles in which they are trained, and general details of management, the Committee have much pleasure in submitting to the subscribers the following extracts from the Report by Mr. Humphreys, the Superintendent.

On the subject of discipline Mr. Humphreys says—

"It will be readily conceded, I think, that in a place where a number of the worst boys, taken from the most degraded class of

society, are collected together, discipline is of the first importance. I don't mean the mere soldier's discipline of enforcing unquestioning obedience to all commands however trivial, though even that would of itself be in many instances a great inroad upon the disorderly habits to which such boys have been accustomed. By discipline I mean all those influences, mental and physical, arising from position, teaching in School, regular work, wholesome and sufficient diet, cleanliness of rooms, persons, and clothing, &c., and the constant inculcation of the principle that it is more the practice of what is right which is desired, than the mere knowledge of it. Knowledge—what is often called religious knowledge—many of them are not so devoid of as some people imagine, but they are without the feeling which would constrain them to use that knowledge as a guide for their daily life. Conscience has been stifled in them instead of being cultivated. They can steal and lie without remorse—without that horribly miserable feeling which even the suggestion of crime brings to the heart of a being properly educated.

“I by no means say that reformatory discipline is all that is necessary to work an enduring change in their dispositions. Unquestionably all our efforts depend for success upon a higher power and a holier influence than any belonging to this world. Still we must not expect success without the efforts, nor without the boy's own will being to some extent enlisted in the attempt to free him from the moral trammels in which vice has entangled him. I have heard it disputed whether Reformatories should not be to some extent penal in character. A little thought would have shown that such a question is not open to discussion. In one feature they are undoubtedly penal—they are places of detention. In every other respect they are purely and simply schools, industrial or trade schools, where every one must work. There is nothing penal in that.

“However much it may suit the purpose of some people to sneer and call them ‘places of reward for criminals,’ the recipients of the so called reward think otherwise. Some of them would rather be in prison, where they would have nothing to do. Some are contented and thankful for the care taken of them and the kindness shown them. Generally scarcely one in ten would remain in the School voluntarily. Even those who have a real desire for a reformation of life, still desire liberty under the idea that they shall be able henceforth to resist temptation; and I do not think that, after a reasonable period of probation, this feeling ought to be discouraged. Certainly our Schools ought not to be conducted so that boys could attach to them the feeling or notion of a permanent home; nor on the other hand ought they purposely be uncomfortably homely, for in that case any boy of the *cuteness* pertaining to the class would quickly exercise his privilege of choosing his residence in one of our country prisons, where he would be in that delightful (to him) state of having ‘nothing to do.’

“A dislike of regular work, either in school or shop, arising from the want of early training in habits of usefulness, is a leading feature in juvenile criminals, only equalled by their dislike of plain food. They would rather have one stuffing of dainties than three good plain meals.

"Many of them are the children of parents who live on the fat of the land, or who feast one day and starve the next. In short, there are three things in Reformatories which will effectually prevent their being looked upon as rewards by young thieves, namely, 'restraint of liberty, hard work, and plain living.'"—The Committee would adopt these views, only pointing out that though it is true that, abstractedly considered, there is nothing penal in an industrial school regularly conducted; still the remarks of the Superintendent show that in the estimation of the class on which the Reformatory Institution is intended to operate the School does present a penal aspect. Speaking in reference to the opinions of the working classes about the Reformatory, Mr. Humphreys says—

"I never yet heard an honest working man speak of our boys as objects of his envy, but I have again and again heard mothers and fathers caution their children against crime, when they have seen our lads hard at work on the land, or walking two and two to Church. I have often heard such expressions as the following:—'They look well off enough, but I should not like my lad to go there.' And again—'Eh! poor children, what sort of fathers and mothers must they have had?' Not one word or look of envy."

As to the most suitable employment for the inmates, Mr. Humphreys reports as follows:—

"I have good reason to be of opinion that land work is the natural antidote to town-poison: that it is in every respect, whether of discipline, moral regeneration, or financially, the most advantageous of all occupations—provided always that there be proper superintendence, a fair proportion of land to the number of hands, and a constant market for produce. It is this last advantage which makes the trades in large Reformatories so much more flourishing than in small ones. They are their own customers. The large numbers find work the one for the other in shoeing, clothing, feeding, &c. A boy with a trade in his fingers will at the expiration of his term of detention almost to a certainty seek employment in town. He will have to live in a neighbourhood densely populated and abounding in gin-palaces, beer-houses, and other houses which I need not mention, and marine-store shops. Is there, can there be a reasonable hope that a youth of seventeen or eighteen years of age would stand against the temptations of such circumstances? Country or colonial life is unquestionably the most suitable for some years at least after leaving the Reformatory. It gives opportunity for good resolutions to strengthen, and industrious habits to be confirmed. With a view to these results I wish we had more land: what we have has been worked into capital condition for the current year, so that we hope to make up a little for the small return of the past. The gardener's wages fall heavily upon so small a quantity of land as the five acres now under cultivation. If we could have the next two fields we should have about eleven acres altogether, to be managed as a garden, not as a farm."

In reference to the instruction of the boys in the trades of tailor and shoemaker now carried on at Saltley, Mr. Humphreys says—

“ The great difficulty is to find an outlet for the productions of the shops. We have now a considerable stock of boots and shoes on hand, also a quantity of men's trousers. It is very desirable that all these should be sold.”

Statistics.—There were 39 boys in the School on the 31st of December, 1857. 20 had been convicted once, 8 twice, 5 thrice, 2 four times, 1 five, 1 six, 1 nine, 1 ten—total, 39. 11 had received no education at all, 8 just knew the alphabet, 9 could read a little, 10 could read and write imperfectly, 1 could read and write well—total, 39. 15 had both parents living, 7 had the father only, 11 mother only, 6 neither parents—total, 39. 7 were from Lancashire, 9 from Middlesex, 10 from Staffordshire, 10 from Warwickshire, 1 from Worcestershire, 1 from Cheshire, 1 from Gloucestershire—total, 39. “ Since the 31st of December 12 more boys have been admitted, and one left to go to the *Akbar* Ship Reformatory, leaving us altogether 50 inmates now in the School.”

In his report Mr. Humphreys further says—“ I have great pleasure in acknowledging the interest which the monthly Visitors have manifested in everything connected with the efficiency of the Institution, as also the kindness of several friends who have given us very tangible evidence of their good-will in the form of presents, namely, H. Yates, Esq., two dozen spades and two dozen garden forks; Messrs. Mapplebeck and Lowe, a culinary digester; C. Ratcliff, Esq., a hamper of fruit; Mr. W. Redding, a set of boys' shoe-making tools.

“ You will be glad to learn that Mr. T. J. Haworth and several students from the College continue to conduct the Sunday afternoon School, and that their efforts are of great service, and highly appreciated by the boys. No boy ever attempts to shirk the Sunday School—always the reverse. What progress is being made in that which is the main aim and object of the Institution time alone can show. It is a work requiring patience as well as faith.”

To these extracts the Committee will add only a few words. Their thanks are due to the Honorary Surgeon and other officers, whose services have been cheerfully rendered during the past year, and they recommend that these gentlemen, and the Sunday School Teachers who have regularly visited the Institution, receive the best thanks of the subscribers for the zeal and interest they have displayed.

The restoration of the inmates to the world as useful members of society will complete the work which your Committee seek to accomplish. Happily the prejudices against the employment of criminals, arising from the imperfection of former systems of prison reformation, are rapidly dying out, and it is found that employment can be obtained both in England and her Colonies for young persons who have been trained in such Institutions as the one at Saltley. Your Committee are anxious to take full advantage of this favourable state of things. They are able to look with satisfaction upon many instances of boys who, on the completion of their several terms of detention at Saltley, have been placed out in eligible situations in and about Birmingham, where they are now creditably em-

ployed, and of others who have emigrated with good prospects of achieving a fair start in life.

In closing their review of the past the Committee feel assured that society at large will cheerfully sympathise in the desire which all those who have worked in this cause now feel, to offer humble and hearty acknowledgments to Him from whom all good comes for the measure of success which has attended their labours, and to derive encouragement to persevere in this work of love, because He has emphatically declared that His Word, the Word which this Institution constantly sets up as its standard of faith and conduct, shall not return unto Him void.

In the early part of April, a petition to parliament was circulated for signature amongst the inhabitants of Londonderry, the objects of which the following letter will explain, and it, to our mind, but half exposes the injurious results which would surely follow if the state should concede the changes prayed for by the petitioners :—

REFORMATORY SCHOOLS IN UNION WORKHOUSES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE FREEMAN.

1, Upper Pembroke-street,
April 6th, 1858.

SIR,—I trust you will permit me to offer, through the medium of your paper, a few observations upon the Derry petition to parliament, praying for the establishment of reformatory schools in union workhouses. The petition consists of four paragraphs. The first is a palpable truism, the other three are founded upon a total misconception, or ignorance, of what the reformatory principle is, and of the system, on which—and on which only—reformatory agency can be successfully developed. The first paragraph tells us that no provision is made in Ireland for the Reformation of juvenile offenders, and that jail association but corrupts the more deeply. Most true in each particular. The second paragraph declares that state reformatories for juvenile offenders are expensive, and that a stigma hangs in after life about those who may have been confined in such institutions. If by a state reformatory is meant an “overgrown young jail” the petitioners are right, but no one thinks of such an awful abuse. But, if they mean that a reformatory, founded by local self-imposed rates, or by local charity, and aided by government inspection and a state subvention, then they are wrong—as wrong as in their statements that a stigma hangs in after years around those who have been confined in reformatories. This statement is simple absurd and without the slightest proof, whilst France, Holland, Belgium, America, Scotland, and England furnish us with countless proofs that exactly the opposite is the result. By the third paragraph the legislature is told that “the existing machinery of the Irish poor-law system might be advantageously employed for the collateral reformation of juvenile offenders, the only changes

required being the allocation of a ward in each union workhouse for a reformatory school, and the appointment of a schoolmaster and schoolmistress to take charge of its male and female department respectively." It would be impossible to show in so few words a more complete ignorance of all the facts bearing on juvenile reformation than is exhibited in this paragraph. The family principle is ignored; individualisation is ignored; separation of religions is ignored; all the proved wisdom of the systems advocated by Mary Carpenter, by Recorder Hill, by Frederic Hill, by Demetz, and by the Rev. John Clay, is ignored; all those beautiful teachings in which all—from Demetz to Barwick Baker—from Pol to De Gasparin—from Mary Carpenter to the Nuns of Arno's Court agree—are ignored, and in their place is substituted a scheme as ill designed as it would be mischievous—as absurd as it would be inoperative, and which would teach neither self dependence nor self respect—not even self control—a scheme which could never arise the soul of "the city Arab, the home Heathen" to its God—which could never wake in his heart the energy and the spirit of a man. It could do none of these things, but it would leave him the poor worthless human weed—as all know the vast majority of our workhouse reared children if a boy, with no home save the workhouse and the jail—if a girl, with no home save the cruel street, and no refuge but the hospital or the asylum. You know, sir, and we all know, that these workhouse children are a disgrace to any civilized nation. If you doubt it, the jail records, the hospital books, and the workhouse officers will prove it. Above all the fifty girls whom the Sisters of Mercy, in Baggot-street, are attempting to reclaim will furnish a fair sample of the inmates of the proposed allocated wards of the workhouse, where "collateral reformation" is to be carried out through the agency of "the existing machinery" of the Irish poor-law system. The fourth paragraph of the petition is entirely wrong in the assumption that the English reformatory acts at all contemplate such a scheme as the petitioners desire to see carried out; and in praying for the extension of the English acts to Ireland they pray for that which would be unsuited to our people, and which would in no way aid the petitioners in securing the objects they desire. It is much to be regretted that 400 of the chief inhabitants of Derry should have signed this petition—a petition which must excite the most profound astonishment of Mr. Adderley, of Sir John Pakington, of Lord Stanley, and of the other members of the present government who are old, and active, and intelligent friends of the reformatory movement. Pardon this trespass on your space; but I trust you will excuse an old and continuous worker in the cause, if I thus endeavour to expose serious errors—more especially when a reformatory schools bill for Ireland, which has received the assent of all in this country and in England capable, from a knowledge of facts and principles, of giving a sound judgment, is about to be introduced to the House of Commons by Mr. Sergeant Deasy and Mr. John Bagwell.

I am, Sir,

Very truly yours,

PATRICK JOSEPH MURRAY.

MEMORANDUM of a Conversation I held to-day with Rev. Mr. M'CALLUM, the Chaplain and Master of the Boys' Refuge, Glasgow.

Glasgow, Good Friday, April 2nd, 1858.

I called to-day on Mr. M'Callum at the Refuge. On entering I saw a boy standing about in the hall.

Mr. M'Callum received me very cordially, and I had an interesting and valuable conversation with him.

Decrease of Crime in Glasgow.—Mr. M'Callum mentioned that he is bringing out a report (now in the press) which shows that since the Reformatory system has been introduced here, there has been a great diminution of the number of inmates in the City Bridewell. Seven years ago the number of prisoners was 700 odd. Now, though the population of the city has much increased, the numbers of prisoners is only 300 odd; this Mr. M'C. attributes to the combined action of the Refuges and the Industrial School, but he thinks the Refuges have been the most important causes of the diminution as they are much larger than the Industrial Schools.

Runaways.—Mr. M'C. says he was sometime ago much plagued by boys escaping. They used to be recommitted to prison as a punishment. This, however, did more harm than good. The boys would say on their return that they were better off in gaol than in the Refuge, in that they rose at 7 o'clock instead of 6, that their food was better, &c. &c. Mr. M'C. thinks the present gaol treatment far too mild. Mr. M'C. has given over having the boys re-committed to prison and punishes them himself by the "towsie" and by separation from their fellows for a considerable time. There has been no escape for six months past, though the boys go out. They went to the panorama a little while ago (at least 300 of them) and one hundred go each Sunday to Church, 100 one Sunday, another 100 another Sunday, and so on. Some also go to the land which is cultivated. The school play grounds, workshops, &c. are encompassed by a wall, and the door is locked, so that they may be said to be usually in a state of confinement.

Admission.—I asked Mr. M'C. what he did with a boy when first admitted, whether he placed him at once with the others. Mr. M'C. said, certainly not. The boy whom I saw in the hall was a new comer. Mr. M'C. keeps each new comer thus for some days, talks to him, and endeavours to bring him to a sense of his condition. When Mr. M'C. thinks a good effect has been produced, he places the boy under the care of a very good boy, directing the former to speak only to the latter, and this is continued until Mr. M'C. thinks the new comer may be safely trusted to mix with his fellows generally. Formerly much mischief was done by new comers talking of their misdeeds to their companions. The above system tends to prevent the practice, which is also forbidden under severe punishment.

Trades.—Mr. M'C. thinks it desirable to have a multiplicity of employments, as he finds that a boy does much better at what he chooses himself. A certain proportion of his boys choose agriculture, but the major part do not like it; when the school is placed in pos-

session of a farm which will be soon, in addition to their present ground, he intends to employ about a hundred in husbandry, which is about as many as he expects will prefer that occupation. The whole number in the school is more than 400, most of whom are town boys, who do not generally like husbandry though some of them do.

Mr. M'C. is about to have a large smithy erected, where he will be able to employ many boys as smiths. Many prefer this trade which is in much request both in Glasgow and the colonies.

Marks.—A bad mark is placed against a boy's name, and three bad marks disqualifies a boy for the next treat, such as going to any sight to which the boys are taken sometimes or joining the excursion to the sea side which is taken annually by steamboat.

Miscellaneous.—Sixteen boys have just left the Refuge, being sent to Montreal consigned to a benevolent gentleman there who undertakes to get them employment.

Mr. M'C. does not agree with Mr. Baker of Hardwicke, that boys should not be committed to Reformatories on their first convictions. He thinks that each case should be dealt with on its individual merits, and where a boy is likely to become a regular offender he should be sent to a Reformatory, on his first conviction. He showed me the history which the boy I saw in the hall, who was convicted for the first time, had given of himself, which clearly shewed that he would in all probability have become a thief had he not been sent to a Reformatory.

(Signed)

ALFRED HILL.

We are indebted to Mr. Alfred Hill, for his kindness in supplying these notes; and we are very happy to find that the Glasgow House of Refuge is making that progress in usefulness predicted for it by the Recorder of Birmingham, and our worthy friend, the Rev., Dr. Craik. How long are we to be without such institutions in Ireland, how long are we to be astounded by such police reports as the following, taken from *The Limerick Reporter* of April 13th?

“*SHOPLIFTING.*—John Hanly, a juvenile, who is within the statuteable age of whipping, 14 years, was brought up for the *thirty-sixth* time by Constable Nash, who charged him with stealing 3lbs. of tea off the counter in Mr. Quinn's shop and walking off with it, but was detected in the street; and, this fact being established, the magistrates sentenced him to be imprisoned for three months with hard labour and two whippings.”

When *Peachum* sings, in *The Beggar's Opera*, “I wonder any man alive would ever rear a daughter!” we all laugh, but really it appears to us that sons are generally more troublesome, and we have, under our system, no means of checking their evil

propensities if the youths stop short of the committal of that which is actual crime in the contemplation of the law. It is otherwise in France, and in this phase of Juvenile Reformation (more especially as regards the sons of persons in affluent circumstances,) M. Demetz is as successful in his efforts as in these cases coming more fully within the scope of Mettray. From the *Midland Counties Herald* of April 8th we take the following, from the pen of one to whom the country and all interested in the Reformatory Question owe the deepest debts of gratitude :—

Our readers will perhaps recollect that a translation of the Report for 1856 of the Reformatory at Mettray, appeared in the *Midland Counties Herald* towards the close of that year. We have now the pleasure to present to them the Report for 1857 ; and in doing so we desire to draw their attention to a new feature in that important institution.

We must premise that in France a power, entitled *Correction Paternelle*, is lodged in the hands of parents to procure, by application before an appointed tribunal, the imprisonment for short periods of their unruly offspring. By virtue of articles 375 and 376 of the *Code civil*, children under sixteen years of age may be thus imprisoned for one month, while those between sixteen and twenty-one years of age are liable to six month's confinement.

In a late edition of his pamphlet upon Mettray, M. Cochin, quoting from its annual reports, states that formerly there existed in Paris alone any institution suited to the reception of children of the upper classes who had rendered themselves liable to *Correction Paternelle*. Elsewhere the gaol was the only place in which the sentence of the Court upon them could be carried into execution, and the dread of exposing them to the contaminating influences of promiscuous imprisonment naturally deterred parents from resorting to such means of repression. Those who could afford to do so preferred to send their unmanageable sons abroad, in the hope of thus removing them from pernicious associates, and breaking their bad habits. But by this course they often only substituted one form of dissipation for another, and by interrupting the youths' studies, and placing them beyond their control, not unfrequently aggravated the evil they sought to cure. Detention in agricultural colonies similar to that which ordinary young offenders undergo would be found unsuited to the class now under consideration. The system pursued in these establishments is not calculated to effect a cure within so limited a time as that for which alone such youths can by law be imprisoned ; and they would, moreover, be liable to form intimacies among their companions which would be most injurious in after life. By placing them, however, in separate confinement while there every objection is obviated. * “ Its effects must have been witnessed,

* Notice sur Mettray, par Augustin Cochin.

says M. Demetz, "for the happy influence it exercises on the moral being of the youth to be justly appreciated. A thorough change takes place in him. With no amusements or diversion to distract his attention, there is nothing which can drive from his mind the exhortation and advice he receives. Meditation brings his past life constantly before him. In solitude his pride and self-love vanish. His thoughts necessarily are turned inward. He is no longer ashamed to listen to the whispers of conscience, which have been most justly called, 'The voice of God.' By degrees he becomes open to religious impressions. Work is welcome, first, as affording him something to do, while very soon he comes to regard it as a pleasure. He eagerly applies himself to it, and what until then he had looked upon as an irksome task, he learns to consider a source of consolation, and even so great a necessity that the heaviest punishment it is possible to inflict upon him is to deprive him of all occupation. The short duration of his imprisonment must remove every apprehension from the minds of those who might be disposed to dread the ill effects of separate confinement." *

Three years ago, it would appear, M. Demetz began to receive under his care the sons of wealthy parents, whose unruly conduct rendered them unmanageable at home or in ordinary schools. The maintenance and education of these pupils is, of course, paid for by their friends. This extension of his enterprise has been attended, we are informed in the present report, with such happy results that M. Demetz contemplates enlarging the accommodation devoted to these youths, in order to receive more than the very limited number he has hitherto been able to admit. As it is a part of his system to separate pupils of this class completely from each other, and indeed to keep the fact of their presence in the institution a secret from all but the officers and their own families, while at the same time ample provision is made for preserving their health, and conducting their education in a manner befitting their position in society, it is obvious that the buildings appropriated to their use must be elaborate, and consequently costly. Hitherto the few pupils belonging to the upper classes that have yet been received at Mettray have not been lodged, we believe, in a house specially built for them, but M. Demetz is now desirous that one should be forthwith prepared. We have seen the design for the edifice he contemplates erecting. Each youth will have a distinct dwelling, consisting of three rooms, with a small garden attached for the purposes of exercise and recreation. Though these dwellings are so arranged as to render communication between the inhabitants impossible, they are yet completely under the surveillance of the officers. Professors and a chaplain will reside at the establishment, while each boy will, we understand, be under the care of a separate tutor. M. Demetz himself will watch over all.

We gather from the report before us that the need for such an institution is more strongly felt in France than we should hope it is

* Rapport sur les Colonies Agricoles; lu à la Réunion Internationale de Charité, par M. Demetz.—1855.

in England. We cannot but fear, however, that numerous instances may be met with even in our own country in which such discipline as that of Mettray would afford the only hope of reclaiming the lad whom natural infirmities of character, over-indulgence, or other untoward circumstances have rendered the bane of his family, to become at a later period a curse to society. It is this conviction which has elicited our remarks. We have been informed that M. Demetz would willingly admit English youths, and should their friends desire to conceal the fact of their being in a Reformatory it would not be difficult to do so, for as the custom already prevails amongst us of sending our sons abroad for education, there would be nothing to attract attention in thus placing a lad at school in France, supposing the name of the school were suppressed. Mettray is a Roman Catholic Institution, and a boy of that creed would doubtless feel more at home there than a Protestant. The religious education of the latter, however, would of course invariably be entrusted to a minister of his own faith; an arrangement for which the proximity of Tours, where not only a large number of English reside, but, we believe, a clergyman of the Anglican establishment officiates, affords probably peculiar facilities. That any attempt to proselytise would be permitted in an institution of which M. Demetz is at the head, no one acquainted with his character would for a moment believe.

REPORT OF M. DEMETZ,
Director of the Agricultural Colony of Mettray,
To the Société Paternelle.—1857.

GENTLEMEN,—After eighteen years of existence, and, we may add, of success, we might be excused from again coming before the public, in order to set forth the results obtained at Mettray; the more so that our institution, from the very day of its commencement, has always been open to those most competent to judge of it, with a view to its advantages being fairly appreciated.

Still, when the object of the enterprise under consideration is to throw light on one of the most complex problems of social economy—the improvement of the human race; when the most efficacious means of preparing a happier future for our country are being sought in arresting the progress of demoralisation, the last word can never be uttered. Scarcely is one evil obviated than another is discovered, to which a remedy must be applied. Thus it is that after devoting your attention to the poor and criminal children you found sunk in misery, you have resolutely undertaken the case—according to the plan indicated by the law, which decrees the establishment of Penitentiary Colonies *—of those young persons belonging

* See the Law of August 5th, 1850, and the very remarkable Report of M. Corne which precedes it. This may be considered the most important document which has been published relating to young *detenus*, whose precise position is not fully understood by the public.

[In the law here alluded to, besides the above and various other

to the middle and upper classes who, without absolutely infringing the penal laws, are not the less deserving of correction. We speak of children detained by virtue of *correction paternelle*.

That spirit of resistance to all control which, spreading from one to another, has infected every rank of society, has penetrated from public life even into the domestic circle; and there are at this time parents among us who, to their astonishment, have encountered on the part of their children a degree of insubordination, often even of audacity—for the expression is not too strong—of which their predecessors would never have dreamt. We cannot help quoting, in illustration of this opinion, an answer made to us very lately by one of our pupils whom we had reproved for most outrageous conduct towards his widowed mother. He replied—“Why what could you expect?” My school-fellows always told me it was degrading to obey a woman.” The lad was scarcely sixteen years old, and the woman was his mother!

And if paternal authority is but too often despised, it must be admitted that the authority of mothers is still more disregarded; we mean of those widowed mothers whose children, aware that they will one day inherit a large fortune, think only of the time when they will be able to spend it. These are the individuals whom we more especially desire to deal with. They require, more than any other class, that some check should be applied to their spirit of insubordination; they imagine, poor children, that by their precocious depravity they raise themselves to the dignity of manhood. The mother

provisions, it is decreed that “Colonies Correctionnelles,” of a more penal character than the “Colonies Agricoles,” shall be established for the reception of the worst class of juvenile offenders, including those who, after being admitted into a Reformatory School, prove themselves by their insubordinate conduct to be unworthy of its advantages, and are certain to exercise an evil influence over their companions. Unfortunately, no such colonies have yet been founded: but that the want of them is sorely felt may be inferred from the earnestness with which M. Demetz, in a report recently addressed to the Minister of the Interior, urges that the decree should be carried into execution.

The managers of various Reformatories in our own country have latterly expressed a strong opinion in favour of the establishment of Penal Schools, to which they could send unmanageable children, to be dealt with more severely than the discipline of their own institutions permits. At present the only alternative to retaining inmates whose depravity and insubordination exercise a most injurious influence over their better disposed companions, is to send them to gaol, from which, after a short incarceration, the managers are compelled to receive them back, whether they have been benefited or further corrupted by their imprisonment; and when the utter unsuitableness of a gaol to the right treatment of children is remembered, it can scarcely be doubted that they usually come out worse than they go in.]—*Trans.*

of one of these, not long since, wrote to us, as mothers alone can write:—"I see clearly that it is my weakness which has caused all the mischief, and that I deserve to be consigned to a cell by the side of that which my child occupies. Will you aid me to regain that authority which Providence entrusted me with, but which I knew not how to maintain?" We gladly acceded to such a request; and strengthened by this touching appeal we addressed her ungrateful son in these words, "You have cruelly treated her whom it was your duty to cherish and respect; you have shamefully abused her kindness. A mother's heart is far more deeply wounded by the bad conduct of her son than it could be even by stabs from a poniard; and yet yours would willingly have said to you, 'Strike but listen.' But now the time for indulgence is past. I am become the depository of that authority you have too long despised, and it is with me you will have to deal. I have two hands—the one wears a gauntlet of iron, the other a velvet glove. It depends upon your behaviour which I shall use. Do not attempt to struggle; you can never outdo me in strength. Besides, why struggle with your friends? I wage war with your faults only, not with yourself: but to bring you back into the right path I shall not hesitate to use the utmost severity should it be necessary; power and authority are combined in my hands."

This language, which indicates to our pupils the line of conduct we intend to pursue towards them, never fails to make an impression on their young minds; and we must admit that, with very few exceptions, we find they yield to our exhortations. It is true that we neglect no means of convincing them that we never exercise severity towards them but with regret. Without such a conviction our efforts would be fruitless. Thus no lad comes to us without our having written to him some time before, to urge him to alter his behaviour. This letter is transmitted by the *President du Tribunal* to his parents, who return it to us, that we may modify it to suit the character of the child. It is usually couched in some such terms as the following:—

"I learn with regret that by your conduct you give your excellent family serious cause of complaint, and that the exhortations of your parents have produced no effect. The time for severity has arrived. An order issued by the *President du Tribunal*, will deprive you of your liberty, and in the cell to which you are about to be consigned, you will have to reflect upon the melancholy consequences which have resulted from forgetting your duty. Charged with executing this severe sentence, which will immediately be passed upon you, I earnestly wish to mediate between your family and yourself, and obtain for you a reprieve. Profit by the time afforded you, and implore from your parents pardon for your past conduct; as yet, disgrace attaches only to yourself, but hereafter it will recoil on a name you ought to honour. From the very day on which you receive this letter, cultivate industrious habits, be submissive and respectful, seek to revive in your heart those feelings of religion which were the joy of your early childhood, and which you have so soon forgotten; show yourself grateful to God, who has prompted me to

save you from the punishment awarded to your guilty conduct. If neglecting this fatherly warning, you persist in the unhappy course you have adopted, do not reproach him who has done his utmost to spare you the severe treatment which you will then fully deserve. But there is yet time. Give me the gratification of having aided in leading you back into the path of duty, and of restoring that happiness to your family which you ought never to have disturbed."

We have the satisfaction of informing you that in some instances this warning has sufficed to arrest the youth in his downward progress. If, notwithstanding this endeavour, he persist in his evil conduct, and he is brought here, we say to him, "My dear boy, how is it that you are come here? I did all in my power to save you from being sent to a place of punishment; but I warned you that if you persisted in grieving your family, I should treat you with severity. I must keep my word, or you would not believe me in future; but if you behave well, if you amend your habits, if you exhibit the slightest symptom of repentance, and of returning to a right course, you may be assured of the eagerness with which I shall give you credit for a desire to improve." In general the success of an undertaking depends on the manner in which it is begun; and it is consequently very important that the first impression made on the lad's mind should be a favourable one.

Their authority is, for a time at least, placed in our hands by the parents, who give their word of honour to leave us to act on all points as we shall deem best. We require this concession for two reasons. First:—We are testing an entirely new system of education. If we are hampered in its application by interposition on the part of the family, it will not be possible to discover whether the system has been ill applied, or whether it is bad in itself, and public opinion will proscribe it for ever. Secondly:—In assuming as regards the child the whole responsibility of the rigorous measures adopted towards him, we avoid the risk of destroying what little affection for his family may yet survive in his heart. What little affection! Painful indeed must these words be to parents when they feel but too often that it is the very excess of their tenderness which has brought about this miserable result; truly instructive are they for the future! But were we to attempt to trace effects to their causes, we might, Gentlemen, publish a volume instead of a report. We will leave it to time to supply us with fresh arguments.

You may, perhaps, be surprised that we should have, to some extent, thrown into a dialogue form, the narrative we have just related, instead of contenting ourselves with a simple analysis. We believed, however, that this was the best method of explaining our system. In thus bringing it into operation before you, so to speak, you could better appreciate both its advantages and drawbacks. It now remains for us only to state a few details which will throw light upon this department as a whole.

The approach of the holidays increases the number of applications from parents for admission—a fact easily explained.

It is obvious to the heads of families that at such a season they run a risk of rewarding the child whose conduct during the whole past

year has been bad, for it is impossible to change home into a place of punishment at a time when all is joy and festivity, especially where there are other children who deserve nothing but praise. On the other hand, at some schools pupils are not permitted to remain during the holidays; and in all the discipline, at this period of rest from work, is sure to be relaxed. Removing to Mettray obviates all these difficulties; one inconvenience alone remaining, namely, that at this season we cannot arrange for our lads to compete in writing exercises with the lads of the [neighbouring] Public School, as they are accustomed to do during the session. We must acknowledge that in so far they lose a motive to emulation; but at the same time our discipline is the more felt at this period of the year, when the child's thoughts naturally revert to the enjoyments from which he is cut off.*

But though we can thus deprive those lads of their holiday who do not deserve it, we reserve the means of enabling such among our pupils to enjoy it as during their stay with us have shown a desire to do well.

It is by this potent alternative—everything to hope if they behave well, and everything to fear if they behave ill—that men are kept in the path of duty, and *à fortiori* the child.

We have met with much sympathy and aid from some excellent clergymen in our neighbourhood. Desiring to promote our undertaking, they agree to receive our pupils as boarders, whenever we are of opinion that the strict discipline of Mettray has sufficiently operated on their young hearts. Thus we afford these lads an opportunity of exercising their liberty under certain restrictions.

In this intermediate stage we can judge how far we have influenced their disposition. It is a species of moral quarantine, which indicates what we have to hope or to fear from the future.

We will conclude this explanation of our system by an observation which we trust may bear fruit in making parents understand how important it is not to delay entrusting their children to us, until they have become utterly unmanageable. Hitherto success has crowned our efforts, even when we had to deal with individuals from sixteen to eighteen years old; though we must confess that we had serious misgivings with respect to them. Our task, however, has been far easier, and attended with the happiest results when our pupils have been under fourteen years of age.

It is easy to understand why, when the only alternative was to consign the child to gaol, the step was delayed until the case became extreme, just as amputation is adopted only when gangrene has set in. But now the remedy consists in sending the youth not to prison, but

* We must not omit to express our sincere gratitude to the Principal and the Professors of the Lycée at Tours, who have been good enough to permit our pupils to write exercises with theirs, they informing us of the subject of the composition. Our pupils never sign their names to their exercises, in order that their *incognito* may be preserved. Thus they are benefited by the spirit of emulation, without the seclusion in which it is desirable to keep them, for a time at least, being interrupted.

to what may be called a strict school, where, however, he goes out of doors every day with the person who superintends his education, and is even permitted occasionally to make longer excursions, provided his conduct be very satisfactory. It is impossible, therefore, to explain the neglect on the parts of heads of families of the Reformatory means we place at their disposal, and the efficiency of which no longer admits of doubt.*

Being now convinced, by three years' experience, of the advantages of our new department, we would gladly see its benefits shared by a larger number. For this reason we have thought of admitting children from foreign countries who cause their parents anxiety and trouble. The distance, instead of being a drawback, should rather be considered an advantage, as it would aid to keep the lad's secret. Moreover, when entirely removed from the scenes among which he has lived, and where doubtless he has too often found persons ready to indulge his evil tendencies, the youth will be driven by the isolation in which he will be placed to endeavour to gain our affection, certain of winning it if he behave well.

We are aware that national manners differ, and that in some countries paternal authority maintains its ascendancy; but the means of preserving this happy state of things in the midst of the spirit of insubordination which threatens to spread throughout the world, lies in convincing young persons that should the evil appear it will be immediately suppressed.

Our house, which is even now too small to meet the applications for admission which come to us from our own country, would not permit of our receiving foreigners, and we contemplate, therefore, erecting additional buildings, in order that our undertaking may be carried into execution on the extended scale which appears desirable.†

Notwithstanding the deep interest we take in the new department whose advantages we have just pointed out, and notwithstanding the gratification it affords us in restoring happiness to many a domestic circle whence it has long been banished, let us assure you, gentlemen, we neglect no duty demanded of us by the Colony of Mettray properly so called—that enterprise which first brought us into co-operation, and which receives the uninterrupted aid and approval of this country.

We have on the present occasion no incidents to relate which have given to our colonies an opportunity of proving their courage, and to

* It is also most important not to delay sending the lad to us until he has been expelled from school, for if he sees his future thus blasted, there is reason to fear he will be discouraged. We have had a youth under our care whose father, hoping thereby to intimidate him, had made him believe that his name had been erased from the register of his former school. He lost all hope, saying, "What is the use of working?" Having afterwards learnt that he had not undergone the disgrace of expulsion, he applied himself to his tasks with ardour, and won a position among the best scholars.

† For fuller explanation, see the details contained in the "Notice Cochín" on the Colony at Mettray.

a great city one of testifying its appreciation of it, such as the inundation of the Loire afforded last year.*

Twice over, however, they have helped to extinguish fires which broke forth in the neighbourhood, but in neither instance did anything occur worth recording, nor, happily, any accident to deplore. On a former similar occasion one of our colons perished, the victim to zeal and self-devotion, of which one of our Magistrates has been pleased publicly to express his admiration.

The past year has slipped tranquilly away. Thus we must depend on the interest you feel in our children, when we narrate facts which, to persons less favourably inclined, would appear not worth the trouble of relating; but we are aware that nothing connected with Mettray can be indifferent to you.

At the very moment of writing these words, one of our lads has died in consequence of a kick from a horse, received while in the service of the farmer with whom we had placed him. He was quite aware of his danger, and knowing that the Colony is always open to her children when in need of aid, he begged that he might be laid on a mattress in a cart, and so be conveyed to our Infirmary. The journey was not accomplished without the poor fellow suffering acutely from the jolting of the vehicle. Nevertheless, he said to the driver, "Pray drive faster, or I never shall get there in time." The man did not fully understand what these words implied, but the Colony was no sooner reached than their meaning was made plain. The poor lad immediately asked for the chaplain with whom he had always kept up intercourse, and made his confession. The wound was mortal. Two days had scarcely elapsed when our poor colon breathed his last sigh, surrounded by his school-fellows, who were deeply impressed by his fervour and resignation. He said to us, "I have given you a great deal of trouble, but I could not die among strangers,"—words which revealed the position which Mettray holds in the hearts of her children.

If our colons appreciate the debt they owe to Mettray, their parents do not appear less impressed by it. For instance, a poor woman, whose only means of subsistence is her labour, offered to the Minister of the Interior to take upon herself the expense of the maintenance and education of her son, then confined in a gaol where he cost her nothing, solely on condition that he should be received at Mettray. An engagement such as this, contracted at the price of the severest privation, imposes a heavy responsibility upon us, rendering it our duty to return to such a mother a son who, by his good conduct, shall indemnify her for all her sacrifices.

To this very touching proof of confidence we may add a striking mark of approbation emanating from one of the great departments of the State.

* The Town Council of Tours has been pleased to cause a medal to be struck bearing this legend:—"A la Colonie de Mettray, la ville de Tours reconnaissante." [Some of these medals were exhibited in Birmingham, at the Bazaar held in 1856, in aid of the Ad-derley Park Fund.—*Trans.*]

In the report on the budget for 1858 occurs the following words:—

“The Colony of Mettray has especially excited our interest, and we recommend it to the favourable attention of the Minister of Agriculture. We are of opinion that a permanent and liberal grant would be justifiable to an institution deserving of praise under three several aspects—moral, agricultural, and penitential. It benefits our own country, and affords a model to foreign lands.”*

Such praise is flattering indeed. We venture, however, to accept it, for we believe it to be deserved; and we trust that the Minister will share the favourable opinion of the Commission on the Budget, and will do his utmost in future to render his grant commensurate with the importance of your services, for we have had much difficulty in meeting our expenses latterly, through the great rise in the price of provisions.

Through the kind attention of a very kind reverend friend we lately had the pleasure and advantage of a long conversation with the Rev. Father Caccia, Rector of the Catholic Reformatory School near Market-Weighton, Yorkshire. We found him a disciple of M. Demetz, and one of the most accomplished and thorough scholars, in every point connected with the Reformatory System, it has been our good fortune to meet. We beg attention to the following documents supplied us by Father Caccia:—

Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, read at the Meeting held at Leeds, on the 18th of November, 1857.

The Bishop of Beverley having taken the Chair, and addressed the Meeting in support of the Institution which he had lately visited, the following Report was read by the Rev. Father Caccia.

The task, which it is my duty to perform, is doubtless a difficult one, either if you consider the delicate nature of the Report you expect, concerning our work in a field, previously ploughed and sown by other hands; or, the necessity of speaking of results, which, although the effect of Divine assistance, are generally attributed to human exertion.

In order to free myself as much as possible from these difficulties, I formed the resolution of submitting to your consideration, a few extracts, taken from our Diary, which, containing all the occurrences of our School, and being destined only for private use, will prove a faithful witness of the results already attained, as well as a pledge of the most sanguine hopes for the future.

* In the first instance we received as a grant from the Minister of Agriculture the sum of 12,000 francs, (£480.) which has been reduced to 4,000 francs. Small though the amount be, our gratitude is not the less due for this proof of sympathy from his Excellency, who has been so good as to express his regret that he cannot do more.

Before beginning, I beg you will favour me with your indulgence for my imperfect elocution.

As soon as the agreement, which entrusted your Reformatory School to the care of the Institute of Charity was signed, I being appointed to the work, perceived at a glance its importance since the education of youth had been my principal occupation for twenty years, in my native country. Consequently, I sought and obtained for my staff of brothers, those whom I knew to be the best suited for the work; went to St. Bernard's with the two principal brothers, the Prefect, and the Schoolmaster, where they remained for three weeks, in order to become acquainted with the practical details of a school conducted on a large scale: afterwards, I went with the first mentioned brother, to Blythe House, Hammersmith, to compare the working of the different systems; and commenced on 1st June, the charge entrusted to us.

I shall never forget the trials we had to endure at the beginning! The boys shewed most unmistakeable signs of insubordination; arrangements were made amongst them for running away; mocking and looks of defiance were seen at every turn; grumbling and discontent were the order of the day; all which, as we afterwards learnt, had been previously planned, in order to try our strength and patience.

One morning it rained, and the boys, on being set to make mats, began to grumble, and even refused to perform this prison-like work. One of the bigger boys, in particular, showed a most determined obstinacy, and arming himself with a stick, he excited others to imitate him. As it was absolutely necessary to quell these disorderly proceedings, Br. Prefect considered it his duty to make an example of the ringleader. Whilst chastising him, another of the boys, reputed the strongest and the leader of the worst, undertook to defend his companion, and attempted to strike the Brother, who, however, aware of the importance of the issue of the affair, with great presence of mind, seized his assailant by the collar, flung him flat to the ground several times, and to the great amazement of the rest, walked him off to the dark cell, in which place he remained till dinner time.

The boy, afterwards, acknowledged to me, that, he was fully aware of his fault, and confessed his readiness to perform whatever penance I should impose upon him, which readiness was confirmed by his asking pardon publicly, on his knees.

Another source of anxiety, was the appearance, near, and upon our premises, of men, recognized by some of the boys, as belonging to notorious gangs in this town, (Leeds.) They had the audacity to speak to some of the boys, in order to persuade them to run away, and even to set fire to the house. In the mean time, having acquired a sufficient knowledge of the peculiar nature of our work, I proceeded to put in practice my own plan of direction. My first step was to fit up a more suitable altar for the preserving of the Blessed Sacrament, and to adorn the house with such pictures as are calculated to convey a religious impression to the minds of the boys. At the same time I began a course of daily catechetical instructions,

intermixed with moral reflections and striking practical consequences, whilst endeavouring, also, to win their hearts by kindness and marks of affection, without, however, allowing any breach of discipline to pass unnoticed.

The simple notice of my readiness to speak with them in private, concerning their spiritual necessities, induced them all, without exception, to profit by the opportunity, although I did not enforce it upon them, as an obligation. By this means I sounded the depth of their religious knowledge, which, I found to be very superficial, if anything at all; and moreover I succeeded in gaining their confidence, by appealing to their better feelings.

The clear, simple, and practical preaching on the Gospel every Sunday morning, and, on the Eternal Truths in the afternoon, with reflections upon the same, after the service in a conference of the Brothers with the boys, I have found to produce excellent fruits.

Towards the end of the first month, an occurrence took place, which, though painful in itself, has been in the hands of Divine Providence, the cause of a great moral improvement. A heinous moral fault, calling for a severe and public chastisement, was committed. The offender was lodged in the dark cell, where he remained all day with bread and water for his meals. Before evening prayers, having been previously prepared to submit to punishment for his guilt, he was brought into the presence of all the boys and the superiors, with the exception of myself, and severely chastised: all being exhorted to take warning by this example. The sensation produced was so great, that the majority of the boys mingled their tears with those of the culprit, and evidently appreciated the rigour of the chastisement. The lesson proved effectual, as from that time no great moral fault has ever been detected; on the contrary, the boys have since amended so much, that I had the consolation of not only re-admitting to Holy Communion eight of them, but also of choosing eight others for First Communion.

Another cause, and the last of general disturbance, was the running away at the end of the same first month of one of the boys who was very cunning, and received only just previous to our coming, and consequently always seeking an opportunity to escape. Only a fortnight before he had attempted to put his project in practice, having also enticed another boy to accompany him. His plan of proceeding was this:—he purloined a suit of old clothes belonging to another boy, secreted them in an empty cask, and made up his mind to jump from his window during the night. The detection of the clothes discovered his plan; he was but slightly punished, this being his first offence. On the 27th June, having been punished for telling a lie, he about mid-day concealed himself in the ditch near the house without his coat and cap, and made off as soon as he perceived that no particular attempt was made to find him. The boys were surprised at seeing no bustling or any apparent trouble being taken respecting the fugitive, and were at a loss what to think when we told them to pray for him, and that in a few days he would again be amongst them. Indeed things went on as usual; letters, however, descriptive of the boy were written to the police inspectors

of the neighbouring towns, and only two days after, we received the notice that he was apprehended in this very town, (Leeds.) The surprise of the boys on his appearing amongst them so soon, can scarcely be expressed. He was threatened with the exemplary punishment of a month's imprisonment in a public gaol, but owing to the visit of the Fr. General of the Institute, the punishment was commuted to a few days' confinement in the dark cell, upon bread and water diet.

Until the beginning of July, our efforts were chiefly directed to enforce discipline, and we found many of the bigger boys had begun to lead quite a different life, showing a great affection for us, and a consoling spirit of docility, with the determination of becoming good. The daily instructions were listened to with attention and an evident desire of learning. The teaching of music, and the singing of pious hymns in the chapel, accompanied with the harmonium, a precious gift of Capt. Stapleton, co-operated much to move their hearts and make them exceedingly pleased with their new system of life. At this period, we found it necessary to cause the best boys to co-operate with us in subduing their still stubborn companions. The boys were consequently divided into three classes, according to their size. In each class the better boys were chosen as sergeants or corporals charged with the observance of discipline, whilst military drill contributed also to enforce the spirit of order in every thing. To carry out better this family system, we resolved to take our meals in the same room with the boys, and arranged the horary and occupations in such a manner as to have the boys always within sight. The following is the winter horary. At half-past five o'clock, rise, wash, and clean themselves; six, Morning Prayers and Mass; half-past six, school; half-past seven, breakfast; eight, work as follows, three boys with the cook, for kitchen and housework; three with the shoemaker; five with the tailor; two with the carpenter; two as stable boys; and twenty in the fields, with the Prefect of field labour. I always feel moved when, at the beginning of work, from the different shops and the fields, I hear the boys singing their simple prayer in these few, but touching words, repeated thrice, "My Jesus, I do this for the love of Thee." At a quarter to twelve, work is discontinued and all prepare for dinner; twelve, Angelus and dinner. At all the meals, one of the boys reads some instructive book; after dinner, a visit to the B. Sacrament, and recreation; half-past one, work as before; five, school; six, supper and recreation; half-past seven, school again; half-past eight, Evening Prayers, Hymn, and retire to rest. The greater part of the evening recreation is spent by some, in learning vocal music, and by others, in practising the fife and drum; whilst the remaining boys listen, with pleasure, to the reading of some amusing and instructive book, by one of the brothers.

As regards their improvement in elementary knowledge, you will easily understand the difficulty of teaching such boys, if you reflect that the stages of their education are almost as numerous as are the boys themselves, which, of course, renders it difficult to organise them in classes. Nevertheless the patience and zeal of the school-

master had a witness in the satisfaction which Mr. Morrell expressed at his official visit, on the last of July. Perhaps, if I were to inform you, that now, many of the boys are able to sing in Latin the Psalms for Vespers, and one of Webbe's Masses, you might form some idea of their improvement. In addition to a sense of duty, they are encouraged to study from the persuasion, that in after life, theirs will be a very poor condition, if dependent upon others in the management of their business, from a want of elementary knowledge.

Since July, the boys have shewn such a gradually increasing good conduct, as to encourage us to establish a Section of Honour, for those who had not only not given any trouble by misconduct, but who on all occasions had conducted themselves in a satisfactory manner: the Feast of St. Charles, (Nov. 4th,) was chosen for the inauguration of it. On the morning of the Feast, the flags were hoisted, the boys were attired in new tunics, those who had been chosen unanimously by the Brothers, were distinguished by stripes of red braid upon their collar, and the Tablet of Honour upon which their names, eight in number, were written, was placed in a conspicuous part of the house. The Hon. Chas. Langdale having kindly consented to honour the boys by his presence, arrived in time for High Mass. After Vespers, all the boys and Superiors, together with other friends come for the occasion, assembled in the school-room, and the Section of Honour was presented to the Hon. Gentleman, who kindly addressed them at some length in a very exhortative manner. The impression made by the solemnity of the day will no doubt produce good fruits by emulation, and encourage others to strive for the same honour on a future occasion.

With these happy results, you may be tempted to think that we never more find it necessary to have recourse to punishment. No, *our* boys are far from being angels. Punishment is inflicted, but never at the moment of the fault, except in very rare and particular occasions, and this in order to be assisted by reflection, and to give time for repentance, so that, when the punishment is inflicted, the culprit is fully aware beforehand, that it is deserved, and its justice is, of course, acknowledged.

Each Brother keeps an account of all the offences, as well as the good deeds of the boys under his charge. Every Sunday morning, both Superiors and boys meet together, when each brother gives an account of each of his boys, whose good conduct or misbehaviour is commended or reprehended as deserved. If it be found necessary to inflict chastisement for the repetition of a fault, it is administered during the course of the following week. Bread and water diet for one or more days; silence, solitude, or work, during recreation; taking meals apart, or some strokes on the hand, are the ordinary punishments; the dark cell, since the beginning of July, has only once been occupied. At the Sunday's Report, after the communion of the 16 boys, not a fault was laid to the charge of any of the boys, and in general, punishment at the present time is reserved for the little boys, upon whom religion and mental persuasion have too little influence to dispense them from sensible warnings.

Up to the present date we have received eight new boys, making a total of thirty-five, leaving only four vacancies in the present building. Our plan is to keep the new boys apart for a few days under the tuition of a boy with the rank of sergeant, during which time, their character and natural inclinations are studied by us, whilst they themselves learn the duties of external discipline, in order that when they join the class assigned them, they may naturally fall into the general good behaviour of the others, who, by their cheerfulness and affection to the Superiors, point out for their encouragement, a source of real happiness never before tasted.

I expect to see a great moral improvement in the school, as twenty-nine boys received the Sacrament of Confirmation on Saturday last. I, with great pleasure, take this opportunity of mentioning that we are indebted to our venerable Chairman, for the foundation of a Reformatory School in this country. He, for this purpose, generously appropriated a beautiful building, together with 70 acres of land; well knowing, that if the education of children, next to the conversion of sinners, was the principal object of our Redeemer's love, both these objects are obtained in a Reformatory School for juvenile delinquents. The interest he has taken, and the encouragement he has given us, in our work of reforming this precious, but unfortunate portion of his flock, increased with the good conduct of the boys, and as soon as they were prepared, he kindly condescended to visit them, and administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. The Hon. C. Langdale, having, with truly paternal affection, constantly inquired about their progress and wants, and frequently visited them, kindly accepted the duties of godfather, thus acquiring a new title to their reverence and affection.

A continual watchfulness over the moral development of the boys, in order to ascertain if it be the effect of a good disposition, rather than hypocrisy; a rigorous prohibition to speak to each other of their past lives; the enforcing of silence during work and in the ranks; readiness to attend to their wants, and to assist them in overcoming their temptations; the encouragement to confidence in the good dispositions of their superiors, and the example of paternal care and sacrifice for their sake: these are the means most calculated to win every heart, to check every bad habit, and to enforce every religious or social virtue.

The moral improvement of our boys is such, at present, that we may greatly increase their numbers, not only without danger to them, but with the advantage of making them the standard and promoters of the reformation of the new comers, who, being admitted at different periods, and singly, cannot but follow the general discipline, and be benefited by the good example of the older inmates.

This is the present condition of your Reformatory School. Thanks be to God, above all, for His evident assistance in a work, which redounds particularly to His glory, and after God, thanks be to you my Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen, and especially to the Members of the Committee, for the kind encouragement and effectual support you have given to our endeavours, as well as for the generous assistance I hope you will give for the enlargement of the establishment, which will be the principal object of your present deliberation.

The following Financial Report of the Committee, and Abstract of Accounts, were read by R. J. Gainsford, Esq.

On the 1st of June, 1857, the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School passed under the conduct of the Religious Community, with whom your Committee succeeded in effecting an arrangement for their undertaking that duty. The annexed accounts are therefore made up to that period, comprising about a year and a half since the Institution was commenced, but it will be observed, that these accounts include a payment of £237 10s. 0d. to the Religious Community, which may be considered to appertain less to the past than to the future.

These accounts shew that £898 6s. 6d. have been received in Donations, £173 3s. 0d. in Subscriptions, for 1856, and £207 12s. 6d. in Subscriptions for 1857, whilst £45 3s. 0d. of the Subscriptions for the latter year are still in arrear, and will, we trust, be at once remitted to the treasurer, as it must be obvious that they are much wanted.* Should the additional sum of £1100 afterwards mentioned as requisite to enlarge the Building, be promptly raised, and the Annual Subscriptions be maintained for a few years, then there seems every reason to expect that the Institution will be in a position to receive and train, during the period of detention, all the Catholic boys who may be dealt with as criminal, in Yorkshire, with little or no occasion to draw further upon the resources of Catholic Charity, for their maintenance, during the period of detention. The subsequent Annual Subscriptions might then, perhaps, be most suitably devoted to an endeavour to find suitable employment for these boys after their reformatory training had expired.

The Reformatory School is at present adapted to receive only 33 boys; it is rapidly filling; and we shall soon be under the necessity of declining to receive boys suitable for admission, unless additions be at once made to the buildings, so as to increase the extent of accommodation. During the first year we have 33 boys, whose average period of detention exceeds four years, and we must therefore consider it requisite to provide accommodation for at least 132 boys for Yorkshire alone. It is estimated that a further outlay of £1100 would suffice to give increased accommodation for 70 more boys. The present body of religious, who have undertaken the superintendence of the school, are sufficiently numerous to manage the large as well as the smaller number, and, as Government allows at the rate of £18 5s. per annum, for each boy in the school, it is obviously desirable, on the mere ground of economy, to have as many inmates as the staff of religious may be able to attend to. Under such circumstances, an additional number of inmates would involve no additional charge upon the subscribers beyond the first cost of enlarging the building, so as to be capable of receiving them. It is confidently hoped, therefore, that this explanation may lead to further Donations and Subscriptions being at once handed in, so as to enable the enlargement of the buildings to be commenced immediately, and completed in time to prevent the necessity of refusing to receive more of the poor boys, for want of room.

* Many of these arrears have been paid since this Report and abstract of accounts was prepared.

It may even be respectfully suggested, for the consideration of our Catholic Brethren, in the more Northern Counties of Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Northumberland, whether they could in any other way, so advantageously provide for the reception and proper care and training of the Catholic Criminal Boys, from those Counties, as by subscribing a still further sum for the purpose of making a yet further addition to the Reformatory School, near Market Weighton, so as to make it capable of receiving the boys from those four Northern Counties, as well as from Yorkshire. The first cost to them of such an addition, would be far less than the cost of building a separate institution, for their own juvenile criminals: and even if they could meet with another body of Religious, ready to undertake the conduct of it, the current expenditure of the two distinct, would be far greater, than if combined in one, since two Communities must be maintained, either of which would suffice to manage and attend to all the inmates in both Institutions. The advantage, we admit, would be mutual, since one result of the combination would be to diminish the average annual cost of each Yorkshire, as well as of each more Northern inmate. We trust, therefore, that our Catholic Brethren, in the four Northern Counties, will give this suggestion a favourable consideration, and if they concur in our views, promptly act upon it.

Mr. Gainsford also explained that the periods of Committal of the 33 boys were as follows:—12 for 5 years, 16 for 4 years, 3 for 3 years, and 2 for 2 years; shewing an average of more than four years, and that they were committed from the following places:—Leeds 9, Sheffield 7, Bradford 5, Huddersfield 3, Scarborough 3, York 2, Hull 2, Dewsbury 1, Beverley 1.

CIRCULAR.

YORKSHIRE CATHOLIC REFORMATORY SCHOOL.

At the Annual Meeting at Leeds, of the Subscribers of this Reformatory School, on November 18th, the proposition to enlarge the establishment for the accommodation of 70 other boys from Yorkshire, making a total of 110, was unanimously agreed to, and the raising of the necessary funds was immediately undertaken.

In Spring, the new building will be commenced, which will be fit for habitation by the end of Summer. As we have already 37 boys, we have found it necessary to prepare temporary accommodation for those committed up to that period.

During the last two months, we have received many applications from other counties, and especially from the towns of London, Liverpool, and Birmingham, as the two Catholic Reformatories, viz. St. Bernard's Leicestershire, and Blythe House, Hammersmith, London, are full, although the first has accommodation for 300 boys, and the other for 75. As no further accommodation as far as I know, is about to be prepared for Catholic juvenile delinquents, I think that some steps ought to be taken to carry on a work so successfully begun, consequently I have obtained the permission of the Bishop of this diocese, to whom our premises belong, to receive boys

from other counties, provided no expense whatever fall upon this diocese on their amount, and also, that no Yorkshire boy be ever refused.

These two conditions are but just ; and therefore I cannot receive other boys, unless I am enabled to raise a fund to build for their accommodation. I think I am not asking too much, if for each boy I demand the sum of £10, to be paid upon his reception ; this sum is calculated as scarcely sufficient for raising the building and providing the bedding. If any Committee will make arrangements for a determinate number of boys, the same number of boys will of course be received in succession without payment, so that £10 will always give a claim for one inmate, £100 for 10, and so on.

For the encouragement of private individuals who may take interest in some particular boy, I am inclined to accommodate such boy upon payment of £2 10s. a year in advance, during the period of his detention, provided there is a vacancy.

I wish to make known, that the situation of this Reformatory School, with 70 acres of land, and workshops for the more useful trades attached, together with the large staff of Brothers of the Institute of Charity, who have charge of the establishment, afford ample means for the education of juvenile delinquents.

I take the liberty of informing of these details of this Reformatory School, hoping that the great interest you take in this work of charity, will suggest the means, either by Committee or by private assistance, to carry out the reformation of the unfortunate portion of our Catholic boys. It is certain that without suitable accommodation for all the Catholic boys, they will either be persuaded to declare themselves Protestants, in order to be sent to Protestant Institutions, or otherwise, to be allowed to return to their criminal habits.

It is worthy of remark, that up to the present, which is to say during a little more than one year, we have in the three Catholic Reformatory Schools 420 boys, and consequently taking an average of 4 years for the time of detention, we ought to have accommodation for at least 1600 boys.

I feel persuaded that many persons interested in this work of Charity, are deterred from undertaking it by the great difficulties connected with the opening of new Reformatory Schools, both as regards the expenses of building, as well as the obtaining of a competent staff to conduct it ; consequently, I hope to meet with the encouragement and assistance of all charitable persons for carrying out my proposition, which implies the attainment of the same end with comparatively little trouble or expense.

If any Committee agree to adopt my proposition, I beg to be informed of it as soon as convenient, in order to be able to make arrangements with the Yorkshire Committee, for carrying on the necessary buildings, together with those to be erected for the Yorkshire boys, next Spring.

All correspondence connected with this subject should be directed to me.

Rev. C. CACCIA, Rector, Catholic Reformatory School.
Near Market Weighton, Yorkshire.

JOHN O'CONNELL.

“Death,” writes Jeremy Taylor, to Lord Carbery, “reigns in all the portions of our time. The Autumn with its fruits provides disorders for us, and the Winter’s cold turns them into sharp diseases, and the Spring brings flowers to strew our hearse, and the Summer gives green turf and brambles to bind upon our graves. Calentures and surfeit, cold and agues, are the four quarters of the year, and all minister to death ; and you can go no whither, but you tread upon a dead man’s bones.” For us, this thought has been ever a grave and wise one, and the death of John O’Connell has brought out all its gravity and force in fuller, and more patent truth.

Three weeks ago he wrote to us from Aldershot, suggesting a paper upon the Foreign Relations of England, and to-day we saw him laid in his grave ; honored by an attendance such as few could have anticipated ; and thus, amidst prayers and regrets, we left him ; after a busy life of care, and work for Ireland, he lies in peace at last ; so near to the vault of “Honest Tom Steel” that the long shadow of O’Connell’s monument falls on the tomb of each, whilst around them floats for ever the hallow and glory of the Liberator’s memory.

If one wished to point out to a young Irishman entering upon a political career the advantages and disadvantages of his position, the life of John O’Connell would supply the best and completest example. Here was a man of surpassing industry ; of indomitable perseverance ; of great ability ; of thorough honesty, and in all matters bearing upon the political, and social, and financial condition of Ireland, one of the best and ripest of “ripe and good” scholars ; yet few gave him credit for the ability which he possessed, and when his speeches did occasionally compel men, in their unwilling gratitude, to admit that he had done his country real service, the admission was but too often coupled with a sneer.

During the *active* lifetime of his father, John O’Connell did merely yeoman’s service in the popular cause, and it was only after the trials of 1844, that his special claims to be considered a popular leader, were canvassed amongst

the people. He had proved his zeal and ability; he had worked twelve years of anxious national work with his father; he had all the prestige of that great father's name to back his claim to a leadership, but herein it was that the chief bar to his leadership lay, he was measured by the standard of the Liberator.

Men had grown in the belief that Daniel O'Connell was Ireland, and that in him, and in him only, and in his counsels, lay all hope of justice for the country. Monday after Monday, the Conciliation Hall was thronged with followers, who were all but adorers, and that great, towering figure, looming up beside the chairman, thundering invectives, or rousing their hearts with great thoughts of what Ireland once was, and might be again through union and peace; now drawing them into tears by a pathos such as few men in all the world could ever command; and then, after that twinkling of the eye, and dimpling smile that told what was coming, setting his auditors "in a roar," with a humour that was all his own,—had become, as it were, the spirit of Ireland: for he, and he only, could proclaim to his countrymen as did Cicero to the Romans, "*Togati me uno togato duce et imperatore vicistis.*"

Who could succeed, as leader, such a man as this? It has been said, had John O'Connell been a man of great genius, he could have held the position left vacant by his father's death. But those who make this statement forget that one who has long served under a great leader, civil or military, can never take the place of that leader. He has had no training in the conquest of obstacles, in the use of difficulty; he has been but a subaltern; he has had no schooling in those phases of life which make men quick yet sure in judgment; which enable a man to see, as it were intuitively, the right road to success; above all, he knows nothing of that training which makes a man self-reliant, and self-dependent.

John O'Connell had not had this training, and hence, when he found the public mind debauched by the slanders of the rump of what was once the great Repeal party; when he saw that old friends had grown cold, and that once staunch supporters had fallen off; when he saw himself accused of "rattling his father's bones" to gain money; and when he read that he and Maurice had kept back their father's dead

body that it might be brought into Dublin "as an election-eering dodge" during a general election, he despaired of success in working the national cause, and in circumstance which would but have made the father rise grander and firmer with the occasion, the son succumbed, perhaps wisely, for the national organization was shattered, the work of thirty years was lost—never to be restored in its strength, that is, in its unity.

Perhaps it was better for Ireland that matters thus concluded; perhaps it was better that the epoch of leaders should cease, that the era of parties should pass away; perhaps it was better that the day of protestations and charlatanry, of great promises and no performances, of soaring aspirations and grovelling deeds, of private doubts and public accusations, should come upon poor Ireland. If this be so, God's peace be with John O'Connell, he is well out of Ireland, better out of life.

And now that he is dead, the country is called upon to mark its appreciation of his honor, of his honesty, and of his services to Ireland, before Ireland grew drunk in infatuation. These services were great, and even after he had retired from public life he never forgot her, and we are proud to be able to state that he was the contributor to this IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW of such papers on Irish subjects as perhaps he alone could furnish.*

* We subjoin a list of Mr. O'Connell's papers appearing in the REVIEW:—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Page.</i>	<i>Vol.</i>
The Taxation of Ireland.	12.	883.	3.
The Irish Land Question.	13.	103.	4.
Emigration, Emigrants and Emigrant Ships.	14.	430.	4.
The Militia and the Line.	18.	349.	5.
Our Soldiers at Home and in the Field.	19.	590.	5.
The War and the Future.	20.	912.	5.
War and Peace, Peace and War.	21.	110.	6.
Administrative Reform.	22.	347.	6.
The Irish Census.	24.	814.	6.
The Irish Poor Law.	25.	88.	7.
Parliamentary Reform, 29—the number for April, 1858, page 247.			

Mr. O'Connell was also the author of *The Repeal Dictionary*, of several reports in the *Reports of the Repeal Association*, of *Recollections of a Parliamentary Career*, and of an *Argument for Ireland*. He also edited two volumes of his father's speeches. *The Argument for Ireland* is a most valuable work; this book, with the Prize essays of Mr. Collector-General Staunton and Mr. M. J. Barry, should be thoroughly known to every student of Irish Political History. Perhaps no man ever investigated the question of Irish Taxation more fully than John O'Connell.

From the list appended in the foot note, the reader will be able to judge how fully Ireland, always Ireland, was in his thoughts. For her he gave up professional prospects and all that could make life prosperous; and as the days of his later life passed on, one can fancy him murmuring the words of his father addressed to the Earl of Shrewsbury in 1842. "Who shall repay me for the years of my buoyant youth and cheerful manhood? Who shall repay me for the lost opportunities of acquiring professional celebrity, or for the wealth which such distinction would ensure. I flung away the profession—I gave its emoluments to the winds—I closed the vista of its honors and its dignities—I embraced the cause of my country! and come weal or come woe, I have made a choice at which I have never repined—nor never shall repent."

It is for the Catholics of Ireland to prove their appreciation of John O'Connell's honesty, it is for them to prove that Daniel O'Connell's grand-children, the children of John, shall never want; it is for them to prove that in one case at least Ireland did not, according to her custom, forget those when dead who tried to serve her in politics, or to illustrate her in literature or art, whilst living. Doubtless the feeling this day displayed at Glasnevin for John O'Connell's family was all that his truest friends could desire, but the country must speak out, or that which should be a national contribution, will become a local semi-eleemosynary subscription.

May 28th, 1858.

THE FUNERAL.

(From the Special Edition of the Freeman's Journal of Wednesday Evening, June 2nd, 1858.)

"The mortal remains of this distinguished Irishman and favourite son of the Liberator, were consigned to their final resting place in Glasnevin Cemetery, on yesterday, followed by thousands of his fellow-countrymen of every rank and of every shade of political and religious belief, who respected him through life, and honoured him in death. On no occasion have we seen more uniform respect paid to the departed, than was evinced at the funeral of John O'Connell; and even those who were most opposed to him in the political strife, in which for over a quarter of a century he was engaged, were loud in their praise of his honour and his virtue, as a citizen and a man. The rich and poor, the lowly and the exalted, were present in the mournful cortege to pay a tribute of respect to his memory;—and from the highest judicial functionaries, down to the humble working mechanic, were to be seen in the long procession that followed the

remains to the grave. Dignitaries of the church and large numbers of the clergy were also there to do honour to him who was always the consistent upholder of the rights of conscience and the warm advocate of religious liberty. Such was the anxiety of all classes of citizens to be present at the funeral, that carriages were engaged as early as Monday evening, wherever they were to be had for hire; and considerable difficulty was experienced yesterday and the day previous, in procuring suitable conveyance for the sad occasion. From an early hour this morning, along the road extending from the city to Kingstown, nothing was to be seen but one continuous stream of carriages and other conveyances, driving in the direction of the late residence of the deceased, and as the hour approached for the funeral to take its departure, there could not be less than three hundred vehicles drawn up in one long line on the road by which Tivoli-terrace was approached. Precisely at eight o'clock, the coffin containing the remains, were brought from the house, and placed within a splendid hearse, drawn by six black horses. The coffin is of solid Irish oak, richly mounted, and has within it another of thick lead, inside of which is a cedar shell, upholstered in white silk. On the lid of the coffin there was a silver shield, bearing the following inscription:—

JOHN O'CONNELL, J.P., D.L.,
DEPARTED THIS LIFE 24TH MAY, 1858.
AGED 47 YEARS.
R.I.P.

Immediately after the hearse, were two mourning coaches and four, which were occupied by Mr. Morgan O'Connell, and Captain D. O'Connell, M.P., and by Daniel, John, and Morgan, the three sons of the deceased, and Mr. Henry Ryan. The private carriage of Mr. Morgan O'Connell followed, and the civic state equipage of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, in which his lordship was seated. The carriages which came next, were occupied by relatives of the deceased, amongst whom were Mr. Christopher O'Connell Fitzsimon, Daniel O'Connell French, C. O'Connell French, D. J. O'Connell, Lakeview, Killarney; Mr. J. H. Sugrue, Mr. M. G. O'Connell, and Mr. T. Fitzgerald. Amongst those who occupied carriages in the procession were—Lord Meath, Lord Gormanstown, Lord St. Lawrence, Sir Thomas Esmonde, the Right Hon. Maziere Brady, the Right Hon. the Chief Baron, the Right Hon. Judge Ball, the Right Hon. Judge Keogh, Mr. Justice O'Brien, John L. O'Farrell, D. L.; James O'Farrell, D.L.; Sergeant Howley, the Very Rev. Monsignore Yore, Very Rev. Dr. O'Connell, P.P., Irishtown; James Barrett, J.P.; Dr. Trant, Dr. Gray, T. M. Ray, J. Smith, J. Plunket, Q.C.; Thomas Dwyer, H. Hughes, Q.C.; Mr. Sergeant Deasy, M.P., Q.C.; the Right Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald, M.P.; George Roe, D.L.; P. V. Fitzpatrick, Edward Smithwick, J.P., Kilkenny; Very Rev. Dr. Spratt, Very Rev. Dr. M'Evoy, P.P., Kells; Very Rev. William Jennings, Maynooth College; Very Rev. D. M'Carthy, do.; Very Rev. M. Kelly, do.; Lucas A. Treston, Sir James Power, Bart.; John Leahy, Sir Colman O'Loghlen, T.

O'Hagan, Q.C.; T. O'Meara, B. Gibbons, F. A. Codd, John O'Sullivan, James B. Kennedy, James Dwyer, James and John Kelly, Thomas Dwyer, James Kennedy, Charles Kennedy, Sir James Murray, Christopher N Duff, P. W. Kelly, F. C. Kelly, the Rev. P. M'Cabe, Robert Chambers, J.P.; Captain Knox Leet, the Rev. Edward O'Connell, St. Michan's; Rev. Mr. Cavanagh, Kingstown; F. Greene, James Nagle, Clerk of the Crown; P. O'Brien, M.P.; the Rev. Mr. Harold, the Rev. Mr. Smithwick, P.P.; Michael Murphy, T. F. Burke, William Connally, Joseph Myles M'Donnell, Doo Castle; John Tallon, Francis Coppinger, J.P., Monkstown Castle; Hyacinth Oheevers, T. Carey, E. Burke, J. Bulkley, Rev. J. Hamilton, P.P., Blessington; H. Carmichael, M.D.; J. Dogherty, J. Russell, Edward Smith, M. M'Donnell, B. Kelly, James Eagar, J. Kelch, J. Keogh, Robert Power, P. Nolan, J. N. Farrell, M. O'Brien, M. O'Kelly, Thomas Kiernan, Dr. Kavanagh, H. Kavanagh, W. J. Dogherty, J. Dogherty, Edward Carraher, J. Macnamara, Cantwell, J. C. Josepha, T.C.; J. French, T.C.; P. J. Murray, Rev. Mr. Curley, P. P., Louisburgh, County Mayo; J. Lalor, T. Kearney, Thomas Kennedy, Rathgar; John Bergin, Major Mungavin, Talbot Coale, P. Sheridan, J. Hogan, P. M'Nally, D. Lalor, John Burke, W. Lynch, P. Grohan, C. Cogan, J. Lambert, J. Cogan, P. M'Keon, J. C. O'Reardon, J. J. O'Reardon, John Leahy, Barrister; Rev. Mr. Gaynor, — Missett, King's Dragoon Guards; J. Owens, B. O'Loughlen, — Fottrell, Solicitor; Michael C'Brien, Hanaper Office; William Flannigan, John Martin, North Wall; William Burke, Rev. Dr. Jennings, Maynooth; Rev. E. Scully, Rev. W. Dillon, Rev. E. Kennedy, P.P.; Rev. Dr. Flannery, W. B. Mullen, J. Doherty, W. Doherty, B. A. Molloy, Barrister; James Spain, Thomas Smith, Airhill, Philip Dynch, Rev. Mr. Harrington, All Hallows College; Carew O'Dwyer, T. M'Garry, Rev. J. Mulhall, Rev. Mr. O'Reilly, Rev. P. Segreave, Delgany; John Reilly, John M'Kenna, N. Y., U. S., D. Crotty, Michael Staunton, R. G.; Rev. Mr. Carr, Carmelite Convent; Percy Sweetman, P. D. Jeffers, J. C. Neligan, Mr. Scratton, Secretary, Catholic University; Dr. Forest, J. Martin, T.C.; Hugh Kelly, T.C.; E. W. O'Mahony, barrister; T. Dolan, Rev. Mr. Gilligan, T. Hayes, John Reilly, James Duffy, Doctor White, T.C.; Doctor Long, Robert Burnell, Dalkey; Dr. Kirwan, James and Patrick Whelan, Rev. Canon Pope, Rev. Dr. Woodlock, President of All Hallows College; Robert O'Brien, T.C.; Rev. Mr. Lynch, High-street Chapel; Richard Kelly, T.C.; — Armstrong, barrister; A. Lawless, solicitor; John Dennan, John Rafferty, Rev. Mr. Tracey, M. A. O'Brennan, Rev. Mr. Farrelly, chaplain of the South Dublin Union; Stephen Curtis, barrister; Rev. Mr. Healy, Alderman Moylan, M. Archer, J. Daniel, J. J. Clarke, Rev. Canon Grimley, T. J. Sinnott, Governor, Grangegorman, Francis P. Dwyer, J. Darcy, Anthony Kirwan, Rody Keshan, M. O'Shaughnessy, assistant barrister, County Mayo; B. O. Pigott, James Delany, M. W. Murphy, M.D.; William Gernon, barrister; James Fallon, T.C.; Dr. Duffy, P. J. Murray, barrister; Messrs. M'Swiney, Delany, and Co.; J. O'Brien, J.P.; — Cann, R. Reilly, Robert Johnson, barrister;

John O'Donohue, barrister; Dr. Atkinson, Alderman Mackey, William N. Barron, J. Murphy, F. Codd, T.C.; C. M. Ormsby, Edward Clements, barrister; Edward Fitzgerald, John Kelch, Hubert Maguire, Rev. M. Cuffe, Rev. Mr. Farrell, Rev. Dr. Russell, O.P.; C. H. Segrave, R. D. Kane, Q.C.; Nicholas Dodd, P. L. G.; Robert Power, James Barrett, Charles Meara, James Kelly, Secretary to the Education Board; James Dwyer, Thomas Hayes, James Egan, Thomas Walsh, Hugh Cavanagh, Edward Fullam, — Coffey, — Simpson, Fitzwilliam-square; M. MacDonogh, solicitor; Captain T. A. Supple, Fortlands, Merrion; Joseph Neale M'Kenna, William John Fitzpatrick, Kilmacud Manor, Stillorgan; Nicholas Martin, R. F. Mulvany, Francis Murphy, J. P., Kilcairne House; John Rorke, Temple-street; John Rorke, jun.: A. G. Dillon, Rev. Mr. Doran, G. W. Fitzgerald, David Fitzgerald, solicitor; T. Fitzgerald, — Hammond, Rev. James Daniel, Rev. A. Doyle, St. Catherine's, Meath-street; Rev. Mr. M'Donnell, Clondalkin, M. Merriman, &c., &c.

Amongst the members of the Royal Western Yacht Club of Ireland present were:—The Commodore, Robert Batt, Esq.; the Vice-Commodore, James Edward Stopford, Esq., LL D.; William Cooper, Esq.; Rawdon M'Namara, Esq., M.D.; J. W. Mackey, Esq., J.P.; Henry G. Byrne, Esq.; Edward Clements, Esq.; J. Chute Neligan, Esq.; Arthur M'Mahon, Esq.; Sutton Corkoran, Esq.; Edward Fottrell, Esq.; William Keating Clay, Esq.; Thomas D. Keogh, Esq.; Captain Brabazon, John Harris, Esq.; Frederick Smith, Esq.; Thomas O'Meara, Esq.; John Doherty, Esq.; Thomas P. Hayes, Esq.; John Stevenson, Esq.; Daniel Sullivan, Esq.; John Knight Boswell, Esq.; R. T. Slack, Esq.; John King Forrest, Esq., M.D.; James Barrett, Esq.; Patrick Taaffe, Esq.; Thomas Pepper, Esq.; Captain Lovet, Captain Palmer, Christopher Duff, Esq.; John M'Mahon, Esq.; George R. Gunning, Esq.; and Daniel Corbet, Esq.; and a number of others, whose names could not be ascertained, in consequence of the immense crowd on the line of procession. The funeral *cortege* proceeded along Mulgrave-avenue, into Kingstown, where large crowds of the poor of the locality were collected, who had been recipients of the bounty of the deceased, and who always regarded him as their tried friend. Nearly every shop in Kingstown was closed, and the footways were fully occupied by hundreds as the funeral proceeded along in the direction of Salthill. As it progressed, large numbers of carriages joined, and when the head of the procession reached Monkstown, the end of it had not passed Kingstown. The shops in Blackrock were all closed, with the exception of a few, and, as the hearse passed by, the persons assembled along the road, seemed much affected, and paid every external mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and many of the working people joined the funeral, and accompanied it into town. At Booterstown, several carriages, which had been waiting on the cross roads, took up their places in the mournful cavalcade, which at this time, covered nearly three miles. As it drew near to the city, the crowd began to increase, and when it arrived at Ball's-bridge, it was met by hundreds of the people—some on foot, and

others on outside cars. In every house in Pembroke-road, the windows were occupied ; and, in several instances, the inmates stood in front of the hall-doors, to witness the long and solemn *cortege* proceeding on its way. In Upper Baggot-street, everything that could show forth the grief of the people for the loss of the deceased, and their respect for his memory, was displayed. Every shop had its shutters up, and all business was suspended. Baggot-street bridge was crowded, as was also the entire of Lower Baggot-street, up to the corner of Fitzwilliam-street, and on the hearse passing by the late residence of the illustrious father of the deceased, the people manifested deep emotion. The funeral proceeded by the west side of Merrion-square, into Westland-row, through Brunswick-street. From every quarter the people continued to pour in, and large numbers of persons placed themselves on the battlements of Carlisle-bridge, to await the arrival of the funeral. Almost every ship in the docks and the river had their flags half-mast high, out of respect for the deceased, and when the procession appeared at the head of D'Olier-street, the bridge became blocked up by the thousands who had assembled upon it, anxious to see the last of one who had been so long a prominent defender of their rights, and the chosen son of their great Liberator. The funeral passed over Carlisle-bridge in the centre of two dense masses that lined it at either side, but so great was the veneration of all for the departed, despite the crushing and inconvenience which had to be endured, the solemn silence was almost unbroken, as the sable hearse was drawn slowly on its way.

Along Sackville-street, and especially at Nelson's Pillar, where Henry-street and Earl-street open, the same manifestations of sorrow and respect which had been observed along the entire of the lengthened route were manifested. There was a large assemblage of citizens, and while the men lifted their hats, and in brief but fervent terms, expressed their tribute to the memory of the son of O'Connell, and recalled the deeds of the father in the long battle for civil and religious liberty, the female portion offered their heartfelt prayers for the eternal repose of the soul which had just passed so unexpectedly away. The entire exhibition of feeling, so deep and earnest, told in a touching and eloquent manner, that though of late years, comparatively little reference has been made to the name and services of O'Connell, yet that both are treasured fondly in the peoples' hearts, and that it required only some striking occurrence to elicit the popular devotion to the one and grateful remembrance of the other. On every side might be heard the observation that such a display far surpassed anything that the most attached friend of the O'Connell's could have anticipated or desired ; and that the people had given another proof that gratitude was still a distinguishing national characteristic. The solemn cortege was constantly receiving additions on its route, and was estimated to comprise over 350 carriages.

At the Rotunda, in Cavendish-row, crossing Dorset-street, through Blessington-street, and along the road leading to the Prospect Cemetery, numbers of persons were assembled, and that the same feelings of grief and affectionate remembrance pervaded all, was evident

from their demeanour. At the cemetery, there was a considerable assemblage of clergy, professional gentlemen, and merchants, and a vast body of the people; and according as those who had accompanied the funeral from the time it left Kingstown, and whose numbers were almost incalculably augmented in passing through the city, came up to the entrance, the pressure increased, and was frequently very severe. The crushing and consequent inconvenience were, however, patiently borne, and the people, as they poured in, having been requested to disperse themselves through the cemetery grounds, so as to admit the crowds that were still pressing forward, did so with the utmost order and good feeling.

A body of clergy, headed by the Very Rev. Monsignore Yore, P.P., V.G., and preceded by acolytes and a crucifer, in soutanes and surplices, advanced in front of the gate to receive the body. Amongst the clergy in this procession, attired in canonicals, were the Very Rev. Dr. O'Connell, P.P.; Very Rev. Dr. Woodlock, President of All-Hallows College; Rev. Mr. Kelly, Rev. P. J. Gilligan, Rev. Matthew Collier, Rev. Canon Lynch, Rev. Mr. O'Ferrell, Rev. Canon Grimley, Rev. Canon Pope, Rev. H. M'Gee, Rev. Mr. Mullaly, Rev. Mr. Lentaigue, S. J.; Rev. Thomas Leahy, Rev. Mr. Flannery, Catholic University, and others whose names, owing to the great pressure, we could not obtain.

The usual vehicle for carrying the coffins into the cemetery ground was brought forward by the servants of the cemetery board, to receive the coffin bearing the remains of Mr. John O'Connell, but a band of fine able young men pressed forward, and insisted upon having, as they said, the mournful honour of bearing to their last resting place the remains of one they so well loved. The body was borne to the chapel, where the funeral service was solemnly chaunted, and from thence to the O'Connell circle. As it was carried along through the cemetery grounds, crowds of people lined the walks, and many of them might be seen fervently offering prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased gentleman. The choir of priests chaunted the canticle benedictus from St. Luke, the *Miserere*, and the beautiful and impressive *De Profundis*. The body was deposited in one of the vaults in the circle, and not far from the remains of "Honest Tom Steele." Within a few feet of the beloved son, rests all that is mortal of the illustrious father, Daniel O'Connell; and on this occasion, thousands visited his coffin, which was beautifully dressed with flowers, and offered a prayer for his eternal rest.

Amongst those who took part in the procession, were the students of the Catholic University, of which institution the eldest son of John O'Connell is a distinguished alumnus. These young gentlemen walked two deep.

The absolution was pronounced by the Very Rev. Dr. Yore.

SYMPATHY FOR THE DECEASED.

Immediately after the celebration of the funeral obsequies was concluded, a preliminary meeting was held for the purpose of raising a national subscription which would serve to mark the grateful sense of the Irish people of the patriotism and services to the country of the father of the lamented deceased, and, at the same time, supply

the means which are required for the education and advancement in life of a youthful and numerous family, for whom there is comparatively little provision left. The meeting was held adjoining the principal entrance of the Cemetery, and comprised some of the most influential gentlemen who had attended the funeral; but as the notification could not be made general a great number of gentlemen had previously taken their departure. In addition to the more influential persons with whom the project originated, and who were present, a vast body of the people congregated, and evinced the deepest interest in the proceedings, and the strongest desire to join in whatever might be resolved on as the most fitting mode of testifying the national feeling towards O'Connell, and at the same time, on behalf of the family of his lamented son, Mr. John O'Connell. On the motion of Mr. Carew O'Dwyer, the chair was taken by

The Right Hon. the LORD MAYOR.

Messrs. Bryan O'Loughlen and Thomas Callaghan were requested to act as secretaries to the meeting.

The Lord Mayor said—I regret we have met on so very melancholy an occasion; but as it has pleased Divine Providence to take from amongst us one whom we have all loved and esteemed so highly (hear, hear)—one who was possessed of so many public and private virtues (hear, hear)—I have no doubt whatever but that the entire community will unite to pay a proper tribute of respect to his memory (hear.)

The Right Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald came forward, and said—My Lord Mayor, a resolution has been put into my hand by Mr. O'Dwyer, and as I understand from him this is to be simply a preliminary meeting, I apprehend the less of speaking we have on this occasion the better. It is a period, I believe, of nearly eleven years since we followed the remains of the Liberator to its place within this cemetery, and the multitudinous assembly which has been present on this melancholy occasion has, at least, satisfied us that the memory of the illustrious O'Connell still lives in the grateful recollection of his countrymen (applause). We have met here to-day on a most melancholy occasion—to attend the funeral ceremony—to pay the last tribute of respect and honor to “the best beloved son” of the Liberator (hear, hear), one with whom I have had an acquaintance of a great many years, and every day of the duration of that intimacy has served the more to establish in my mind the high honor—the truthfulness and the amiability of character of John O'Connell, whom it has pleased Providence at a very early period of life—for he had only attained his 47th year—to remove not alone from us, but from the care and protection of his family (hear, hear). Every one will concur with me, I am sure, that the resolution which has been placed in my hand but faintly paints what it is intended to convey to this meeting. That resolution is as follows:—

That the melancholy event which has congregated the vast assemblage present here this day, has revived in the public mind a recollection of the transcendent services and labours of Daniel O'Connell, that rare man, who, with every opportunity afforded to him, professionally and politically, in his lengthened career, of aggrandising himself and his family, died, after a glorious public life, in the enjoyment of unequalled popularity, yet leaving to his descendants little more than the inheritance of a great reputation.

I believe, my Lord Mayor, every one will concur with me in the perfect truth of every word of that resolution (hear, hear); for all must confess that during the fifty years, nearly, of O'Connell's political life every act of his, from the time when he first raised his voice against the contemplated Act of Union to the period of his death, was intended for the welfare of his country, to promote the interests of her people, and to secure religious liberty and equality to us all. We all know, my lord, that in the language of this resolution, O'Connell's immense abilities opened to him the highest honors of the State. There was nothing that he might not have acquired for himself—he might not only have founded a great fortune and bequeathed it to his family, but he neglected to do so in his efforts to secure the welfare of Ireland (applause). One may say too, of my dear friend, John O'Connell, that during his political life he in that same way neglected his personal interest (hear, hear.) He thought not of it. I can say of my own knowledge, with perfect truth, that high office would have been opened to him at an early period of his political career if he had chosen to direct his efforts that way (hear, hear). I can also say this, that when he recently accepted a comparatively humble office, it was only when driven to it by the narrowness of his circumstances, and I believe if it had not been for this John O'Connell would never have thought of accepting office (cries of hear, hear.) During the whole of his political life his attention was directed entirely to the interest of his country, and now that he is gone, leaving his family unprovided for, I understand this meeting to have been called suddenly with the view of devising preliminary steps to enable us to record substantially the feelings we entertain towards him and his family, and of testifying in the best manner their great respect for the memory of the Liberator (applause). I have said there should be but little speaking upon the occasion of this preliminary meeting, and I have to apologise for the observations I have made (applause).

The Very Rev. Monsignore Yore said—My Lord Mayor, I will not detain the meeting long. I quite concur in the just and eloquent observations made by my friend John David Fitzgerald. I need not, I believe, express to my countrymen my deep feeling for the great O'Connell (hear, hear), and how I revered the character of him who has now departed from amongst us. I need not dwell on the virtues he possessed. You are all aware of them. He was before you every day, and you were intimately acquainted with him. But there is one thing that gratified me this day beyond measure, and it is that the spirit of O'Connell is yet alive in Dublin (applause.) I believe I may say, when I hear that cheer, that I am speaking to Ireland generally (hear hear, and applause). I am confident that the same spirit reigns throughout the land (hear, hear); and I am also confident that all classes will come forward, in the best manner they possibly can, to testify their respect and gratitude to the memory of the Liberator, by contributing to the support of the family of his best beloved son. I have great pleasure indeed, in seconding the resolution. (applause).

The Lord Mayor then put the resolution from the chair, and it was adopted unanimously.

Sir James Power said—My Lord Mayor and gentlemen, I felt it was my duty to be present on this melancholy occasion, and to take part in the proceedings of to-day. I beg to propose this resolution:—

Resolved, that John O'Connell, whose obsequies we have attended this day, to whom our Liberator, his father, was tenderly attached, and of whose merits and devotion to his country so many sincere evidences have been given, has passed away, leaving a young and numerous family with means too slender and inadequate for the future support of their position in life.

Sergeant Deasy, Q.C., said—My Lord Mayor and gentlemen, in seconding the resolution that has been proposed by my friend, Sir James Power, I cannot avoid expressing my deep regret for the loss of him whose obsequies we have attended this day. I feel the more peculiarly called on to do so, because I have been intimately associated with him in the outset of his career, which I had hoped would be—as it promised to have been—both long and prosperous. Students of the same college—aspirants to the same profession—we were brought into intimate and close relationship with each other, and I was able at that early period to appreciate those qualities of head and heart, which won for him while living, such universal regard, and to which such abundant testimony has been borne by the almost unprecedented assemblage which has followed his remains to their last resting place within this Cemetery. The last sad duties to the dead have been discharged to-day; but there still remains our duty to the living—and that duty, my Lord, we commence the fulfilment of by assembling here to-day (hear, hear). We cannot hope to fill the blank which has been created by his sudden departure from this life. We cannot supply the place of the husband—the father—the friend; but we can make some attempt to compensate for the pecuniary loss which has been inflicted on them by their sudden and cruel bereavement (hear, hear). And, Sir, it is not merely a personal claim to sympathy, which we are met here to give expression to. There are strong public grounds for appeal to the people of Ireland at large, to make the compensation which we seek (hear, hear). I have mentioned that my lamented friend and I were at one time aspirants to the same profession, and I can state, that if he devoted himself to that profession, there is scarcely one here who would have filled a higher position in it (applause). Not merely his name, but his great abilities, his untiring industry, his grasp of mind, his devotion to business, would, if he had persevered in devoting himself to the pursuit of that profession, have won for him as high a rank as any one who hears me now. But, my Lord Mayor, he thought that there were higher than mere personal considerations to be regarded—he thought there was something else to be worked for in life besides personal aggrandisement, and that regarding the family from which he was sprung, there was a duty imposed upon him in reference to his country—and he discharged that duty, sacrificing all personal considerations, and giving up all the prospects of advancement, which he might fairly have looked forward to, and which certainly would have been realised. His motto was—"through good or ill be Ireland's still;" and he acted up to that motto to the last day of his existence (applause).—Some may differ as to the policy of the

course he pursued in public life, but none can entertain any difference of opinion as to the motives which actuated him (hear). None can question his sincerity—none doubt his zeal—none can dispute the ability and the untiring industry with which, from his first entrance into public life, until by circumstances, he was forced to quit it, he devoted himself to what he believed to be the cause of Ireland; and now it remains for Ireland to show that she appreciates his services and sacrifices alike, and I do much mistake the nature of my countrymen, if they would be wanting in that quality in which Irishmen have never been deficient, and in which I trust they never will be deficient—that is, a sense of the duty they owe to the living who have deserved well of them, and a sense of gratitude to the dead, if they did not abundantly respond to the appeal made here this day, (loud applause).

The Lord Mayor then put the resolution which was adopted.

Mr. Francis W. Brady proposed the next resolution as follows:—

That it becomes our country, to whose material and intellectual developement were consecrated the genius and labours of O'Connell, to manifest its gratitude and veneration for the name, by a resolve to raise, by public subscription, a fund to be added respectfully to any means already existing for the education and advancement of the family of John O'Connell.

The solemn occasion, he said, which had brought them together that morning, necessarily forced upon their minds a recollection of the many great services which the father of the man whose remains they had just followed to the grave, rendered to his country (hear). Amongst all those services the greatest of all was the establishing firmly the principle of religious liberty amongst all classes and creeds, and for that reason, if for no other, all Irishmen owed a deep debt of gratitude to Daniel O'Connell, which they would but feebly attempt to discharge in endeavouring to provide for the children of his favorite son, who were now left comparatively unprovided for. He considered it would be unnecessary for him (Mr. Brady) to add another word in support of the resolution (hear, hear).

Mr. Carew O'Dwyer said he hoped it would be permitted to him, who, for many long years, served in the same ranks with John O'Connell, and co-operated with his father, to express on the present occasion his entire concurrence in the objects of the meeting (hear, hear). He was anxious that this appeal—he thought he might say, for they were all fading away—the last appeal that would ever be made on behalf of this family, to that country which they so nobly served should be successful (hear, hear). It was to him most gratifying that this resolution should have been proposed by a Protestant gentleman of the station and worth of his honorable friend, who had just addressed them, and it was fit that the sentiments to which he had given utterance, with respect to the achievement of the liberty of our peculiar altars should find response in that assembly, and in every other assembly of Irishmen; for it was a remarkable fact, that in the whole course of O'Connell's protracted career, during which he addressed more public assemblies than any other individual ever did before, or ever again would, it was impossible to find in the records of his speeches one trace of intolerance—one word that did

not breathe the largest toleration, Christian charity, and respect for the opinions, on all religious subjects, of those who entirely differed from him (hear, hear). They needed no sermons, standing where they were, to remind them of their mortality, but it was a sad and remarkable precedent that no later than that day fortnight the man whom they had now laid in the earth, accompanied one of the best and purest of our fellow-citizens to select a grave for a beloved child, and he was now lying there himself. But let the prayers of his countrymen ascend with his pure spirit to plead to God for his salvation; and let his countrymen, of all classes, go to his grave and learn from his mild and tolerant character the course which all Irishmen should pursue (applause). He (Mr. O'Dwyer) entirely concurred in the resolution, and he felt extremely obliged for the patience with which the meeting had listened to the expression by him of sentiments which were too warmly felt to be calmly expressed (applause). Mr. O'Dwyer concluded by seconding the resolution.

The Lord Mayor then put the resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Patrick O'Brien, M.P., said—My Lord Mayor, in coming forward to move the resolution which I hold in my hand, I can alone attribute the circumstances of my being intrusted with it, to the fact that I am one who owes the position that I at present occupy to the exertions of the man whose son we have deposited in this cemetery (hear, hear). It was, perhaps, from a feeling of that character that I have been put forward here to do what I believe is the duty of every man in Ireland—to express my gratitude on this occasion for the benefits which we have all received, and, I trust, will all acknowledge (hear, hear). The statements made by the previous speakers renders it unnecessary for me to eulogise the man whose remains we have just deposited in their last resting place; but I can testify to this, if it were necessary, but it is not necessary, for the large numbers that have attended here to-day, irrespective of religious or political opinions, testify fully that we have interred to-day, not only the patriot, but that we have also interred the man of private worth and good feeling, who had identified himself not alone with Catholics, but with every man who could appreciate kindly feeling, thorough sentiment, and the best possible social disposition. After what has been already said, I will content myself with moving the resolution:—

That a subscription be accordingly commenced with this object, and that Sir James Power, Bart., and Denis Moylan, Esq., Alderman, be the treasurers of this fund, and that a Committee, with power to add to their numbers, be appointed to take charge of the sum to be raised, and to vest it in such a manner as shall insure its proper application, and carry out the object of this meeting; and that the Committee be requested to open communications with the various localities in Ireland and elsewhere, likely to assist, so as to produce a general concurrence in this national design.

Sir E. M'Donnell briefly seconded the resolution.

Mr. T. M. Ray said—My Lord Mayor, may I be permitted the melancholy gratification of supporting the resolution and observing that this spontaneous outburst of sympathy for my ever dear, departed friend, John O'Connell, is most creditable to the Irish people. I had the high honour to be his associate in his triumphs and his trials. I

knew him well, and I know that every impulse of his kind heart beat most fervently for his beloved country (cheers). After what has been said, and so well said, by the gentlemen who preceded me, it would be presumption in me to add more (hear).

The resolution was then put from the chair and passed.

Edmund J. Smithwick, Esq. (Kilkenny), said a resolution had been placed in his hands, which he begged leave to move, and in doing so he desired to say that he esteemed it a high honor to be permitted to take part in the proceedings. He was sure they were all, as Irishmen, grateful to the memory of the great man who had rendered such inestimable services to his country; and he felt it was a duty they owed to their country to take part in the proceedings, and afterwards to endeavour to promote the object in view (hear). He had much pleasure in moving that the list which he held in his hand constitute the Committee.

Mr. O'Dwyer said, before the resolution was put he would read the list of the Committee proposed to be appointed under the resolution. He then read the following list:—

The movers and seconders of the foregoing resolutions:—The Right Hon. the Lord Chief Baron; Very Rev. Monsignore Yere, P.P., V.G.; Right Hon. Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart.; Mr. Sergeant Howley; Henry George Hughes, Q.C.; Edmund J. Smithwick, Esq., J.P.; Francis William Brady, Esq.; Alderman John D'Arcy; A. Carew O'Dwyer, Esq.; John H. Talbot, Esq.; Walter Sweetman, Esq.; P.V. Fitzpatrick, Esq.; Charles Bianconi Esq., Richard Kelly, Esq., T.C.; James Kennedy, Esq.; Right Worshipful the Mayor of Cork; the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Waterford; the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Kilkenny; the Mayor of Wexford; the Mayor of Drogheda; Sir Colman O'Loughlen, Bart., Q.C.; Edward Clements, Esq.; Patrick Nolan, Esq.; John N. Farrell, Esq.; John Leahy, Esq.; C. N. Duff, Esq.; Robert Johnston, Esq., Barrister; J. Kennedy, Esq.; and Thaddeus Murphy, Esq.

Mr. O'Dwyer, having finished the reading of the list, said—If any gentleman present wishes to have his name added to the Committee let him say so, and we will have it moved and seconded. After a pause, Mr. O'Dwyer moved that Dr. Gray's name be added to the list.

Dr. Gray expressed a hope that the Lord Mayor and the meeting would not imagine that he had acted on the suggestion of Mr. O'Dwyer and requested his name to be added to the Committee. However anxious he was to forward the objects of the meeting, he wished to assure the Lord Mayor that he would not be guilty of that indelicacy (hear, hear), and begged that the resolution would not be put.

Mr. O'Dwyer said he did not wish to convey that Dr. Gray had suggested the addition of his name. It was suggested to him (Mr. O'Dwyer) by several gentlemen around him.

The resolution was then adopted.

The Lord Mayor then announced that the subscription list was opened, and he would be happy to hear the names of gentlemen handed in for subscriptions.

The Right Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald—I beg my name to be put down for 50/ (loud cheers).

Mr. O'Dwyer then proceeded to announce the subscriptions:—Sir

James Power desires his name to be put down for 50*l.* (loud cheers); the Right Hon. Judge O'Brien gives 50*l.* (cheers). I am desired to put down the names of Mr. Charles Kennedy for £10.; Mrs. Kennedy, 10*l.*; Mr. J. Kennedy, 10*l.*; Mr. C. Kennedy, 10*l.*; and Mr. E. Kennedy, 10*l.*, making in all 50*l.*, (loud cheers); Mr. H. Tabot gives 20*l.* (cheers); the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor gives 10*l.* (cheers); Mr. Richard Kelly, T.C., gives 10*l.*; Mr. E. Smithwick subscribes 10*l.*, and Mrs. Smithwick also subscribes 10*l.* (applause); Mr. W. F. Brady subscribes 10*l.* (cheers); the Right Hon. Judge Keogh, subscribes 20*l.* (cheers); Sergeant Deasy gives 20*l.* (cheers); Mr. J. Leahy gives 20*l.* (cheers); Mr. Christopher Duff subscribes 20*l.*; Mr. W. J. O'Doherty gives 20*l.* (cheers); and Mr. J. J. O'Doherty, 20*l.* (cheers); Alderman Moylan gives 10*l.* (cheers); Doctor Corrigan subscribes 20*l.* (cheers); Mr. M. B. Mullen gives 20*l.*; Mr. E. and Mr. G. W. Fitzgerald give 10*l.* (cheers). I have the satisfaction to announce a subscription of 20*l.* from the late, and, I hope, the future, Lord Chancellor, (cheers); Mr. Henry G. Byrne gives 10*l.*; Mr. Charles Meara subscribes 10*l.* (cheers); Mr. P. J. Murray subscribes 20*l.* (loud cheers); Mr. J. Barrett gives 10*l.* (cheers); Mr. J. Spain, of Abbey-street, 10*l.* (cheers); Mr. B. A. Molloy, 10*l.* (cheers); Mr. P. V. Fitzpatrick, 10*l.* (cheers); David and Thomas Fitzgerald, Esqrs., 10*l.* (cheers).

Dr. Gray—My Lord Mayor, though I declined acting on the invitation of the secretary, to suggest that my own name should be added to the list of the committee, now that you are preparing a different list, I beg leave, as one of the few surviving fellow-prisoners of John O'Connell and his father, to have my name added to the subscription list for 50*l.* (loud cheers).

Mr. O'Dwyer announced the following other subscriptions —Mr. Philip Lynch, 5*l.*; Mr. Michael O'Shaughnessy, 5*l.*; Mr. J. S. Mulvany, 5*l.*; Mr. Thadæus Murphy, 5*l.*; Mr. Thomas Smith, Air Hill, 5*l.*; Mr. P. Gogarty, 5*l.* (cheers); Mr. J. Dillon, 3*l.* (cheers); Messrs. J. Russell, and J. O'Hanlon, 1*l.* each; the Right Hon. Sir T. Esmond, 10*l.* Other Subscriptions were announced, and the whole amounted to nearly 1,000*l.*

On the motion of Mr. O'Dwyer, the Lord Mayor vacated the chair, which was then assumed by Sir James Power.

Mr. O'Dwyer said, the citizens of Dublin had many excellent Lord Mayors, but he believed the civic presidential chair was never more worthily filled, than by its present occupant (hear). He was a gentleman who was ready on all occasions to maintain the honour and dignity of his high office, besides being ever foremost in promoting works of public utility. For all these reasons, he (Mr. O'Dwyer,) begged to move that the special thanks of the meeting be given to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, for his dignified and proper conduct in the chair that day, and on all other occasions, (applause.)

Mr. C. Kennedy said, he felt great pleasure in bearing his humble testimony to the worth of the Lord Mayor, and expressing his entire concurrence in all that had been said of his Lordship. The Lord Mayor had always proved his thorough identification with the interests of the city—he was a true patriot; and what had been so well said of him was but the simple truth. He begged to second the resolution (applause).

Sir James Power expressed the gratification he felt in submitting the resolution to the meeting. He was sure it would be carried with acclamation. He then put the resolution, and it was carried amidst general applause.

The proceedings then terminated.

NATIONAL SUBSCRIPTION FOR THE FAMILY OF THE LATE JOHN O'CONNELL.

At a Meeting, held without notice, at Glasnevin Cemetery, immediately after the interment of the remains of the late John O'Connell, on Friday, the 28th instant.

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of Dublin in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

Moved by the Right Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald, M.P., and seconded by the Very Rev. Dr. Yore, D.D., V.G.

That the melancholy event which has brought together the vast assemblage present here this day has revived in the public mind a recollection of the transcendent services and labours of DANIEL O'CONNELL, that man of rare integrity, who with every opportunity afforded to him professionally and politically in his lengthened career of aggrandizing himself and his family, died, after a glorious public life, in the enjoyment of unequalled popularity, yet leaving to his descendants little more than the inheritance of a great reputation.

Moved by Sir James Power, Bart.; seconded by Mr. Seargeant Deasy, M.P. :

That John O'Connell, whose obsequies we have attended this day—to whom his father was most tenderly attached, and of whose merits and devotion to his country so many sincere evidences have been given—has passed away, leaving after him a young and numerous family with means too slender and inadequate for the future support of their position in life.

Moved by Francis W. Brady, Esq., seconded by Carew O'Dwyer, Esq. :

That it becomes the country, to whose material and intellectual development were consecrated the genius and labours of O'Connell, to manifest its grateful veneration for the name, by a resolve to raise, by public subscription, a fund, to be added respectfully to any means already existing for the education and advancement of the family of John O'Connell.

Moved by Patrick O'Brien, Esq., M.P.; seconded by Sir Edward M'Donnel :

That a subscription be accordingly opened with this object, and that Sir James Power, Bart., and Denis Moylan, Esq., Alderman, be the Treasurers of this Fund, and that a Committee, with power to add to their numbers, be now nominated to take charge of the sum to be raised, and to vest it in such a manner as shall insure its proper application and carry out the object of this meeting, and that the Committee be requested to open a communication with the various localities in Ireland and elsewhere likely to assist, so as to produce a general concurrence in the national design.

Moved by Edmund Smithwick, Esq., and seconded by P. V. Fitzpatrick, Esq. :

That the following Gentlemen be now named as members of Committee :

Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Baron, the Right Hon. Judge Keogh, Hon. Justice O'Brien, Very Rev. Monsignor Yore, D.D. V.G., the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Cork, the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Limerick, the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Waterford, the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Clonmel, the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Wexford, the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Kilkenny, the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Drogheda, the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart., D.L.

the Right Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald, M.P., Viscount Gormanstown, the Hon. Thomas Preston, Sir James Power, Bart., D.L., Sir C. O'Loughlen, Bart., Sir Timothy O'Brien, Bart., M.P., Sergeant Deasy, M.P., Patrick O'Brien, Esq., M.P., Sergeant Howley, Thomas O'Hagan, Esq., Q.C., Henry G. Hughes, Esq., Q.C., Francis Brady, Esq., Carew O'Dwyer, Esq., Sir E. M'Donnel, James Martin, Esq., John D'Arcy, Esq., Michael O'Shaughnessy, Esq., Doctor Nugent, Alderman Moylan, Alderman Hackett, J.P., Clonmel, Matthew Darcey, Esq., Edmund Smithwick, Esq., John H. Talbot, Esq., Michael B. Mullins, Esq., P. J. Murray, Esq., W. J. Doherty, Esq., Robert Johnston, Esq., Edward Clements, Esq., Thaddeus W. Murphy, Esq., J. Kennedy, Esq., P. V. Fitzpatrick, Esq., Walter Sweetman, Esq., Christopher N. Duff, Esq., John Leahy, Esq., D.L., Richard Kelly, Esq., T.C., Charles Bianconi, Esq., J.P., Patrick Nolan, Esq., J. N. Farrell, Esq., J.P., J. Barrett, Esq., J.P., C. Meara, Esq., C. Sugrue, Esq., J.P., Joseph Burke, Esq., Charles R. Barry, Esq., George W. Fitzgerald, Esq., Charles Bianconi, junior.

With power to add to their number.

The following sums were at once subscribed :—

The Right Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald, M.P., 50*l.* ; Sir James Power, Bart., D.L., 50*l.* ; the Honourable Justice O'Brien, 50*l.* ; Charles Kennedy, Esq., Mrs. C. Kennedy, James Kennedy, C. Kennedy, junior, P. Kennedy, 50*l.* ; Dr. Gray, 50*l.* ; John Darcy and Son, Anchor Brewery, 50*l.* ; Charles Bianconi, Esq., J.P., 50*l.* ; John Nolan Farrell, Esq., J.P., 25*l.* ; the Very Rev. Monsignor Yore, D.D. V.G., 20*l.* ; the Right Honourable Maziere Brady, 20*l.* ; the Right Honourable Justice Keogh, 20*l.* ; the Right Hon. Sir J. Esmonde, Bart., D.L., 20*l.* ; Sergeant Deasy, Q.C. M.P., 20*l.* ; Sir Edward M'Donnel, 20*l.* ; Robert Johnston, Esq., 20*l.* Michael B. Mullins, Esq., 20*l.* ; John H. Talbot, Esq., D.L., 20*l.* ; Dr. Nugent, 20*l.* ; E. Smithwick, Esq., Mrs. E. Smithwick, 20*l.* ; John Leahy, Esq., J.P., 20*l.* W. J. O'Doherty, Esq., 20*l.* ; Patrick J. Murray, Esq., 20*l.* ; Patrick V. Fitzpatrick, Esq., 10*l.* ; the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, 10*l.* ; Charles Kelly, Esq., Q.C., 10*l.* ; Francis W. Brady, Esq., 10*l.* ; Richard Kelly, Esq., T.C., 10*l.* ; James Barrett, Esq., J.P., 10*l.* ; Bryan A. Molloy, Esq., 10*l.* ; Edward and George W. Fitzgerald, Esq., 10*l.* ; J. Spain, Esq., 10*l.* ; Christopher Duff, Esq., 10*l.* ; Alderman Moylan, J.P., 10*l.* ; John O'Doherty, Esq., 10*l.* ; Dr. Corrigan, 10*l.* ; Henry G. Byrne, Esq., 10*l.* ; Charles Meara, Esq., 10*l.* ; David and Thomas Fitzgerald, Esqrs., 10*l.* ; Charles Bianconi, junior, 10*l.* ; Henry Hodgins, Esq., 10*l.* ; Miss Power, Carin's House, Dalkey, per her brother, Sir J. Power, Bart., 10*l.* ; Michael O'Shaughnessy, Esq., 5*l.* 5*s.* ; Daniel Ryan Kane, Q.C., 5*l.* ; Edward Maguire, Esq., J.P., 5*l.* ; Francis M'Donnel, Esq., J.P., 5*l.* ; Michael O'Loughlen, Esq., 5*l.* ; J. F. Mulvany, Esq., 5*l.* ; Thomas Smyth, Esq., 5*l.* ; Thaddeus Murphy, Esq., 5*l.* ; John Dillon, Esq., 3*l.* ; Michael J. Barry, Esq., 3*l.* ; Thomas M'Mahon Esq., Registry of Deeds Office, 3*l.* ; P. Gogarty, Esq., 1*l.* ; J. Russell, Esq., 1*l.* ; J. O'Hanlon, Esq., 1*l.* ; Patrick J. Kearney, J.P., Miltown House, Clonmellon, 100*l.* ; William H. F. Cogan, M.P., 25*l.* ; Master Murphy, 25*l.* ; Sergeant Howley, 20*l.* ; James Perry, D.L., 20*l.* ; David Mahony, Esq., 20*l.* ; Master Flanagan, 10*l.* ; Thomas Laphen Kelly, Esq., 10*l.* ; James Martin, Esq., 10*l.* ; O'Neal Segrave, D.L., 10*l.* ; Henry Smith, Esq., 10*l.* ; J. Matson, Esq., Upper Sherrard-street, per P. V. Fitzpatrick, 10*l.* ; Rev A. Costigan, P.P., Lusk, per do. 5*l.* ; Mrs. Margaret Higga, 5*l.* ; Jeremiah Dunne, Esq., J.P., 5*l.* ; Joseph Burke, Esq., 5*l.* ; John M'Gauran, Esq., Westland row, 5*l.* ; William Gernon, Esq., 2*l.* ; Timothy Greene, Esq., 1*l.* ; Francis Coppinger, Esq., J.P., Monkstown Castle, 20*l.* ; David Mahony, Esq., 20*l.* ; Nicholas Coppinger, Esq., 10*l.* ; Joseph Missett, Esq., Essex-quay, 5*l.* ; Joseph W. Coppinger, Esq., 3*l.* ; Robert O'Leary, Esq., 1*l.* ; James P. Tyrrell, Esq., 1*l.* ; Gerald Bellew, Esq., 1*l.* Total, £1246 5*s.* 0*d.*

The Lord Mayor having left the chair, and Sir James Power having been called thereto, it was moved by Carew O'Dwyer, Esq., and seconded by James Kennedy, Esq. :

That the marked and grateful thanks of this Meeting be given to the Lord Mayor for the efficient and dignified manner in which, on this and all other occasions, his Lordship has discharged his duties.

JAMES POWER, Bart., Chairman.

BRYAN O'LOGHLEN,
THOMAS F. CALLAGHAN, } Hon. Secs.

All Communications to be addressed to the O'Connell Committee, at 54, Dawson-street, Dublin, and Subscriptions to be lodged to the Account of Sir James Power, Bart., and Denis Moylan, Esq., Treasurers, Hibernian Bank, Cork-hill, Dublin.

O'CONNELL NATIONAL SUBSCRIPTION COMMITTEE.

(From the Daily Freeman of Wednesday.)

The first meeting of the committee was held yesterday at their rooms, 54, Dawson-street.

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor in the chair.

Present—Sir James Power, Bart. ; Sergeant Howley, Alderman Moylan, Francis W. Brady, Carew O'Dwyer, J.P. ; John Leahy, D.L. ; Joseph Burke, P. V. Fitzpatrick, Richard Kelly, T.C. ; Patrick J. Murray, John M'Gauran, Charles Meara, Thomas F. Callaghan, and Bryan O'Loghlen, Esqrs.

Letters were read from James Perry, D.L. ; Wm. H. Cogan, M.P. ; Charles Bianconi, J.P. ; O'Neal Segrave, D.L. ; Alderman Hackett, J.P. ; &c., &c.

The following additional subscriptions were announced :—

Patrick J. Kearney, Miltown House, 100/ ; Charles Bianconi, J. P., 50/ ; Wm. H. F. Cogan, M. P., 25/ ; Master Murphy, 25/ ; David Mahony, Esq., 20/ ; Sergeant Howley, 20/ ; James Perry, D. L., 20/ ; Henry Hodgins, 10/ ; C. Bianconi, jun., 10/ ; Master Flanagan, 10/ ; Thomas L. Kelly, 10/ ; James Martin, 10/ ; O'Neal Segrave, D. L., 10/ ; Miss Power, 10/ ; Henry Smith, 10/ ; J. Matson, Upper Sherrard-street, per P. V. Fitzpatrick, 10/ ; Rev. A. Costigan, P. P., Lusk, per do., 5/ ; Mrs. Margaret Higgs, 5/ ; Joseph Burke 5/ ; John M'Gauran, Westland row, 5/ ; Wm. Gernon, 2/ ; Timothy Greene, 1/

The Secretary announced the total subscriptions, including those previously published, amounted to 1,185/ 5s.

The following gentlemen were added to the committee :—Joseph Burke, Esq ; Wm. H. F. Cogan, M. P ; Wm. Gernon, Esq ; Jeremiah Dunne, J. P.

A circular warmly urging the clergy, the gentry, the professional and mercantile classes of Ireland to give not only their individual support, but their active co-operation, in furthering the national designs of the committee was agreed upon, and ordered to be extensively circulated.

It was also resolved, that the treasurers be authorized so to invest The O'Connell Fund in the 3 per Cent. Stock, according as the balance in bank may, from time to time, amount to 500/.

The Committee decided on meeting daily at two o'clock, at their rooms, 54, Dawson-street, where subscriptions will be received.

The following letter has been received :—

“ DEAR SIR—O'Connell's favourite son is no more ! Will Wexford, as of old, in sustaining O'Connell and his principles, lead once more in showing their gratitude ? O'Connell left poor John to the protection of Ireland. If

our county consider it a duty to raise a pecuniary tribute for his large family, please put down my name for twenty pounds.—Your's truly,

“JOHN H. TALBOT,

“One of O'Connell's oldest supporters.

“Ballytrent, 26th May, 1858.”

The following letter, addressed to the Right Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald, has been received from his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen :—

“Tara, May 28, 1858.

MY DEAR MR. FITZGERALD—I shall feel happy to co-operate in any way in my power in carrying out your views to make a provision for Mr. John O'Connell's family. If I was in Dublin I would assist at the meeting; but as I was not able to be present, I beg to wish you every success, and to say that I shall do everything in my power to promote the interests of so deserving a family.—Believe me to be, Sir, &c.,

“+ PAUL CULLEN.”

“Right Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald, M. P.”

June 16th, 1858.

Since John O'Connell was laid in his grave, just nineteen days ago, more than £2,300 have been subscribed by men of all classes and religions, because they believed of John O'Connell, as Sydney Smith believed of Henry Grattan—“He thought the noblest occupation of a man was to make other men happy and free; and in that straight line he went on, without one side look, without one yielding thought, without one motive in his heart which he might not have laid open to the view of God and man. He is gone!—but there is not a single day of his honest life of which every good Irishman would not be more proud, than of the whole political existence of his countrymen—the annual deserters and betrayers of their native land.” We thank God that one Irishman is thought of by his fellow-countrymen.

**QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF RE-
FORMATORY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS, AND OF
THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.**

The Fourth Annual Report, that for 1857, of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland is now before us, and from it we learn that the accommodation for convicts in the Government Prisons on the 1st January, 1858, may be estimated as amounting to 3,486.

. GOVERNMENT PRISONS.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Number in custody on 1st Jan., 1858,	1,603	674	2,277
Accommodation on 1st January, 1858,	2,750	736	3,486

COUNTY AND CITY GAOLS.

	Males	Females.	Total.
Number in custody on 1st Jan., 1858,	13	8	21

Gross Total of Convicts in Ireland, 2,298.

NUMBER OF CONVICTS SENTENCED DURING THE YEAR 1857.

MALES.			
TRANSPORTATION.			
14 years,	.	.	1
15 "	.	.	14
Life,	.	.	14
PENAL SERVITUDE.			
3 years,	.	.	31
4 "	.	.	167
5 "	.	.	2
6 "	.	.	23
7 "	.	.	7
8 "	.	.	3
10 "	.	.	22
15 "	.	.	3
Life,	.	.	8
			29
			266

Total Males, 295.

FEMALES.			
TRANSPORTATION.			
14 years,	.	.	2
15 "	.	.	5
Life,	.	.	1
PENAL SERVITUDE.			
3 years,	.	.	29
4 "	.	.	88
6 "	.	.	4
7 "	.	.	2
			8
			123

Total Females, 131.

Gross Total of Convicts sentenced in Ireland in 1857, 426.

Disposal of Convicts.

Discharged unconditionally,	590
Ditto on petition, sentences having been commuted	22
Released on "Orders of Licence,"	298
	<hr/>
Total,	910

The most important portion of the *Report* is that which relates to the INTERMEDIATE PRISONS, as Lusk, and Smithfield. Referring to these and to the Female Prisons, the Directors write as follows:—

"We have the satisfaction of reporting, that during the past year we have found the results of the special treatment of convicts in intermediate prisons, on a system explained in our two former Reports, to have quite equalled our expectations. The conduct of the prisoners, both under detention and after liberation, confirm this statement. We believe it would be difficult to find any body of men who would behave themselves more submissively to the rules, or give their labour more freely to the public service than we have found to be the case with the convicts who, since the commencement of this system, have been placed in the intermediate prisons.

In April last we located as many convicts as were at our disposal for the purpose, (60), in two iron huts, on Lusk Common. They were at first employed in levelling the portion of the common on which the huts stand, and forming it into a parade ground and vegetable garden. When this was finished, they were employed in draining the commons, and at spade labour in the fields; the former work, about which they will yet be occupied some time, is excessively heavy, and the Superintendent of Drainage reports most favourably of the willing labour of the prisoners. We have before explained that the common is to form a portion of the farm to be attached to the juvenile prison which it is contemplated shortly to erect. There will be means of employment there for some time considerably in excess of the labour we shall have at our disposal.

The discharges on licence from the intermediate prisons have, we are happy to state, outnumbered our expectations; the consequence has been, however, that the number of selected convicts on public works has much decreased. We have, therefore, been obliged to allot Carlisle Fort to a class of convicts in an earlier stage of their imprisonment, and have, of course, withdrawn the privileges and rules applicable to it as an intermediate prison.

The iron buildings erected at Lusk appear to fully answer the purpose for which they were required. In a memorandum published by the Chairman of our Board, in October last, and which is appended to this Report, a calculation has been made of the cost and value of productive labour of 100 prisoners located and employed as at Lusk, based on the experience there obtained.

It will be observed how profitable and convenient such labour may be rendered for the public service.

Between 1st January, 1856, and 1st January, 1858, there have been 547 male convicts discharged on licence, and 478 discharged unconditionally, from the intermediate prisons.

Ninety-eight female convicts have also been discharged on licence.

During that period the number of licences revoked have been twenty-five, viz., twenty-two males and three females, eight of which have been for neglect of conditions.

The male and female convicts on licence pardoned, subsequently for good conduct on probation, have been 105, viz., sixty-six male and thirty-nine females.

Very many inquiries have been made respecting prisoners discharged absolutely from the intermediate prisons in 1856 and 1857, and also those discharged on licence during 1856, before the new rules for efficient supervision were established. These inquiries, necessarily limited in their extent, (about 300), and which are recorded for inspection at Smithfield Depôt, have been very generally satisfactory, especially when taken into connexion with the circumstance, that only four of the 1,025 have been re-committed to the convict prisons in addition to the twenty-five whose licences have been revoked. We are not disposed to place too much value on this statement as conclusive evidence of their having quitted their evil courses. We prefer resting on the more positive and reliable data we are, through the amended rules of subversion, enabled to produce concerning those discharged in 1857. We may remark, however, that fifteen male convicts discharged on licence in 1856 are still employed in this city, and are giving satisfaction to their employers.

We have, during 1857, discharged the following number of prisoners from the intermediate prisons and refuges :—

	TRANSPORTATION.		PENAL SERVITUDE.
	On Licence.	Absolute Discharge.	Absolute Discharge.
Smithfield and Lusk,	159	108	27
Forts, &c.,	93	174	13
Female Refuges,	46	—	—

The convicts discharged on licence are accounted for in the following return :—

RETURN of CONVICTS DISCHARGED ON LICENCE from SMITHFIELD and LUSK, &c., during 1857, and the way they are accounted for.

Smithfield and Lusk.

Discharged, 159

How disposed of—

Favourably reported on in Dublin,	31
Pardoned and subsequently gone abroad,	34
Favourably reported on by Constabulary,	75
Left for England and Scotland, ten having been heard from,	15
Licences revoked,	3
Died,	1—159

The Forts.

Discharged, 91

How disposed of—

Favourably reported on by Constabulary,	. 83
Pardoned and subsequently gone abroad,	. 4
Licences revoked,	. 4—91

Total discharged on licence in 1857, and accounted for; 250

This return has reference to male convicts only. All convicts on licence are reported on, if in Dublin, by the lecturer, if in the country, by the constabulary, until they receive a pardon, or quit the country.

Of those discharged since January 1, 1857, a period during which the constabulary supervision has been exercised over the convicts discharged on licence, and therefore more positive and reliable information obtained, only seven licenses have, as yet, been revoked: of these, three were for wilful omissions and breaches of conditions, &c.

RULES FOR THE REGISTRATION AND SUPERVISION OF CONVICTS ON TICKET OF LICENCE.

January 1, 1857.

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant being desirous of accurately testing the practical working of the ticket of licence system, by a well organised system of registration of licensed convicts, whereby they may be brought under special supervision and a check be laid upon the evil disposed, has been pleased to sanction the following regulations, which are, therefore, circulated for the information and guidance of the constabulary.—

I. When an offer of employment for a prisoner is accepted, a notification thereof will be made by the Directors of Government Prisons Inspector-General of Constabulary, by whom it will be transmitted to the constabulary of the locality in which the employment is to be given, with all necessary particulars, for the purpose of being entered in a Register at the constabulary station.

II. Each convict so to be employed will report himself at the appointed constabulary station (the name of which will be given to him) on his arrival in the district, and, subsequently, on the first of each month.

III. A special report is to be made to head quarters by the constabulary whenever they shall observe a convict on licence guilty of misconduct or leading an irregular life.

IV. A convict is not to change his locality without notifying the circumstance at the constabulary station, in order that his registration may be transferred to the place to which he is about to proceed. On his arrival he must report himself to the nearest constabulary station (of the name of which he is to be informed), and such transfer is to be reported to head quarters for the information of the Directors of Government Prisons.

V. An infringement of these rules by the convict will cause it to be assumed that he is leading an idle, irregular life, and, therefore, entail the revocation of his licence.

VI. Further regulations may hereafter be added to the foregoing should they become necessary.

We submit that, taking into consideration the stringent supervision exercised, this is a most satisfactory state of things, and, when taken in connexion with some returns drawn out for a special purpose (to be hereafter explained), is of high value with reference to the future treatment of our criminals.

We have found the proportion of criminals that could be discharged through the intermediate prisons to be what we anticipated, viz., about 75 per cent.

As a testimony to the beneficial effects of special training and individualizing, there are cases of prisoners who, before their committal to prison, have been a terror to their localities, the authorities in which had strongly deprecated their being returned to their own neighbourhood on licence. We have discharged such men elsewhere, and have had opportunities, subsequently, of hearing through their employers of their well-doing, and saving enough money to quit the country.

We submit that the experience of the last two years in Ireland proves the advantage of special and individual treatment to the adult criminal. The experience of the last twelve months (during which the machinery of supervision has been made more perfect) demonstrates, by the returns, what may be done for and with criminals, based on the best possible foundation, their own exertions, under a probation in which there is a maximum of work, and only such food allowed as the medical officer certifies to be absolutely necessary for them. This period includes a number sentenced to penal servitude, and with whom we expected greater difficulty. It will be found that, though their sentence would not be shortened by good conduct or by disguising their sentiments, they have as yet strongly manifested a desire to do well on discharge.

We do not ascribe these alterations in conduct and character exclusively to religious influences. The prisoners, have in addition, the strong motive of self-interest prompting them to do right.

It has been the labour of those connected with the intermediate establishments to inculcate in the mind of the convicts (already somewhat prepared by habits of order and discipline in their previous prisons) that honesty is the best policy. That it is so is a fact beyond question. A proper and an improving police system making punishment more certain, legislation approving of longer sentences, an increasing feeling that there should be a unity of action against crime, all tend to bring this home to the prisoner's mind. The task is to convince the criminal. The more patent we make the fact by an improved police system, and the lengthening of sentences, showing that crime cannot be committed with impunity, so much lighter in proportion will be the task of reformation.

There are, of course, other and higher motives placed before the criminal; but a fact made as clear as here described will always be estimated as an important aid to the cause of reformation by those conversant with the criminal classes in and out of prison.

The mind of the criminal having thus been prepared—i.e., his former pursuits having been shown to be not only unholy but unprofitable, and being himself now led to believe, and to feel, that honesty is his best policy—he is then shown what he may, by extra industry, accomplish towards restoring himself to society; his special education informs him that, although in his own country he may be too weak to resist old associates and their temptations, there are other fields in which employment is abundant, where his unhappy antecedents will not appear against him, and where active industry and steady perseverance in well-doing will meet with their reward. It is evident what effect many months of such training would be likely to produce on the minds of a large number of criminals, many of whom are more willing to receive this doctrine favourably than would be supposed, inasmuch as they have already found crime to be unprofitable. When the will to emigrate, and, in most cases, to join their friends, is accompanied by the power afforded through their extra industry, it is not surprising to find that a large and an increasing number have left and are leaving the country, the limited amount of their means alone being the impediment.

Although we cannot too highly prize, as an important element of reformation, the voluntary emigration of the well-disposed criminals when free, to lands where labour is scarce, or advocate too strongly its beneficial effects, we are aware that a large number will still remain in their own country, with equal intention of well-doing. The experience afforded by two years of many prisoners on licence in this city, and of the whole number at present under supervision, induce the most satisfactory conclusions. The fact of employers of high respectability, after long experience, retaining those men in their situations, and still offering work to others of the same class, is the strongest, and perhaps the most satisfactory testimony we can adduce in favour of the system. Many prisoners, sentenced to penal servitude, and discharged from Smithfield, have, by means of their gratuity, bound themselves to tradesmen to be made more perfect in their calling. Although these men are free, a system of visitation voluntarily submitted to by them has been kept up, which has been found to be productive of good.

We believe that, if discharged prisoners conduct themselves as we find them to do when surrounded by the temptations of a city, and as, through the constabulary, we hear they do in the rural districts of this country, we have good grounds for confidence in the future well-doing of those who have gone to other fields of labour.

FIRST REPORT ON MEN ON LICENCE in the City and County of Dublin, for month of January, 1858, made fortnightly by the Lecturer.
—The date indicates when the men were released.

Sept. 8, 1856, D. L. Chapelizod, Employer J. N., Labourer, 10s. a-week. A most exemplary man.
Sept. 15, 1856, D. K. Crumlin, Employer M. C., Labourer, 8s. a-week. A most exemplary man.
Nov. 11, 1856, D. R. Saggart, Employer J. M'D, Labourer, 7s. a-week. In hospital.

- Nov. 11, 1856, M. M'L. Saggart, Employer J. M'D., Labourer, 7s. a-week. Doing well.
- Feb. 20, 1857, M. G. Saggart, Employer J. M'D., Labourer, 7s. a-week. Doing well as regards his public duties.
- Nov. 6, 1856, P. M'N. Saggart, Employer J. M'D., Labourer, 7s. a-week. Doing well.
- Oct. 28, 1857, P. W. Saggart, Employer J. M'D., Labourer, 7s. a-week. Doing well.
- Dec. 3, 1856, D. R. South King-street, Employers G. and R., Labourer, 9s. 6d. a-week. Retained in employment when three of his fellow-labourers were discharged a few days since.
- May 13, 1856, M. R. Poolbeg-street, Employer M. B., Labourer, 9s. a-week. Doing well.
- July 22, 1857, P. M'G. Fade-street. In hospital.
- July 13, 1857, J. S. Francis-street, Employer M. M., Labourer, 12s. a-week. No better character.
- July 13, 1857, C. M'C. Fade-street, Employer M. R., Labourer, 8s. a-week. I cannot speak too highly of this man.
- Aug. 10, 1857, P. M. Old Bawn, Employer J. M'D., Labourer, 10s. a-week. I cannot speak too highly of this man.
- Aug. 6, 1857, W. W. Ryder's-aow, Employer W. L., Shoemaker, Piece work. Doing well.
- Nov. 27, 1857, M. B. North King-street, Employer M. C., Labourer, 8s. a-week. Going on well; got married a few days since.
- Oct. 14, 1857, T. R. Bride-street, Employer P. M'L., Tailor, 3s. a-week and board. A proper young man.
- Nov. 16, 1857, J. M. Longford-street, Employer M. G., Shoemaker, Wages varying. An excellent character.
- Nov. 13, 1857, J. M. Mary's-lane, Employer M. C., Labourer, 9s. a-week. Going on well, he was dealing in fowl, but has become a bankrupt.
- Dec. 18, 1857, M. L. Bedford-street, Employer M. C., Labourer, 9s. a-week. Going on well.
- Sept. 24, 1857, P. D. Gloucester-place, Employer M. C., Labourer, 9s. a-week. An industrious, sober, and well-inclined young man, and, what is more, a good son to his aged mother.
- Sept. 24, 1857, E. H. Clarke's-court, Employer M. W., Shoemaker, 3s. a-week and board. Doing very well.
- Sept. 24, 1857, J. D. Swords. This man is going on well I hear, but have not seen him very lately. I sent a person to inquire and make out his residence for me.
- March, 31, 1856, J. N. Linen Hall-street, Employer J. K., Shopman, 10s. a-week. A man who fully appreciates self-respect.
- May 23, 1856, T. K. Fade-street, Employer M. C., Labourer, 10s. a-week. A sober, industrious man.
- April 1, 1856, F. R. Bishop-street, Own account, Shoemaker, 16s. a-week. Doing very well; married.
- May 29, 1856, T. C. Linen Hall-street. I am informed that this man is going on well, but cannot ascertain his residence.
- Nov. 6, 1856, P. H. Pigtown-land, Employer M. T., Labourer, 8s. a-week. Doing very well.

- June 21, 1857, P. M. Mount Brown, Employer M. K., Shoemaker, 12s. a-week. What may be termed a pushing fellow, not likely to want while he can get employment.
- June 22, 1857, P. K. Ballynascorney, Employer B. H., Labourer, £4 per annum and board and lodging. Rather a miracle in the reformatory world.
- March 5, 1857, P. Q. Church-street, Employer C. D., Labourer, 10s. a-week. Doing very well.
- April 30, 1857, M. C. Poolbeg-street, Employer C. D., Labourer, 10s. a-week. Doing very well.
- Sept. 9, 1857, W. R. Glasnevin, Employer M. H., Stonecutter, 10s. a-week. Doing very well; married.
- Sept. 9, 1856, J. G. Beresford-place, Employer J. C., Bricklayer, £1 6s. a-week. A most exemplary character; married to a very respectable girl.
- Sept. 10, 1857, P. C. Swords, Employer M. W., Labourer, 8s. a-week. This man was not in employment when I last saw him, but expects employment in a few days.
- Aug. 9, 1857, M. W. Church-street, Employer M. D., Labourer, 8s. a-week. No complaints.
- Sept. 9, 1857, J. M'G. Francis-street, Employer M. C., Labourer, 10s. a-week. Doing very well now.
- Nov. 28, 1857, J. F. Haddington-road. Residing with his father, who is a respectable man.
- Sept. 7, 1856, M. C. Chapelizod, Employer M. B., Tailor, 8s. a-week and board. Doing very well.
- Jan. 4, 1858, P. M. North King-street, Own account, Dealing. Doing very well.
- Dec. 24, 1857, P. N. Church-street. Expects employment immediately.
- P. K. Blackberry-lane, Rathmines, Employer M. K., Labourer, 10s. a-week. Doing well; his home wears the aspect of comfort.
- J. S. Phoenix-street, Employer B. H., Labourer, 10s. a-week. An excellent man; very frugal.
- J. H. Church-lane, Employer M. M., Labourer, 10s. a-week. Doing well; very temperate and industrious.
- J. T. Cabra, Employer M. B., Labourer, 8s. a-week and house. A most industrious and self-dependant man.
- T. L. Moore-street, Employer M. F., Stonecutter, £1 6s. a-week. Doing very well.
- R. Clare-lane, Employer M. H., Paper-ruler, 10s. a-week. No complaints; still with Mr. H.
- B. or A. Drury-lane, Porter. Working now and then on the Quay.
- P. B. Bow-street, Employer M. B., Labourer, 9s. a-week. When working he gets 9s. per week; he is not constantly employed; he is industrious and sober.
- W. T. Golden-lane, Employer J. G., Porter, 10s. a-week. An excellent young man.
- J. O'N. Kingstown. This man left the employment of Mr. S. I have not seen him for the last eight days.
- Oct. 27, 1857, B. J. Longford-street, Employer W. G., Shoemaker, 3s. a-week and board. Doing very well.

- June 9, 1857, W. K. North King-street, Employer M. L., Labourer, 8s. a-week. Doing very well.
- July 6, 1857, P. H. Francis-street, Employer M. O., Labourer, 9s. a-week. A most exemplary man.
- Dec. 14, 1857, P. T. Francis-street, Employer M. K., Painter, 8s. a-week. Doing well; but I think he is not altogether fond of hard work.
- Dec. 14, 1857, J. P. Fade-street, Employer M. R., Labourer. Enlisted.
- Dec. 14, 1857, J. K. Fade-street, Employer M. R., Labourer, 8s. a-week. Doing well.
- Dec. 18, 1857, P. C. Bedford-street, Employer M. O. Labourer, 9s. a-week. Doing well.

NOT ON LICENCE.—Penal Servitude Discharged Prisoners.

- Oct. 6, 1857, M. T. Saggart, Employer J. M'D., Labourer, 7s. a-week. Giving satisfaction to employer.
- Oct. 22, 1857, J. G. Poolbeg-street, Employer M. C., Stonecutter, 10s. a-week. No complaints. My hopes of this man's future welfare are not very sanguine.
- Oct. 23, 1857, J. B. Usher's-quay, Employer M. G., Servant, wages, cannot say. Going on very satisfactorily.
- Dec. 24, 1857, E. N. Enlisted.
- Dec. 16, 1857, P. H. Longford-street, Employer M. G., Shoemaker. Going on well.

J. ORGAN.

We have taken some pains to compile, at Smithfield, the returns appended and marked A, B, and C, for the sake of comparison, and in order that conclusions may be drawn of much value for future guidance.

The return, marked A, represents prisoners under sentence of transportation, and discharged on licence.

The return, marked B, represents prisoners under sentence of transportation, and discharged unconditionally after a longer period of service.

The return, marked C, represents prisoners under sentence of penal servitude, and discharged at the termination of their sentences.

All these classes of prisoners have been discharged from the intermediate prisons of Lusk and Smithfield, and have been subjected to the same treatment.

With reference to class A, a reference to the appended rules for the supervision of convicts on licence, page 13, will show the value of the constabulary report.

The returns B and C have been collected with the greatest industry and pains, and are as complete as they are ever likely to be made concerning a class of prisoners over which there is no legal control.

A.

RETURN of CONVICTS DISCHARGED ON LICENCE from SMITHFIELD and LUSK, during 1857, and the way they are accounted for.

Smithfield and Lusk.

Number discharged, 159

How disposed of—

Favourably reported on in Dublin,	31
Pardoned and subsequently gone abroad,	34
Favourably reported on by Constabulary,	75
Left for England and Scotland, ten having been heard from,	15
Licences revoked,	3
Died,	1—159

B.

RETURN of CONVICTS DISCHARGED (unconditional pardon) from SMITHFIELD and LUSK, during 1857, and the way they are accounted for.

Smithfield and Lusk.

Number discharged, 108

How disposed of—

Heard of and doing well,	21
Gone abroad,	37
Died,	1
Do. (supposed),	3
Not heard of,	46—108*

C.

RETURN of CONVICTS SENTENCED to PENAL SERVITUDE, who were DISCHARGED from SMITHFIELD and LUSK on TERMINATION of their SENTENCES during 1857, and the way they are accounted for.

Smithfield and Lusk.

Number discharged, 27

How disposed of—

Heard of and doing well,	7
Gone abroad,	9
Not heard of, some of whom were only a few days at liberty previous to 31st December, 1857, 11—27	

It will be at once observed, and should be particularly noted, how far more complete is the Return A, which is applicable to convicts conditionally pardoned (discharged on licence), and that it is incomplete only as regards those gone to England and Scotland, to which

* In return B, it will be observed, that there are forty-six unaccounted for; and although none of them have yet been committed to the Convict Depot, it is possible that some of them may be in the country prisons. It is a fair assumption, that if reconvicted at all, some reference would have been made to this department; this is, however, a mere assumption.

countries our police supervision does not extend. How instructive for future guidance the comparison may be made is obvious. To appreciate its value, however, and fully to recognise the importance of adopting means to produce such a return as A, it will be necessary to advert to an error, and a very fatal error, prevailing in the United Kingdom at the present day, on the subject of crime, viz., that conclusions are drawn from statistics in connexion with the number of detected offences committed by discharged prisoners. We rest satisfied or dissatisfied with a certain per centage of convictions. We ignore the undetected offences, and thereby paralyze the action which should be brought to bear against crime. Until we make the criminal statistics of the United Kingdom more positive and more perfect, as in other countries they are made, crime will flourish, and the utmost efforts at reforming the criminal prove but a partial good. We must not rest satisfied with the discharge of the criminal of many years' growth as a well-conducted prisoner. If the prisoner's training has been of the right description, it will show itself beyond the prison walls. For our sake and for his own we should follow him ; his training is incomplete unless we do. We must exercise such a supervision as shall aid him in his good, and restrain him from his evil intentions. The objection, that such a course would be an interference with the liberty of the subject, appears to us to make the liberty of the criminal the bondage of the free man. Such a supervision, acting detrimentally to the well-intentioned and newly-released convict, would be by the abuse, and not the use, of an important police duty. It is a momentous subject, the key-stone of all our troubles, and should not be rejected on light and insufficient grounds. Crime is rampant. Criminals tell us of offences committed with impunity before detection, of which statistics give no account. We have now but one colony that will take out convicts, and it has become necessary, absolutely necessary, that our discharged and professed criminals should henceforward no longer be allowed to prosecute their callings comparatively unrestrained.

It has been proved, in this country, that such supervision acts beneficially to the community as well as to the well-conducted criminal, and we have yet to learn that the Irish convict has any greater predilection in favour of police and law than those of other nations. The duty of supervision should be, in fact, a continuance of the system, and could be performed by well-selected officers of police in communication with the prison department.

There is yet another reflection for those who hesitate about the adoption of such supervision. The countries that are the most distinguished in their efforts to reform their criminals have, in all cases, instituted a judicious supervision over them when discharged. They judge, and rightly judge, such a system to be a powerful element in *aid of their reformation*. The more we surround the commission of crime with difficulties, the fewer offenders we shall naturally have.

We believe that the Penal Servitude Act of 1857, enunciating as it does, the necessity of passing longer sentences, will also have an important effect on reducing crime in the country. The way in which these sentences are to be passed is fully explained in a circular

from the Home Secretary to the judges, in which it appears that it is not a necessary consequence that the whole time will be enforced; but that it will depend on the eligibility of the convict for release. No hesitation need therefore be felt in passing sentences sufficiently long to operate beneficially towards the criminal and the community. With proper machinery to carry out this principle in its integrity, it will be observed that the corrigible can be aided, and the desperate restrained. In the event of lapse of time and discipline of the prison having failed to improve the latter class, there does not appear to be any conceivable reason why, on the termination of his sentence, society is not to be further protected from his misdeeds by such supervision on the part of the police through information from the prison department (so long and well conversant with his character) as shall restrain him from his evil courses.

We place great value on the favourable field for the reformation of the criminal afforded by the only colony that will now receive our convicts. Under judiciously extended arrangements Western Australia will probably, ultimately, be enabled to receive from 600 to 800 convicts annually from the United Kingdom. In addition to this, it is certain that a large number of well-disposed criminals will voluntarily emigrate to different colonies on their discharge: the gratuity obtained in prison, through industry, affording them the means of so doing. That prisoner is ill instructed for his future welfare who has not, in prison, learned that a new field for his labour and the severance of bad associations are the first and the most important steps towards his gaining a respectable position in society.

We have placed forty-six female convicts on licence in Refuges during the past year; this, with fifty-two, in 1856, makes a total of ninety-eight; and we have thus been afforded a good opportunity of judging of the effects of the system. Thirty-nine of these have been subsequently discharged and respectably located; two licences have been revoked, and eight transferred on licence to other situations. The remainder are still in the refuges; and from time to time, as they can be recommended, will receive employment obtained for them by the Lady Managers.

The number (ninety-eight) of female convicts placed in Refuges has been small, and caused by the limited number under sentence of transportation restricting the issues of ticket licence. The beneficial advantages which have accrued, through the special treatment of the ninety-eight, indicates very strongly the necessity of extending the privilege to those under sentence of penal servitude. By these means the area of selection will be enlarged, and we may hope for results, if possible, more favourable than those already obtained through the earnest zeal and indefatigable exertion of the ladies who have devoted themselves to this cause.

We believe this system exercises an influence for good, not only over the women, who are thus rescued from their evil courses, but also on the inmates of our prisons, who certainly generally appear to be most desirous of becoming honest members of the community, although the probationary period through which they must pass at the Refuges necessarily, and very properly, entails the exercise of much industry, perseverance, and patience.

The result of our experience of the Refuges induces the supposition, that by judicious and careful treatment the great majority of our female convicts may be reclaimed from a life of vice; and even many of those, whose evil habits might have been supposed to have been confirmed, are, at the termination of their sentences, willing to spend the remainder of their days in an asylum, should such be provided. We are glad to state that the Lady Managers of Goldenbridge Refuge have founded an asylum, supported by voluntary contributions, at Kingstown, to receive a certain number on discharge from the Refuge at the end of their sentences; and the Ladies of Charity at Drumcondra will provide accommodation for others for whom there is no room at Kingstown. The remaining classes of convicts, who are healthy, well-disposed, and able to work, can, it is hoped, be provided for either at home or abroad.

There can be no question that, as with the men so with the women, it is desirable that after discharge, and a certain probation, they should voluntarily emigrate. This is, with few exceptions, the desire of all; and before long it is probable that they may be enabled to carry out their wishes by means of their industry.

RETURN B.

RETURN of FEMALE CONVICTS DISCHARGED ON LICENCE during 1857, and the way they are accounted for.

Grangegorman, Newgate, and Cork Prisons.

Number discharged,	...	...	...	46
How disposed of—				
In Refuges,	...	...	...	81
Pardoned, and have obtained situations,	...	...	...	18
* Licences revoked,	...	...	...	2—46

The sentences of transportation, and the application of the tickets of licence, to them are now rapidly drawing to a close, and but few prisoners are now left who can receive this privilege. Our reports from time to time, and facts patent to all, have shown its beneficial working in this country. The ticket of licence has been in practice what it essayed to be in theory, a protection to the community; it has served to restrain and assist the criminal, and to protect his employer. From the return A, page 18, it will be observed how complete a well-regulated supervision might be made; and although the cases of penal servitude to be discharged, for some time to come, will not receive tickets of licence, we observe a power given to recur to the practice (rules for working out the Act of 1857), where found desirable, and cannot but consider it as a great advantage to the community which, instead of having the safeguard provided by supervision, would have the criminal discharged at the same period of time (be it remembered), without this precaution.

The following is the Scale of Remissions proposed by the Home Secretary, with reference to the act of 1857 :—

* Revoked for irregular conduct in the Refuges.

and efficient surveillance has been exercised over these lads by our excellent patrons, whose solicitude never diminishes, notwithstanding the increasing number of the wards.*

Our *récidivistes*, [individuals who relapse into crime,] who formerly amounted to ten per cent., reach now—according to the last Report on Criminal Justice, published by the Minister of Justice—only 8½ per cent., and we have well-founded hopes of seeing them decrease to a yet lower proportion.

These results, on which we may justly congratulate ourselves, may be in part attributed to the longer time that the lads now stay with us. Our magistrates are aware how important it is that the period of leaving Mettray should accord with the age at which the *colons* become eligible for conscription, in order that no interval may occur between the exercise over them of our discipline and of that of the army;† and they accordingly sentence them almost always to remain at the Colony until they are twenty years of age. They are likewise aware that those youths who are not drawn for the army are equally benefitted by remaining long at the Colony, as they thus have time to acquire the skill in their trade necessary to enable them to support themselves honestly by it.‡ The greater number of our *récidivistes*

* By *patrons* are meant those excellent individuals who, in France as well as in various other continental countries, and in some parts of the United States, voluntarily undertake to watch over, and aid with sympathy and advice, individuals leaving prisons and reformatories.—*Trans.*

† A large proportion of the Mettray lads enter the army.—*Trans.*

‡ The Procureur-Général expressed himself in the following terms in a circular which he addressed November 26, 1847, to the Procureurs du ressort:—

“MONSIEUR LE PROCUREUR DU ROI,—A circular issued by the Minister of Justice, dated April 6, 1842, defined in these words the character of the detention which our criminal courts are competent to adjudge in virtue of the 66th Article of the Penal code:—‘The fact must not be lost sight of that the young *detentes* have been acquitted,—that it is not punishment they have to undergo, and that the 66th article, in authorising their detention, has formally declared that they are to be so detained in order that they may be well brought up, that is to say, that they may receive care and instruction proper not only to correct their evil habits, but also to provide them with the means of hereafter supporting themselves by their labour.’

“The circular further states that the legislator has had the good of the children solely in view, and that their benefit alone should be aimed at by every measure undertaken with regard to them.

“MM. Demetz and de Courteilles, the Founders and Directors of the Agricultural and Penitentiary Colony, at Mettray, acting on the same principle, addressed some remarks upon the application of the 66th Article of the Penal Code, to the Garde des Sceaux, which appeared to his Excellency worthy the attention of magistrates, and of which the following is an abstract:—

are from among the lads who have left Mettray under sixteen years of age, whose moral nature we had not had time to operate upon sufficiently, and who could not earn enough to support themselves.

Our average of names inserted upon the Tablet of Honour—75 per cent.—has been maintained, and the proportion of punishments has not increased, notwithstanding the addition to our numbers.

The conduct of our lads after their departure from the Colony continues to give us the greatest satisfaction. This is a most important point, as it furnishes us with ascertained results, and proves the success of our enterprise. It is the touchstone by the aid of which the public are enabled to estimate the value of our institution.

“ ‘ They think that a short detention imposed by virtue of the 66th Article operates against the intention of the legislator ; that for the detention to be beneficial, its duration must be regulated not by the greater or less degree of criminality in the offence with which the young persons are charged, but according to the time required for their education. The effect of too short a detention is, in their opinion, to add to the miseries of these children, who are thus set at liberty and abandoned to themselves at an age when it is impossible for them to gain a livelihood, owing to both their physical weakness and their want of skill in the trade which they have just begun to learn. If, on the contrary, they have thoroughly learnt their trade before leaving the Reformatory, they are fit for regular employment, and will have no difficulty in obtaining work, when the daily wages they will receive will reward their diligence and foster a love of labour. Moreover, their moral training, all the less defective for their longer detention, strengthens them to resist the temptations which accompany their newly-regained liberty. By the youths remaining under the guardianship of the State until they are twenty years of age, when they become eligible for recruits, their relapse into crime is rendered almost impossible. MM. Demetz and de Courteilles are therefore desirous that the period of discharge should be fixed at that age. They are convinced that this regulation would exercise the happiest influence on the moral conduct of the lads. The option of apprenticing them, or of returning them provisionally to their parents before the expiration of their sentence, or even allowing them to enlist at the age of seventeen, when they display aptitude for a military career, appears to MM. Demetz and de Courteilles satisfactorily to answer the objections of those who are unwilling that the liberty of these young persons should be abrogated for so long a time.’ ”

“ The Garde des Sceaux has thought that, the experience of MM. Demetz and de Courteilles investing their opinion on this subject with authority, it would be useful to communicate that opinion to you ; inviting you at the same time to bring their remarks, whenever opportunity offers, under the notice of magistrates charged with the duty of administering the 66th Article of the Penal Code.

“ You will have the goodness to acknowledge the receipt of this circular.

“ Accept, &c., &c.,

“ DELANGLE, Procureur-General.”

An incident in which a *colon* was concerned occurred very lately, which affected us too deeply for us to pass it over now in silence. He came to ask us as a mark of our esteem to lay the first stone of a house he was about to build at the village of Pernay, (Indre et Loire,) where he has resided for a long time past with his family. We most willingly yielded to his request, and on the appointed day found all the authorities of the district assembled on the spot. The clergyman, although suffering from illness, had exerted himself to be present at this interesting ceremony, and the eulogium he was pleased to pronounce on our pupil, joined to that of the Mayor, proved that our former *colon* is both a good Christian and an excellent citizen. The inhabitants of the place confirmed these praises by their applause, and every one withdrew deeply moved by this most touching scene. That evening when we again beheld the asylum where our young *colon* had acquired those habits of industry, order, and economy, whose happy results we had just witnessed, we could not refrain from once more thanking PROVIDENCE for the joy we had experienced.

We endeavour as much as possible to place our lads in situations near us, that our influence over them may be the more direct and effective.

The little vessels which never go far from the shore, have less to fear from tempests than the ships which traverse the ocean; still when our lads wish to take a bolder flight we have no right to oppose them; and sometimes family circumstances make it even desirable. Thus it happened that young Dolbeau, by the desire of his father, went to New Orleans. This poor lad died soon after he landed, but he survived long enough for his excellent qualities to be appreciated. We subjoin a letter received from his father. He had previously written a most touching one to M. Blanchard, Inspecteur de la Colonie, in which he expresses his gratitude to all our excellent officers. But let the father speak:—

“New Orleans, January 11th, 1857.

“MONSIEUR LE DIRECTEUR,—This will inform you of the melancholy loss we have just sustained in the death of Mathieu Dolbeau, your pupil. After an excellent passage of forty days he appeared among us for a moment, and then vanished for ever. He lived fifty-six days in the colony, and died, after six days illness, of yellow fever. God has not willed that supreme happiness should exist on earth, and ours was of that kind which is not permitted here below.

“I never can sufficiently thank you for the good principles you gave him; he was a good son, a good brother, and a good friend; and had already made himself beloved by all who knew him. Now he is with his MAKER, and prays for his friends; let his many school-fellows remember him in their prayers, and from the depths of their hearts say for him a *Pater* and an *Ave*.

“Ever grateful for your care of him during his captivity, my son told me it was his wish to be inscribed as a Founder of the Colony.”

* A donor to the Institution of 100 francs (£4) or upwards, has his name inscribed on the list of the Founders of Mettray, which is placed in the chapel of the institution.—*Trans.*

He intended to have earned the amount of this little gift himself; but since he is now removed from among us I beg to fulfil his promise. Please to tell me what it is which will serve to recall him always to the memory of the institution.

"Monsieur le Directeur be so good as to honour me with a reply, and believe me, for life,

"Your very humble servant,

"DOLBEAU,

"His most unhappy father."

Notwithstanding the gratification we feel, gentlemen, in publishing these letters, of which we possess a great number, we know we must limit ourselves, and will therefore conclude our extracts with the obliging communication of our worthy colleague, M. Marion, respecting the *colon* Mauny, who wished to renew his subscription.* With pleasure we remind you of the fact that Mauny, having gone to Lima to make his fortune, sent, three years ago, two purses to M. Marion, each containing 100 francs. The packet bore this touching inscription:—"For my two mothers." Thus in the esteem and gratitude of this excellent young man, Mettray holds a similar position with her to whom he owes his life:—

"MY DEAR DIRECTOR,—I hasten to forward to you the enclosed letter from your worthy *colon* Mauny. It has just been delivered by his mother-in-law, who also brought one for me. I am delighted to find that Mauny and his young family are in good health, and that their circumstances otherwise continue to be prosperous. He commissions me to present to the Colony the sum of 100 francs—a fresh proof of his gratitude, which cannot fail to touch you; it is intended also—so his letter expresses it—as a pious thankoffering to God for the health vouchsafed to himself and his family. The memory of Mettray, and the conviction of the benefit derived from his sojourn there, are deeply engraved in his heart, and when expressing to his mother-in-law his hope of returning to France, in two years' time, he spoke of the pleasure of visiting Mettray, as one of the greatest gratifications awaiting him. He is glad and proud to be reckoned among her former pupils. Mettray may as justly boast of the conduct of so worthy a fellow, who, thanks to your care, has been restored to an honest and industrious life.

"The 100 francs from Mauny are, then, at your disposal. Will you have the kindness to inform me how to transmit them.

"Always yours, my dear Director,

"MARION.

"Nantes, July 26, 1857."

Although as regards the moral aspect of the Colony, we cannot but rejoice at the happy results obtained during the present year, PROVIDENCE has been pleased to inflict severe and heavy trials upon us, in the illness of our children.

Frequent cases of dysentery have occurred, brought on by the

* From the report for 1854 it appears that M. Marion is the patron of Mauny.—*Trans.*

extreme heat which has prevailed ever since the beginning of summer, and especially during the harvest season. The only effectual remedy for this disorder consists in a strict attention to diet, and our lads, rather than submit to the necessary regimen, concealed their indisposition, and would not go into our infirmary until there was but little hope left of cure. No malady makes it so imperative as this does, to avoid any excess with regard to food, and our boys are generally temperate; but, urged by hunger, they sought all possible means to escape our vigilance in order to procure victuals, sometimes of the most injurious kind.

Notwithstanding the devoted care of our medical attendants, whose zeal we cannot sufficiently praise, and of which M. Parchappe, Inspector-General for the Minister of the Interior, has been pleased to express his high appreciation, we have with regret to inform you that fourteen of our *colons* have died. This is, indeed, a heavy affliction, and, with you, we deplore so sad a loss. Still, it is small when it is considered how many were attacked by the disorder. The same epidemic committed much more fearful ravages in a neighbouring district, so that we may be thankful to Heaven that the scourge did not strike down a far larger number.

This mournful occurrence, like all in which courage and self-denial can be evinced, afforded our brave officers a new opportunity for distinguishing themselves. They would not permit a single strange nurse to be employed, and several of them voluntarily took up their abode in our hospital, quitting it only when the disorder had lost its virulence.

Our harvest operations were seriously affected by the unfortunate illness prevailing among our lads, whose strength we were obliged to economise. Nevertheless, we have the pleasure of informing you that the yield was most abundant.

We cannot touch upon the subject of agriculture, without profiting by the opportunity thus given us for expressing our well-founded gratitude to him to whom our success in this department must be attributed; we mean, of course, our excellent President, Count de Gasparin. He has written to inform us that notwithstanding the deep interest he takes in Mettray, he fears the state of his health will not permit of his continuing to perform the duties of President of the *Société Paternelle*. Doubtless, you, gentlemen, will feel with us, that we cannot but make every effort rather than yield to a decision so mournful as this. Let us hope that our prayers may be heard, and that soon, restored to health, our beloved President will return, again to enlighten us with his counsels and rejoice us with his presence.

Our manufacture of agricultural implements, which affords such important aid to our field operations, has, during the past year, been considerably augmented.

In conclusion, our esteemed treasurer has stated to you with his accustomed clearness, what our various workshops have produced, explaining also our financial position generally. By his very full report, you are enabled to estimate to their utmost extent the heavy expenses which weigh upon the Colony. Could they be less serious

after the calamities of the last three years? Nevertheless we cannot but believe that, aware of the good effected by Mettray, the country will not permit you to be losers. Who could be indifferent to our appeal, when its object is to obtain the means of restoring to an honest life those unhappy children who have been deprived of it from their very birth, and of converting to the welfare of society the lives of those who before threatened its dearest interests?

May our words serve to augment the satisfaction you must feel in having established so useful an institution; for if there be no gratification more exquisite than that derived from doing good, so neither is there any which has a more just foundation.

Directeur de la Colonie,

DEMETZ,

Conseiller Honoraire à la Cour Impériale de Paris,

Vice-President de la Société Paternelle.

[The original of the following little poem which is added to the Report, and illustrates an incident referred to therein, is from the pen of M. Paul Huot, a member of the French Bar, and author of "Trois Jours à Mettray."]

THE COLON OF METTRAY.

He was but eighteen years; that age so bright,
When life seems one long day-dream of delight,
And shows the future like a magic strand,
With golden fruit all ready for our hand.
What ecstasy the youthful bosom knows,
When, like a brimming goblet, it o'erflows
With hope and joy! When happiness appears
A debt of heaven, due to those glad years!
When we seek all, love, glory, mistress,
friend;
When we believe that youth can never end,
And that some fairy with her magic powers
Will guide our steps and scatter them with flowers.

The child of poverty knows no such dreams;
His fate is lightened by no golden beams:
Upon the tide of life's dark ocean flung,
The child of poverty is never young!
Gnawed by the ulcer of perpetual care,—
Scorned by that world which seems to us
so fair,—
Each day the wearying task he must renew;
For if *work* fail him, *bread* will fail him too.
Happy the man who fearlessly can dare
This cruel doom, nor sink beneath despair;
Who, greater than whatever woes befall,
Retains unscathed his virtue 'mid them all!
But if his brain beneath the load has
reared,—
If, maddened, he should totter, nay, should
yield;
With hunger worn, with nameless ills beset,
If virtue's laws one mement he forget,
Oh ye who hold the balance and the sword,
Remember mercy in your just award!
Think! He has struggled, friendless and
alone,
Against temptations ye have never known.

Punish his crime, but do not let your hand
With endless shame the wretched culprit
brand.

When the just penalty has once been paid
Let all be ready to afford their aid,—
To link afresh the bonds his sin has riven,
To lead the way to penitence and heaven.
And if this culprit be a child in years,
With no maternal hand to wipe his tears,—
If he has never heard the ALMIGHTY'S
name,—

If from the dark abyss of sin and shame
No pitying voice has ever warned him
back,—

If none have guided him on virtue's track,
Say who will dare upon his brow to trace
A stigma time itself can ne'er efface!
No! rather teach him what he ne'er could
learn,

Teach him the good from evil to discern,
Teach him that e'en without a home or
friend,

The honest man will struggle to the end.
Ye whom kind fortune with her gifts has
blest,

Of wealth, of knowledge, and of power
possess,

This be your part; your generous care will
win

From misery and disgrace this child of sin.
For such was Joseph. What avails to tell
All that his boyhood and his youth befell;
How early vice with its destructive blight
Sank on his soul and plunged it into night—
Who cares to listen to the weary tale?

No! better o'er the past to cast a veil.
Enough, he sinned; the judge pronounced
his doom,

Shut up at first in solitude and gloom,
In the abode of misery and crime,
With one to tell him that, with toll and
time,

He yet his early errors might redeem;
 That 'mid the darkness there remained a
 gleam
 Of hope; that at his age we conquer fate
 If we but learn to labour and to wait!
 That for him, too, might dawn far happier
 days,
 When he would dare his drooping head to
 raise.
 At length one morn the dungeon's gates
 unclose;
 Reckless of what awaits him forth he goes.
 Mettray receives him. Here how changed
 his fate!
 No more does he behold the prison gate,
 Which shut upon him grimly every night,
 Excluding hope, and liberty, and light.
 Now, when day dawns, the joyous matin
 breeze,
 Waving and rustling 'mid the tall green
 trees,
 Restores the virgin freshness to his heart,
 Blighted and seared. The walls which
 seemed to part
 Him from the world are gone. His eye
 may rove
 Unfettered over hill, and dale, and grove,—
 Over the wide fields, henceforward his
 domain,
 Where his own hand may sow the golden
 grain
 With which he will be fed. Soon will the day
 Arrive when he with honest pride may say,
 "This bread my hand has sown, and reaped,
 and ground."
 No surly gaolers now his steps surround,
 But kindly guardians pointing out the road
 That leads alike to virtue and to God.
 Such is Mettray. He dwelt there five long
 years.
 But well employed, how short each day
 appears!
 From bad he changed to good; from weak
 to strong.
 At length it came, the hour hoped for so long,
 The hour which even *there* still seemed so
 sweet,
 The hour of liberty; entire, complete.
 The very master chosen. It was not ease
 That Joseph sought; when some unknown
 disease
 Fell on the boy; the seeds, perhaps, were
 sown
 In his sad childhood, or his dungeon lone.

Stretched on the bed of sickness he is laid;
 Sisters of Mercy, ever prompt to aid
 The wretched, bathe his brow of livid hue,
 And his pale cheeks with pitying tears
 bedew;
 Praying kind Heaven the sufferer to
 restore;—
 The prayer is heard, and Joseph breathes
 once more.
 The weary days of convalescence past,
 His comrades gladly welcome him at last.
 Once more at Mass his accents doth he raise
 To Heaven in humble worship—grateful
 praise;
 When, like the thunder in the distant storm,
 The tocsin sounds! Silent the children form
 Their ranks; they march, with calm, deter-
 mined will;
 They reach the spot; their courage and
 their skill
 Rescue the lives, the fortunes, which the
 flames
 Had threatened to devour! How many names
 Deserve record! But 'mid the heroic band
 Foremost in daring doth young Joseph
 stand.
 Exhausted with fatigue, with sudden pain
 He sinks,—this time never to rise again.

 He died at eighteen years—that age so
 bright,
 When life seems one long day-dream of
 delight;
 Showing the future like a magic strand,
 With golden fruit all ready for our hand.
 The ecstasy the youthful bosom knows
 When, like a brimming goblet, it o'erflows
 With hope and joy,—when happiness
 appears
 A debt of heaven due to those gladsome
 years,
 He never knew! His life was rent away
 Just at the moment when a brighter day
 Dawned on his fate; just as his heart began
 To feel, to know the duties of a man.
 Upon his tomb, where many a blossom fair
 With its soft perfume fills the summer air,
 There bends the Angel of repentant love—
 And Mettray counts its martyr too above.

At page xxiii. of our last RECORD will be found the Report of the Calder Farm Reformatory for 1857. We have lately received a copy of the "System of Marks, Diet, and Time Tables," used in the school, and we place the document before our readers, believing that it will be found of very considerable importance in aiding those in Ireland who are about to establish Reformatory Institutions.

SYSTEM OF MARKS.

THE behaviour of each boy is estimated every day in the Three Departments of

	MARKS.
I.—Labour	Very Good.....5
II.—Schoolwork	Good .....4
III.—General Conduct	Moderate .....3
	Indifferent .....2
	Bad .....1
	Very Bad .....0*

and recorded in a book kept for each department, by the number of marks attached to each degree.

Hence, for the six working days, each boy may obtain, as a maximum, 30 marks in each department, or 90 in all.

On Sunday, there being neither labour nor school-work, the marks for general conduct are doubled, giving 10 as a maximum for that day.

The maximum of marks for the week is therefore—

LABOUR.		SCHOOL.		GENERAL CONDUCT.	
30.	+	30	+	40	= 100†

The number of marks gained by each boy, gives an expression for his conduct by way of per centage.

The number gained by all, divided by the number of boys, gives a like expression for the average conduct in the House.

The boys in each House are divided monthly into two parties called Sides, as follows :—

* The whole system is based on the daily marks, and its success depends on those marks being assigned in exact proportion to the real merit of every day's conduct. High marks should not be given to any boy as a matter of course, for then he would soon come to regard them as a matter of right, and think himself injured if they were withheld.

That the boys may clearly understand the real import of the marks, the following full statement is hung up in the School Room :—

EXPLANATION OF MARKS.

- 1 means BAD.
- 2 „ INDIFFERENT (thoughtless or careless).
- 3 „ MODERATE (not deserving praise).
- 4 „ GOOD :—that is, a boy readily and willingly does all that is required by the rules of the School :—
- 5 „ VERY GOOD :—that is, he not only observes the rules, doing all which is clearly his duty, but does it cheerfully, and shews some *thoughtful anxiety* for the general good of the School, by endeavouring to prevent others from doing wrong, and by assisting the Masters to the utmost of his power.

† For Mode of keeping Register of Marks, seen Appendix, Table II.

Excluding the General Monitors, the two boys who had the highest marks during the preceding week, become Heads of Sides for the month ensuing.

Each of the two, beginning with him who has the highest marks, chooses, in turn, boys to form his Side, till all are included in one or the other.

When the number of boys is odd, the last boy being rejected by both Sides, goes to the Second Table for the month.

The Head Master in his discretion may make the number of boys to be chosen, odd or even, by placing, if necessary for that result, the boy with highest marks at the First Table without competition.

The marks gained by all the boys on each Side, being added up at the end of every week, the Side which has the highest aggregate, has the First Table during the week following.*

But any boy, though on the gaining Side, who has not at least 20 marks for labour, 20 for school, and 25 for general conduct, is excluded from the First Table.

On the other hand, any boy who has earned a total of 90 marks, though on the losing Side, is admitted to the First Table.

The object sought in giving the First Table to the aggregate marks of a Side, instead of to the individual marks of each boy, is, to induce boys to endeavour to keep each other right, as they profit by the good conduct of others, and lose by their misconduct.

The admission to the First Table of any boy whose marks reach a certain high standard, removes the sense of unfairness which was felt by boys whose conduct having been *very good*, were yet excluded from it by the misconduct of others.

The exclusion of a boy on the gaining Side, who falls short of a certain standard in each department, prevents boys who are grossly negligent from enjoying privileges due entirely to the merits of others.

Thus excluding the extremes of good and bad, the community of interest helps and encourages the intermediate class of those who both need and deserve it.

The object of the division by Sides is :—

To eliminate, as much as possible, the inequality which is more or less inevitable, in the assignment of marks by different masters, or by the same masters to different boys :

To accustom boys to choose their companions among the well-disposed, rather than those of the opposite character.

The Head of a Side generally consulting with the boys first chosen as to whom he shall choose next in turn, the order in which they stand on the list of the Sides, in an indication of the opinion which the boys entertain of each other. A useful index to the character of a new comer is often thus obtained ; boys having very quick perception of each other's character, and having opportunities for judging which the Masters have not.

* See Appendix, Table I.

MONEY REWARDS FOR LABOUR.

As the boys must look forward to gain, in their future life, their wages by their labour, a money value is also given to the marks for Labour.

For this purpose the boys are divided into Three Classes, according to their strength and ability for labour.

Boys in the First Class gain 1d. for 10 Marks.

„ Second „ 1d. for 20 „

„ Third „ 1d. for 30 „

Each boy is credited with the amount thus gained in a book called Savings' Bank Book, of which he has a copy, and debited by fines for disorder, damage, &c., and money which, in the discretion of the Head Master, he is allowed to spend.

COMPENSATION MARKS.

In case of a boy's sickness, Compensation Marks are given, so that he may neither lose in credit, nor his side in the aggregate of marks, through his absence from School or Labour, from a cause involving no demerit. They are estimated according to the average of his conduct for the previous month, and are placed to his credit in the list, but have no money value.

EXTRA MARKS.

In the longer days of Summer, task-work is given where practicable, and for over-work extra marks are given for Labour. These are not reckoned in the weekly list, but their money value at the same rate as other labour marks is carried to the credit of the boy in his Bank-Book.

DISORDER MARKS.

Negative marks may be given to any boy for disorder—that is, slovenliness in person, or clothes, or other minor breaches of good order. These are deducted from the sum of his good marks, at the end of the week.

They subject him to a money fine, reckoned in the same way as the rewards for Labour, according to his class for Labour, and as they are exhibited in the weekly list, become a disgrace.

THE MONITORS.

The Monitors are appointed and removed by the Head Master, in his discretion.

As the general conduct of the boys depends much on the General Monitor, he is paid according to *their* conduct as represented by the average per centage for the whole House:— $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for every 1 per cent. above 75.

A General Monitor has always the First Table without competition.

Temporary Monitors may also be appointed for labour, or School teaching.

When a Monitor teaches in School, he is paid for school-work, 1d. for 10 marks as assigned by the Schoolmaster.

The marks of Labour Monitor when so employed, have a double money value.*

QUARTERLY REWARDS.

Rewards may be gained by the boys, individually and collectively in each house, according to the following scale:—

If the average of the House be		The School shall have a	Each boy shall receive for his average of Marks.
ABOVE.	BELOW.		
—	70	" "	—
70	75	" "	For 80 marks 3d. & $\frac{1}{4}$ d per mark above 80.
75	80	" "	" 80 " 6d. & 1d. " "
80	85	Half-holiday.	" 80 " 6d. & 1d. " "
85	—	Whole do.	" 80 " 6d. & 1d. " "

Any boy whose average marks for the quarter shall be less than 65, will not be allowed to share the holiday.

The average of 80 in 100 is equivalent to 4 in 5, which in the daily marks is Good, and therefore represents general good conduct for the quarter.

This brings a reward in money, on the principle that, though a boy must not look to be rewarded in school, or in life, for acts of good, moral conduct, but only for services rendered, yet, that the *character* which is the result of good conduct continued for length of time, has a material value.

Yet, the granting such rewards being a mere act of grace, and their withdrawal no hardship, they are made dependent on the general conduct of the House as represented by the general average; that each boy may feel his interest not only in maintaining his own conduct good, but also that of every other boy; and be led to realize his responsibility not only as an individual, but as one of a body in which "the members should have the same care one for another: and whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it, or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it."—1 Cor. xii. 25, 26.

On this principle, *competitive* rewards are for the most part excluded; because when they are given, the gain of one is the loss of another, and a boy becomes interested in another's being worse than himself. Thus they tend directly to selfishness and jealousy.

The exceptions are—

1st. The competition for the First Table. In this case, the competition being not between individuals, but two bodies, a wholesome

* See disposal of Labour Marks, Appendix, Table 2.

emulation for good is created. Jealousy, and suspicion of partiality, are obviated by the free choice of sides.

2nd. Occasional rewards given to the boy who has the best character for truthfulness, diligence, &c. In this case, the boys themselves are left to determine by vote which among them best deserves the reward.

3rd. Competitive rewards for progress in any branch of instruction or work not depending on moral conduct, but on grounds which are evident, such as Writing, Arithmetic, Garden Management, &c. For this purpose, a number of small prizes seem better than few larger ones; because they come within the possible reach of a greater number, and therefore induce exertion in those who would otherwise abandon it as hopeless.

DIET TABLES.

FIRST TABLE.—FOR GOOD CONDUCT.				SECOND TABLE.—ORDINARY.			
	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Supper.	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Supper.	
Sunday	1½ pint Milk and Water, sweetened, 8oz. Bread, and a little Butter or Dripping.	4oz. Meat, and 8oz. Bread.	1½ pint of Milk and Water sweetened, and 8oz. Bread.	1½ pint Milk and Water, sweetened, 8oz. Bread, and a little Butter or Dripping.	4oz. Meat, and 8oz. Bread.	1½ pint of Milk and Water sweetened, and 8oz. Bread.	
Monday	1½ pint Milk and Water, and 8oz. Bread.	1 pint of Soup, 2oz. Meat, and 8oz. Bread.	1½ pint of Milk and Water, and 8oz. Bread.	1½ pint of Milk and Water, and 8oz. Bread.	1 pint of Soup, and 8oz. Bread.	1½ pint of Milk and Water, and 8oz. Bread.	
Tuesday	Do.	1lb. Suet Pudding.	Do.	Do.	2oz. Cheese, and 8 oz. Bread.	Do.	
Wednesday.	Do.	1 pint of Soup, 2oz. Meat, and 8oz. Bread.	Do.	Do.	1 Pint of Soup and 8oz. Bread.	Do.	
Thursday ...	Do.	1 lb. of Potatoes, 2oz. Meat, and 4oz. Bread.	Do.	Do.	1lb. of Potatoes, 2oz. Meat, and 4oz. Bread.	Do.	
Friday	Do.	1 pint of Soup, and 8oz. Bread.	Do.	Do.	1 pint of Soup, and 8oz. Bread.	Do.	
Saturday	Do.	8oz. Cheese or a little Butter, and 8oz. Bread.	Do.	Do.	2oz. Cheese, and 8oz. Bread.	Do.	
				At eleven o'clock, when at work, each boy receives 2 oz. of Bread.			

TABLE I.

The 1½ pint of Milk and Water contains a pint of Skim Milk.
 The Soup on Monday is made on the Broth from Sunday's Meat, with Carrots, Turnips, Onions, and Peas, added.
 The Soup on Wednesday and Friday, contains Meat also.

TABLE II.
WEEKLY REGISTER.—MARKS AWARDED DURING WEEK ENDING FEB. 19TH. 1858.

SCHOOL.

GENERAL CONDUCT.

DISPOSAL OF LABOUR MARKS.

G.M.—General Monitor. M—Monitor. S—Sick. C—Punishment.

SIDES COMPETING FOR FIRST TABLE.

W. W.....	100	B. M.....	108
D. B.....	91	C. R.....	96
B. B.....	91	G. N.....	91
J. W.....	89	G. S.....	94
R. W.....	87	J. C.....	80
W. R.....	87	W. T.....	79
W. K.....	70	R. T.....	100
W. G.....	100	B. T.....	78
J. N.....	98	J. R.....	94
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	610		923

TABLE III.
WEEKLY LIST, shewing the Position gained by each Boy during the
Week ending February 19th, 1858.*

		LABOR.	SCHOOL.	GENERAL.	TOTAL.	DISORDER.	PLACES AT TABLE.	
1	W.W.	30	30	40	100	—	First Table— W. G. <i>Monitor.</i>	1
2	R. T.	30	30	40	100	—	B. M.	2
3	W. G.	30	30	40	100	—	O R.	3
4	B. M.	30	30	40	100	—	G. N.	4
5	W. G.	30	30	40	100	—	G. S.	5
6	C. R.	30	28	38	96	—	J. C.	6
7	J. N.	29	29	37	95	1	R. T.	7
8	J. R.	30	30	34	94	—	J. R.	8
9	G. S.	29	27	38	94	1	W. W.	9
10	D. R.	27	28	36	91	3	D. R.	10
11	S. S.	30	28	33	91	—	S. S.	11
12	G. N.	30	24	37	91	—	W. G.	12
13	J. C.	30	24	36	90	—	J. N.	13
14	J. W.	30	26	33	89	—	Second Table— J. W.	1
15	B. T.	19	27	32	78	1	R. W.	2
16	R. W.	28	24	35	87	—	W. R.	3
17	W. R.	28	27	32	87	—	W. K.	4
18	W. T.	28	19	32	79	—	M. W.	5
19	M. W.	25	27	32	84	2	W. T.	6
20	W. K.	22	21	27	70	3	B. T.	7

Sides Competing for First Table for ensuing Week :—

W. W.	}	The average conduct of the School for the week ending Feb. 19, 1858, = 90.	{	B. M.
D. R.				C. R.
S. S.				G. N.
J. W.				G. S.
R. W.				J. C.
W. R.				W. T.
W. K.				R. T.
W. G.	}	M. W. having been rejected by both Sides, remains on No. 2 Table till the next Election.	{	B. T.
J. N.				J. R.

* This List is suspended in the School-room.

TABLE IV.
General Table of Daily Duties.

Novr. Decr. Jany.	Febry.	March.	April. Octr.	May.	June. July. Aug.	Sept.	
6. 0	6. 0	6. 0	6. 0	5.30	5.30	6. 0	Rise from bed (private prayer before leaving the room).
—	—	—	6.30	6. 0	6. 0	6.30	On parade, and distribute to labor.
6.30	6.30	6.30	—	—	—	—	To School, after making up beds and washing.
7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	Family prayer.
8. 0	8. 0	8. 0	8. 0	8. 0	8. 0	8. 0	Breakfast.
8.30	8.30	8.30	8.30	8.30	8.30	8.30	Work.
12.50	12.50	12.50	12.50	12.50	12.50	12.50	Wash and prepare for dinner.
1. 0	1. 0	1. 0	1. 0	1. 0	1. 0	1. 0	Dinner.
1.30	1.30	1.30	—	—	—	—	Play.
—	—	—	—	1.30	1.30	1.30	School.
2.30	2.30	2.30	1.30	2.30	2.30	2.30	Work.
—	—	—	5. 0	6. 0	6.30	6. 0	Play.
4.30	5. 0	5.30	6. 0	—	—	—	Wash and to School
7. 0	7. 0	7. 0	7. 0	7. 0	7.30	7. 0	Supper.
7.45	7.45	7.45	7.45	7.45	8.15	7.45	Family prayer.
8. 0	8. 0	8. 0	8. 0	8. 0	8.30	8. 0	To bed (private prayer immediately on entering the bedroom).

There is Reading during every meal, by the Master present.

Once-a-week the Boys are instructed in Music and Singing.

They are drilled two evenings a-week, from April to October, inclusive.

They have a tepid bath every Saturday afternoon, except during the Summer months, when they go twice-a-week to the river to bathe.

Through the kindness of the Rev. Father Caccia, the head of the Catholic Reformatory School, near Market-Weighton, Yorkshire, we are enabled to place the following Return, moved for by a thorough Reformatory advocate, Mr. Garnett:—

RETURN of all Reformatory Schools which have been Certified and Sanctioned by the Secretary of State under the Statutes 17 & 18 Vict., c. 74, and 17 & 18 Vict., c. 86, respectively, with the Date of Certificate; also, the Number of Juveniles (distinguishing Boys from Girls), which each of such Schools is capable of accommodating, and the Number contained in each at the latest date for which the Return can be given.

ENGLISH REFORMATORIES (PROTESTANT.)

No.	County.	Name of Reformatory.	Accommodation.		Date.	Actual Number of Inmates.			
						Under Detention.		Free.	
			Boys.	Girls.		Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
1	Bedford	Turvey	40	—	9 April 1857	18	—	—	—
2	Berks	Reading	30	—	25 Sept. 1855	22	—	—	—
3	Cumberland	Carlisle	40	—	1 May "	40	—	—	—
4	Cheshire	Sandbach	40	—	27 Dec. "	38	—	—	—
5	Devon	Exeter	30	—	17 April "	23	—	—	—
6	Dorset	School, Bramford Wood.	20	—	28 Jan. 1857	19	—	—	—
7	Durham	Dorset Reformatory Milborne, St. Andrew	18	—	22 April 1856	9	5	2	—
8	Essex	Sunderland Industrial and Ragged School	30	—	2 Dec. "	14	—	—	—
9	Glamorgan	Essex Reformatory	30	—	4 Mar. 1858	—	—	—	—
10	Gloucester	Glamorgan Reformatory, Howden Canal	70	—	4 Oct. 1854	54	—	—	—
11	Ditto	Kingwood Reformatory	—	60	4 Oct. "	—	52	—	4
12	Ditto	Hardwicke Reformatory	45	—	9 Dec. "	45	—	—	—
13	Hants	Red Lodge Reformatory for Girls	50	—	29 Nov. 1855	32	—	5	—
14	Herts	Hampshire Reformatory, Eling	50	—	10 Nov. 1857	10	—	—	—
15	Lancaster	Herts Reformatory, Bengoe	150	—	3 Jan. 1856	144	—	—	—
16	Ditto	Liverpool "Akbar Hulk" Reformatory	—	90	19 Mar. "	—	13	—	7
17	Ditto	Toxteth Park (Girls) Reformatory School	—	70	12 June 1857	—	32	—	—
18	Ditto	Liverpool Reformatory for Girls, Mount	45	—	2 Sept. "	11	—	—	—
19	Ditto	North Lancashire Reformatory, Bilsdale	60	—	16 Oct. "	23	—	—	—
		Manchester and Salford Reformatory, Blackley							

ENGLISH REFORMATORIES (PROTESTANT) CONTINUED.

No.	County.		Date.	Accommodation.		Total.	Actual Number of Inmates.				Total.
				Boys.	Girls.		Under Detention.		Free.		
							Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	
20	Leicester	Leicestershire Juvenile Reformatory, Peckleton	22 May 1855	34	—	34	30	—	—	—	30
21	Middlesex	Home in the East Reformatory	29 Nov. "	50	—	50	26	—	26	—	26
22	Ditto	School for Discipline for Girls, Paradise-row	9 June 1856	—	—	46	—	9	—	37	46
23	Ditto	The Rescue Society's Reformatory for Girls, Church-row	19 Dec. 1857	—	—	90	—	12	—	—	12
24	Norfolk	Buxton Juvenile Reformatory School, Marham	7 July 1855	40	—	40	34	—	—	—	34
25	Ditto	—	9 June 1857	15	—	15	7	—	—	—	7
26	Northampton	—	21 Jan. 1856	30	—	30	25	—	—	—	25
27	Ditto	—	15 Nov. 1854	60	—	60	25	—	—	—	25
28	Ditto	—	3 June 1857	120	—	120	40	—	—	—	40
29	Suffolk	—	22 Mar. 1856	45	—	45	28	—	—	—	28
30	Surrey	—	2 Sept. "	280	—	280	178	—	98	—	276
31	Warwick	—	20 Aug. 1854	50	—	50	50	—	—	—	50
32	Ditto	—	27 June 1856	—	—	22	—	17	—	1	18
33	Ditto	—	20 Dec. 1854	—	—	45	—	31	—	—	31
34	Ditto	—	20 Nov. 1856	40	—	40	35	—	—	—	35
35	Wilts	Weston-under-Weathersly	23 Dec. "	30	—	30	18	—	—	—	18
36	Worcester	Wilts Reformatory	9 Dec. 1854	50	—	50	34	—	—	—	34
37	Ditto	Stoke Farm Reformatory	9 June 1856	32	—	32	32	—	—	—	32
38	York, W. R.	Woodberry Hill Reformatory for the county and city of Worcester	15 Dec. 1855	42	—	42	42	—	—	—	42
39	Ditto N. R.	Calder Farm School	8 May 1856	45	—	45	41	—	—	—	41
40	Ditto W. R.	Castle Howard Reformatory	2 Dec. 1857	60	—	60	10	—	—	—	10
41	Ditto N. R.	Leeds Reformatory, Adel	18 Oct. 1856	—	—	23	—	21	—	—	21
		West Riding Refuge for Girls									

ENGLISH REFORMATORIES (CATHOLIC).

No.	County.	Name of Reformatory.	Situation.	Date of Certificate.	Accommodation.		Total for	Actual Number of Inmates.				Total
					Boys.	Girls.		Under Detention.		Free.		
								Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	
42	Gloucester	Arno's Court Girls' Reformatory	Bristol	22 April 1856	-	200	200	-	104	-	-	104
43	Leicester	Agricultural Colony of St. Bernard's Abbey	Loughborough	13 May "	300	-	300	297	-	-	-	297
44	Middlesex	for Girls, Beau-	Brook-green	10 Oct. 1855	78	-	78	77	-	-	-	77
45	Ditto		Hammermith	24 July 1857	-	55	55	-	11	-	-	11
46	York, E. R.	Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, Holme-on-Spalding.	Market Weighton	25 July 1856	100	-	100	63	-	-	-	63

SCOTCH REFORMATORIES (Certified under 17 & 18 Vict., Cap. 86).

47	Aberdeen	Old Mill Reformatory	Aberdeen	9 Mar. 1857	50	-	50	50	21	-	-	-	21
48	Forfar	Rosale Reformatory	Montrose	4 May "	10	-	10	10	9	-	-	-	9
49	Lanark	Glasgow House of Refuge for Girls	Glasgow	15 Nov. 1854	0	-	440	440	343	-	88	-	431
50	Ditto	Glasgow House of Refuge for Boys	Ditto	15 Nov. "	-	180	180	180	-	113	-	36	149

SCOTCH REFORMATORIES.—Continued.

No	County	Name of Reformatory.	When Certified.	Accommodation.		Total	Actual Number of Inmates Detained.				Total	Attending School not under Detention.		Total
				Boys.	Girls.		Detained by 17 & 18 Vict. c. 74.		Detained by 17 & 18 Vict. c. 84.			Boys.	Girls.	
							Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.				
1	Aberdeen	Aberdeen Industrial School	15 May 1855	170	60	230	18	60	123	48	34	123	48	171
2	Ayr	Ayr Ragged School	13 Oct. "	-	-	120	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	120
3	Ditto	Kilmarnock Ragged School	2 June "	-	-	180	10	2	-	-	-	86	28	59
4	Dumfries	Dumfries and Maxwelltown Education Society's Ragged School.	22 April 1856	50	50	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	103
5	Edinburgh.	School	2 June 1855	40	40	80	6	6	-	-	12	-	-	-
6	Ditto	School	20 Nov. "	187	93	280	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-
7	Ditto	burghal	22 April 1856	18	18	36	3	4	-	-	7	-	-	-
8	Forfar	Arbroath Industrial School	18 May 1855	50	50	100	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-
9	Inverness*	Inverness Ragged School	21 Dec. "	36	17	53	3	3	11	2	19	-	-	-
10	Lanark	Glasgow Industrial Schools	10 Mar. "	70	60	130	70	59	-	-	129	42	28	70
11	Ditto	Govan Parochial Schools	23 Dec. 1854	30	30	60	10	3	-	-	13	-	43	43
12	Perth	Perth Ladies' House of Refuge for Girls	-	-	50	50	-	52	-	52	-	-	-	-
13	Ditto	Perth Female School of Industry	23 Dec. 1854	-	64	64	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
14	Ditto	Perth Male School of Industry	19 Feb. 1857	48	-	48	1	-	-	-	10	-	-	-
15	Renfrew	Greenock Industrial School	3 April 1855	80	70	150	8	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	Ditto	Greenock Reformatory School	{ 28 Aug. and } { 6 Dec. 1855 }	-	-	-	5	1	1	5	12	-	-	-
17	Ditto*	Paisley Ragged School	{ 13 Oct. 1855 } { & 9 May 1856 }	30	30	60	1	-	15	6	22	-	-	-
18	Wigton*	Stranraer Industrial School	1 May 1855	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	42	-	-	-

* The Schools thus marked are certified under both the Acts 17 & 18 Vict. c. 74 and 17 & 18 Vict. c. 86.

SUMMARY OF RETURN OF REFORMATORIES.

Number of English Reformatories	...	(Protestant)	...	41
Ditto	...	ditto	...	(Catholic) 5
Total				46

No. of Scotch Reformatories certified under 17 & 18 Vict. c. 86.	4
Ditto ... ditto certified under 17 & 18 Vict. c. 74 and 17 & 18 Vict. c. 86.	3
Ditto ... ditto certified under 17 & 18 Vict. c. 74.	15
22	

Accommodation—English Reformatories (Protestant)		{ Boys 1,771
		{ Girls 316
(Catholic)		{ Boys 478
		{ Girls 255
Total		2,820

Ditto	Scotch Reformatories	...	...	{ Boys 1,309
				{ Girls 812
Total				2,121

Actual number of Inmates—English Reformatories :—

(Protestant)	...	{ Boys 1,374
		{ Girls 330
(Catholic)	...	{ Boys 427
		{ Girls 115
Total		2,256

Ditto	Scotch Reformatories, 17 & 18 Vict. c. 86.	{ Boys 400
	17 & 18 Vict. c. 74.	{ Girls 126
	...	{ Boys 137
		{ Girls 150
Total		813

N. B.—The returns of accommodation and number of inmates are all to 31 March, 1858.

We beg attention to the following passages from the Report of the Cork Ragged Schools and Prospectus of Protestant Reformatory :—

How the progress of crime may be most effectually arrested, has long been a question of great difficulty and of great importance.

Of late years, however, the desirableness and practicability of Juvenile Reformatories have been generally admitted, and their success has deservedly attracted much public notice.

It was the conviction that such an Institution was needed in this City, which led to the establishment in October, 1851, of the Cork Central Ragged School. Its object was to reclaim juvenile criminals, and to provide a refuge for those cast upon the world without any means of support, and thus compelled to become inmates of the Poor-house, or have recourse to begging, theft, prostitution, until, at a still greater expense, they were consigned to Prison, only to re-enter, when discharged, upon their old career of vice. It is plain, therefore, that this school has been, to a certain extent, a Reformatory from its very commencement.

The originators of this design at first confined their project to the establishment of a Sunday school, but Divine Providence having brought under their notice a master well acquainted with the Ragged School Institutions of London, a Daily and Industrial School was also commenced.

Subsequently, in the year 1854, the important addition of a Dormitory was made, in which there are at present twenty-six beds, occupied by those inmates who would otherwise have had no *lodging* or *place of shelter*. All are supplied with food, instructed in the Holy Scriptures, and taught Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, in addition to the industrial employments, such as the Manufacture of mats and nets, Tailoring and Shoe-making. Half the profits on the articles made is given to the scholars, from which earnings they themselves purchase a great part of their clothing.

That the manufacturing department has made satisfactory progress, is proved by the fact, that, instead of £1 19s. 3d., as received in sales for the first year, the proceeds of the work for the year 1856, amounted to no less a sum than £81 19s. 3½d.

Not only have the elements of plain education been thus afforded, habits of industry formed and stimulated, and the simple truths of the Gospel taught, but the committee are even now enabled to report a measure of still more encouraging success.

The following cases, a few out of many, will at once illustrate the value of the institution, and the mode of its working.

No 1, December 20, 1851.—A young girl, about 17, induced to leave Plymouth, without the knowledge of her friends, applied for admission. Having been deserted in Cork, she had sold by degrees all the clothing from her person which she could by any possibility spare. She was received, and provision made for her support, until, at the expense of the Committee, she was restored to her friends.

No. 2, December, 1851.—An orphan youth, aged 15, evidently well disposed, a perfect stranger to Cork, applied in great destitution, and was also received, until employment could be procured, and was ultimately sent, by one of the Committee, to a situation in Bristol.

No. 3, October, 1851.—A lad was received into the school, who left in a few days, and united with the mobs that attacked the master and his family; after which he was in prison several times. In November, 1852, he applied again, was re-admitted, and went on

tolerably well for six months. In May, 1853, after leaving school for the day, he quarrelled in the street with two boys, whom he struck with a clasp knife, injuring one of them so severely that a warrant was issued for his apprehension. He evaded for a while the vigilance of the police, but ultimately surrendered himself, by the advice of a person connected with the school, who attended with him, became answerable for his better conduct, and obtained a remission of his punishment. The committee provided for the wounded boy, and the offender himself attended to his wants with the utmost care. For about twelve months after this he went on well, but was again led astray by his old criminal companions, and followed a course of vice until March, 1856; from which time till September, 1856, he went on more hopefully, when he left the school once more. In July, 1857, he again applied, and was at first refused; but his earnest entreaty for one and a last trial, upon solemn promise of amendment, opened the door. He remained, showing a steady attention to all the duties of the school, and an affection which could but encourage hope, until (a short time since) he was admitted, with two other boys from the school, into the band of the 53rd Regiment, and with them was sent to Chatham, to receive suitable instruction.

No. 4.—Another lad, his parents having gone to America, leaving him entirely destitute, was received into the school in August, 1852; and about three years since was placed in a situation, where he succeeded in gaining respect for good character, and is now being taught a trade.

No. 5.—Three children were received, in January 1852, having been several times in prison, for begging, &c. They attended regularly, during the day, but were exposed to much temptation in the evening on leaving school, when their father sent them into the streets to beg. The result was, that in 1853, the three were again brought before the magistrates; but the master having made an application on their behalf, they were liberated, and allowed to return to the school—he, this time, arranging for their being left entirely under his care, by making a provision for their sleeping, as well as food; and this arrangement was afterwards followed up by the establishment of a Dormitory. From this time, the eldest boy became an altered character; his conduct being so satisfactory, and his industry so great, that he was retained in the institution, for the sake of the manufacturing department. In May, 1855, he was placed in the service of a professional gentleman in this city, where he still remains; has earned an excellent character, and has proved a trustworthy and valuable servant.

No. 6.—Received November, 1856, on leaving prison; remained in regular attendance until October, 1857, when he entered the East India Company's service. As a proof of real reform it may be mentioned, that he recently sent home to his mother a considerable portion of the wages he had earned.

No. 7.—Received in January, 1852, having been in Prison for begging, theft, &c; attended regularly in the Day school for nearly twelve months, when he was again taken up for begging, to which he was driven by his father after school hours. On an application to the magistrates for his liberation, it was granted, and he was sent

back to school, an arrangement having been made by the Committee to provide him with lodging, as well as food, which arrangement was superseded by the establishment of the Dormitory in 1854. From this time, he gave every symptom of improvement, seeming most desirous of repaying the kindness he had received. In July, 1855, however, when out for recreation, he was persuaded by a discharged criminal to attend Queenstown Regatta, and absented himself, without leave, for two nights, fearful of not being allowed to enter the school, if he returned. While in this state of indecision, two practised thieves induced him to join them in robbing a poor woman's cottage. For this he was apprehended, and committed for trial, at the Cork Sessions, in the September following. Knowing how pliable was his disposition, and how hard for him to withstand the temptation to which he had been exposed, the master attended at the court, and when the boy was convicted, Mr. Sergeant Berwick kindly allowed the sentence to be held over, and delivered him up to the Committee. With great pleasure, they are now able to state, that his conduct ever since, has given entire satisfaction. He is still in the school, where it is for the present intended he shall remain, as he makes himself most useful; the master speaks highly of his behaviour, and reports that, of late, his one aim seems to be, the manifestation of gratitude and affection.

No. 8, January, 1857.—A little girl, found by a clergyman, without parents or home, not quite ten years of age, was at once received, and saved from entering upon a life of vice. She remained till March, 1857, when she was sent to the Ragged School at Buckingham House.

A circumstance which recently occurred in the neighbourhood may furnish an appropriate sequel to the above examples. One of the committee, in a crowded thoroughfare, having to pass through a group of boys, with some of whose features he was familiar, soon found himself without his pocket-handkerchief. As usual on such occasions, he believed the wisest course was to forget the loss; but, on reaching home in the evening, on his hall table was a small parcel folded neatly, and addressed to himself, which, on being opened, was found to contain the stolen article, washed and mangled. Evidently there had been the interference of some unknown one, whose heart was too much moved by gratitude to allow a man to be robbed, who was labouring to rescue from ruin these unfortunate outcasts, thus deeply, yet not hopelessly, fallen.

During the present year, situations have been provided for nine of the inmates, in which they are entirely supporting themselves; also for three who are supporting themselves partially; in addition to one boy who has been sent for by his relatives in America.

These facts, alone, would suffice to show that the Almighty has not withholden *His* blessing from this Institution, and to make the Committee feel that they must not relax their efforts while the promise remains—"Cast thy bread upon the waters, and thou shalt find it after many days."

NEW PROTESTANT REFORMATORY.

The Committee are well aware that the Institution, as far as the Reformatory part is concerned, is not at all as effective as it might

be made. Of this they have long been fully convinced, and always have looked forward to the time when their operations could be fully established on an extended and permanent scale. It is a matter of congratulation, that a Reformatory in Cork is no new experiment; and that our friends, now so anxious on the subject, have but to aid the legitimate development of one long established, and which has never met with the public encouragement and support it deserved.

Without at present going into detail they beg to state, that they desire now to raise the sum of, at least, £500, and that a permanent increase of subscriptions is also required. With the sum mentioned your Committee believe a suitable building, with ground attached, can be procured for the establishment of a regular Reformatory for juvenile criminals, which shall still embrace all the objects of a Ragged Shhool and Home for Destitute Children, and be conducted on the same leading principles as those that have been observed for six years past in the conduct of the above-named Institution.

This, then, is the object now presented to public notice. It is well to remember the fact, that it costs from four to six times more for the maintenance and training of a criminal, than for the maintenance and training of a child in an Industrial School. Far more expensive is it to society to allow a child to become a thief or a murderer than to teach him to discharge his duties to God and man.

The following letter from our good friend, Father Caccia, is of very great importance, and we beg the attention of our readers to it:—

My dear Sir—As many of your readers have expressed their views relative to the disposal of our Reformatory boys, allow me also to make a few observations on the same subject.

In November last, meeting in Leeds with the Very Rev. Father Pinet, (a native of Canada), he kindly undertook, at my suggestion, to open a correspondence with the President of the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, residing at Quebec, in order to obtain his patronage for those boys of this establishment who might have a desire to emigrate. I acquainted the Right Rev. Abbot of Mount St. Bernard's, with my project on the occasion of his paying me a visit in January last; he highly approved of it, and desired that it should be adopted, in common, by the three Catholic Reformatories. It was with pleasure I saw him sounding public opinion on this subject. Amongst the different suggestions put forth in reply, I agree for the most part with those of my esteemed friend Mr. Gainsford, of Leeds; but it seems to me that all have grounded their suggestions upon the certainty of employment being obtained for the boys at home when dismissed from the Reformatory. This, certainly, exists only in Catholic countries, where applications for boys of this class by tradesmen and shopkeepers are so numerous, that all without exception, are engaged even before the time of their dismissal. Catholics, in general, acknowledge that religion really possesses the means of a real reformation. Is it so in England? This question should be

answered before it can be admitted, as a certainty, that employment can always be obtained at home.

Anglicanism, especially at the present time, when the Lutheran doctrine about Justification prevails in this country, educates all classes of society to a feeling of distrust in a *real* amendment, and generates a suspicion of those who are known to have been at one time bad. I do not think it necessary to speak at length upon this national feeling, as it is self-evident to any thinking person. Though it is but an opinion of mine, allow me to say that I fear this feeling is also entertained by Catholics, and especially by converts, as the effect of a Protestant education. I should be happy to be wrong; but if this be really the predominant feeling, what chance of employment is there for our boys? Besides, those Catholics who can give employment are few. The majority of our Catholic poor, with whom, of course, our Reformatory boys must also be reckoned, are Irish. Does any one think it advisable to send these boys to their former abodes? Let such a one reflect that there lay their former snares.

After all, let us revert to the practical point of view. Reformatory boys are, in the greater part, engaged in field labor. Are Catholic farmers so numerous as to employ them all? Now, taking into consideration the national feeling of distrust, together with these circumstances, I submit to the consideration of all good-hearted Catholics the following plan:—

1st.—In every Reformatory an annual allowance—say £1 for each boy—should be set apart for supplying the boys according to their respective wants, on their entering into society, as I am doing at this present moment. This fund may be increased by contributions.

2nd.—An external patronage, charged with obtaining employment, and at the same time, exercising a moral control, may be found in the Societies of St. Vincent of Paul, whose Central Committee will receive from the Managers of the Reformatories the requirements and the circumstances of each boy previous to his dismissal.

3rd.—The same patronage will assist those boys to emigrate, who, either because of bad parents, a doubtful reformation, or difficulty in obtaining employment, are exposed to the danger of a relapse, or the inability of procuring the necessaries of life.

This is simply a sketch, leaving to more experienced individuals, especially to the Right Rev. Father Abbot, its development into an organized plan. I shall most cordially support some such, or a similar, arrangement for the proper disposal of our boys.

Believe me to remain,

Yours truly,

C. CACCIA.

Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, near
Market Weighton, May 11th, 1858.

INTERNATIONAL BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION.

(Association internationale de Bienfaisance).

When the Penitentiary Congress was held at Brussels in September, 1847, many members of that assembly passed a resolution to form an Association having the following objects:—

1. To put into communication with each other those who, in various countries, were working for the benefit of industrial and indigent classes.

2 To regulate and facilitate correspondence between these persons, and the various Associations instituted for the same ends.

3. To establish a permanent interchange of official documents (*renseignements*), reports, and publications amongst the members of the general Association, and between their respective countries.

4. To diffuse, by all convenient means, ideas and useful projects, to bring out experiments (*produire des essais*), and to establish the results of past experience, to make those institutions known and appreciated, and encourage those labours, the aim or tendency of which is of a nature to interest the Association, and to exercise a beneficial interest on society in general.

The carrying out of this resolution was confided to several members of the Congress, and a committee was formed at Paris to represent the Association, the statutes of which were published there in the "*Annales de la Charité*," October, 1847.

The events of 1848 retarded its operations, which were, however, renewed as speedily as possible, Agricultural, Hygienic, and Statistical Congresses being held at Brussels in 1848, 1851, 1852, and 1853. In July, 1855, the "*Société d'Economie charitable*," succeeded in arranging for an International Charitable Conference at Paris, when it was fully agreed that such meetings should take place periodically. Accordingly a Congress was held at Brussels in September, 1856, and another at Frankfort-on-the-Maine in September, 1857.

This short sketch shows the desire and necessity of uniting and concerting for the examination and solution of questions relating to charitable undertakings. As a member of the Congress of 1847 said—"Thanks to this assembly of men already accustomed to the study and practice of benevolence, and representing almost all civilized lands, the moment is come for establishing amongst different nations an interchange of ideas, of labours, and of charitable precepts (*enseignements*) for multiplying reports and other communications between men who are everywhere occupied for the welfare of those who labour and who suffer—for submitting to a comparative study and searching scrutiny all questions touching the relief of misery, and for seeking their solution, not in vain and barren theories, but in tangible action and practical knowledge; in short, to apply to Charity what has been successfully done for Science and Industry, and which now renders locomotion rapid and correspondence easy, and makes the light and experience of all available for the moral and physical amelioration of the laboring and suffering classes of every land."

About a hundred persons, of more than twenty countries, and known, for the most part, by their useful labours, have adhered to the project of forming, for this end, an International Association, of which only the definitive organization remains to be determined.

It had become evident that international correspondence and communications could not be satisfactorily maintained without some permanent bond of union, and hence the Brussels Congress decided on the formation of an organized Institution.

The following statutes have been framed with a view of satisfying these various exigencies, and of attaining the manifold objects indicated. They were unanimously adopted by the Frankfort Congress, September 16, 1857.

STATUTES.

Objects of the Institution.

I. An *International Benevolent Association* is hereby formed, having for its objects:—

1. To put into communication with each other those who, in various lands, are occupied with the amelioration of the condition of the labouring and indigent classes.
2. To constitute a kind of bond of union amongst Institutions and Associations formed for benevolent, provident, and reformatory objects, as also for popular education, which should lead to reciprocal explanation of their objects, and, in case of need, to mutual aid.
3. To establish a permanent interchange of official documents (*renseignements*), reports, and publications amongst the members of the Association, and between the various countries represented.
4. To make useful schemes and institutions known and appreciated, to establish the results of experiments, and to encourage labours which are of a nature to interest the Association, and to exert a beneficial influence on society at large.

Organization and Direction of the Association.

II. The Association is composed of all persons, who, in various countries, occupy themselves with the amelioration of the condition of the industrial and indigent classes, and who adhere to the present regulations.

III. It is directed by a Council, composed of members belonging to different countries.

This Council institutes a centre of administration, or *central agency* whose seat it fixes, and takes all measures necessary to give to the Association, the unity, extension, and impulse which will enable it to attain the objects of its formation.

IV. The members of the council are at first nominated by the committee (*bureau*) of the International Benevolent Congress at Frankfort.

V. The Council can add to the number of its members, according to circumstances and requirements.

VI. It puts itself in communication, in each country, with the benevolent, provident, and educational institutions and societies for public usefulness, which might be united with the International Association.

VII. The members of the Council belonging to each country constitute, as much as possible, an *auxiliary agency* amongst themselves, to carry on correspondence with the *central agency*.

The work of auxiliary agency might also be assigned to existing Associations.

VIII. The members of the Association are admitted by the agency of the nation to which they belong, by the central agency, or by its delegate, to whom their names, professions, and addresses are transmitted for insertion in the registers. Notice should be given to the same agency of any resignation or change of residence

IX. Each member engages :

To reply to any questions put to him, in the name of the Association, by the Council, the auxiliary agency, or the central agency ; to communicate all documents relative to the public and private benevolent institutions, and the provident, educational, and reformatory establishments of the country or locality where he lives ; To assist, as much as possible, at the general meetings and international congresses, and in case of prevention, to send in writing the communications he would have made ;

To aid to the utmost the members, at home or abroad, in the researches and labours with which they are charged by the Association ;

To pay a contribution of ten francs per annum, applicable to the general expenses of the Association, and to the publication of the *Bulletin* of International correspondence. This contribution is also paid by the members of the Council.

X. The amount of the contributions is transmitted to the central agency, who give an annual statement in the *Bulletin*, of the use made of them.

XI. The members of the Association have a right to all documents which they require, and which the Association can procure for them. All questions are replied to which may be addressed by them either to the auxiliary agency, or, by its medium, to the central agency, on subjects attended to by the Society.

XII. The members of the Association, by applying to the members of the Council, or the agency for their country, may obtain a title or circular letter, by means of which they will be put into communication with the members and agencies in other countries, who will facilitate their visits and researches, and procure for them the information they may require in their foreign travels.

International Correspondence—Bulletin.

XIII. The central agency publishes every six months, or more often, if thought necessary, a *Bulletin*, containing a list, and as much as possible, an analytical summary, of any publications, reports, and, documents relating to the objects of the Association.

XIV. In order to facilitate the regular publication of this *Bulletin*, the members of the Council, and the agencies of the different coun-

tries will transmit to the central agency either the titles of publications or the publications themselves, which enter into the design of the *Bulletin*, and will apply themselves as much as possible to establish a special *Bulletin* of benevolence for the use their own countrymen.

The works are deposited in the library of the central agency, where they can be consulted by those interested.

XV. The *Bulletin* is forwarded gratuitously to the members of the Council, the agencies, and the members of the Association. Other persons are charged an amount fixed by the central agency.

XVI. The exchange of publications, reports, and documents, will take place as regularly as possible, between the various agencies and the members of the Council.

For this purpose they will make inquiries for, and give notice of the most safe, prompt, and inexpensive mode of transmission.

General Assemblies—International Congresses.

XVII. The members of the Council, and the agencies of the various countries, will concert together the organization and convocation of general assemblies and international congresses, at stated periods, and in various places.

At these meetings, the position, progress, and results of the Association will be made known, and all measures will be taken necessary to the extension and attainment of its objects.

PROVISIONAL ARRANGEMENTS.

The seat of the central agency is provisionally fixed at Brussels. The *Bulletin* will be published in French.

Bureau of the International Benevolent Congress,
at Frankfort-on-the-Maine.

DE BETHMANN HOLLWEY,
President

ED. DUCPETIAUX,	}	<i>Secretaries.</i>
DR. SCHLIMMER,		
DR. G. VARRENTAP,		

INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE—BULLETIN.

Indication and Classification of Documents and Publications.

1. Social and charitable economy—indigence, pauperism, benevolence.
2. Public aid, and private charity.
3. Intemperance, mendicity, vagrance, prostitution, gambling.
4. Population, emigration.
5. Food.
6. Work, wages.
7. Provision (for sickness, old age, and death).
8. Education and instruction.—Moralization.
9. Domestic economy.
10. Hygienic and sanitary economy.
11. Penitentiary regulations.
12. Architecture in its relation to institutions of benevolence, instruction, repression of crime, and reform, as well as to sanitary and hygienic measures.

I. Social and charitable economy, indigence, pauperism and benevolence.

1. General treatises.
2. Social, civil, industrial, and agricultural arrangements in relation to the working and indigent classes.
3. General situation of artizans.—Isolated artizans.—Mechanics. Agricultural labourers.
4. Causes of indigence and pauperism.—Remedies.—Statistics.
5. Basis and principles of public benevolence and private charity.

II. Public and private charity.

6. Organization.—Legislation.—Statistics.—Financial Statements.
7. Out-door relief (*secours à domicile*).—Offices (*bureaux*) of benevolence.—Committees for charity.—Enrolment and census of the poor.—House of aid (*domicile de secours*).
8. In-door relief (*secours internes*).—Assistance of the aged, infirm, and incurable.—Traveller's homes (*hospices ; fermes hospices*).
9. Medical relief (*secours médicaux*); medical assistance to the poor at their homes (*à domicile*), in towns, and in the country.—General and special hospitals.—Establishments for sick, rickety, and convalescent children.—Convalescent institutions.—Dispensaries.—Gratuitous medical consultations.
10. Lying-in hospitals (*sociétés de charité maternelle*).—Offices of nurses (*crèches*).
11. Institutions for orphans, foundlings, vicious, and morally neglected children.
12. Institutions for aliens, idiots (*crétins*), and the epileptic.—Institutions for the deaf and dumb, and the blind.
13. Special tuition of foundlings, and of vicious and neglected children.
14. Employment of artizans, apprentices, servants, aliens, blind, and deaf and dumb.
15. Judicial aid.—Gratuitous justice for the poor.—Office of consultation.
16. Offices of gratuitous *rescignement*.
18. Institutions and associations for special charity.
19. Religious associations and corporations in their relation to the relief of poverty.
20. Proper measures for the prevention of double relief in the distribution of charity, and intended to establish concord and harmony by the simultaneous action of benevolent institutions and undertakings (*œuvres*) both public and private.—Committees of plans (*œuvres*).

III. Intemperance, mendicity, vagrancy, prostitution, gambling.

21. Intemperance—Causes—Results—Remedies.
22. Repression of mendicity and vagrancy.—Legislation.—Statistics.—Regulation (*regime*) of mendicants and vagrants.—*Depôts de mendicite* (Bagged homes).—Reformatory Schools.
23. Regulation of prostitution.—Houses of refuge and penitentiaries.
24. Gambling.—Regulation.—Repression.

IV. *Population.—Emigration.*

- 25. Theory of population (*principe de la population.*)
- 26. Emigration.—Legislation.—Causes and results.—Statistics.
- 27. Organization of emigration.—Societies for directing emigration and preventing its abuses —Patronage of emigrants.
- 28. Systems of colonization.

V. *Food.*

- 29. In its connection with agriculture.
- 30. In its connection with political and charitable economy.
- 31. In its connexion with scientific and industrial enterprises (*procédés*).

VI. *Work.—Wages.*

32. Organization of labour.—Regulation of industry (*Régime industriel*).

33. Legislation for labour.—Laws and customs with respect to labour, and the relation between masters and workmen.—Trade guilds, citizenship, wardenship (*jurandes*).—Workmen's associations, and co-operative societies for their formation.—Coalitions.—Registers (*livrets*).—Patents.—Over-seers' clubs (*conseils de prud'hommes*).

34. Rural legislation.—Laws and customs relating to agricultural populations and manor-lands.—Slavery, serfdom, statute-labour (*corvées*), tithes, and rents.—Division and partition of rural estates and agricultural improvements (*exploitations*).—Reclaiming (*Défrichement et mise en valeur*) of waste ground.—Improvements in the system of management and culture of estates (*exploitations et culture*) in their connection with the increased well-being of agricultural labourers.

35. Military system (*état militaire*).—Systems for obtaining recruits.—Commissions.—Oaths.

36. Imposts and taxes in their relation to the interests of the working classes.

37. Domestic service.—Laws and customs relating to it.—Books of service (*livrets*).—Certificates.—Hiring offices (*bureaux de placement*).—Institutions and societies for the protection and encouragement of servants.

38. Scale of wages in different professions.—Comparison between wages and the prices of food and other articles of consumption.

39. Charitable manufactories (*ateliers de charité*).—Manufacturing schools.—Schools of apprenticeship and improvement (*ateliers d'apprentissage et de perfectionnement*).

40. Laws, rules, and customs relating to apprenticeship.—Regulations of apprentices (*regime d'apprenti*).—Special apprenticeship of young girls.—Working-places (*ouvrirs*).

41. *Bourses de travail*.—Offices for registry (*renseignements*), and hiring of workmen, &c.

42. Co-operation of masters for the improvement of the condition of their workmen.—Benevolent and provident institutions attached to industrial establishments.

43. International conventions relative to industrial labour.

VII. *Provision (for sickness, old age, and death).*

44. Organization.—Legislation.—Statistics.
45. Savings banks or boxes (*caisses ou banques d'épargne*).
46. Mutual aid societies in case of illness and accidents.
47. Provident societies formed in favour of workmen belonging to special professions, such as miners, sailors, &c.
48. Aid funds annexed to some establishments.
49. Savings societies for the purchase of provisions and other articles of prime importance.
50. Associations for food and for various articles of consumption (*associations alimentaires, et de consommations diverses*).
51. Associations formed with a view of obtaining land and dwellings for workmen.—Associations intended to facilitate for workmen the purchase of their dwellings.
52. Asylums for the aged.
53. Life and accident assurance societies, &c.
54. "*Monts de-piété*."—Wages loan societies.
55. Banks or funds for loans or advances for the purchase of tools, machines, raw materials, or stock-in-trade.
56. Organization of credit in its connection with the wants and with the amelioration of the condition of the working classes.

VIII. *Education and Instruction.—Moralization.*

57. Organization.—Legislation.—Statistics.
58. Means of encouraging, perfecting, and extending instruction and popular education.
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N.B. All communications relative to the "INTERNATIONAL BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION" (*Association Internationale de Bien-faisance*), should be addressed, prepaid, to M. ED. DUCPETIAUX, Inspector-General of Prisons and Benevolent Establishments, Delegate of the Congress of Frankfort, *Rue des Arts*, No 22, Brussels. All works, reports, lists, and documents relative to the publication of the *Bulletin* of international correspondence may be forwarded to the same address.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

A Letter from Mrs. B. W., Richmond, to the Editor, on some very important matters.

Richmond, June 8, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR,

I thought my second letter to you would have been my last, but as you think it important to *the cause* just now under consideration, that I should write what I had detailed to you *viva voce*, I submit. You have the right to guide in this matter. Your efforts have gained nearly all the friends who have helped, or are about to help, the poor reformed prisoners in this country. Wherever the IRISH QUARTERLY is read, there, the pleading in favour of the penitent, and the neglected, houseless child, has excited in some kind heart, hitherto indifferent (because ignorant or heedless), an impulse to aid, and make amends for past neglect by active sympathy with those, now enlisted by your exertions for the coming struggle.

Here then are my facts :—

You remember my telling you of my anxiety to place the last of our five reformatory girls ; how she was become a heavy charge to us, after the other interns had been placed, her circumstances being more difficult to conquer than the other girls, as she had not passed through Golden Bridge Reformatory, but came to us from Cork prison. An excellent place had been offered to her, but on condition that I should call, and express personally what I had already written in her discharge. I feared to visit as I knew I should be catechised as to her previous places of abode, and, therefore, was obliged to decline.

However, thank God, we still held on, giving her sufficient to pay for her support weekly, hoping for providential help from some quarter. Affairs were in this condition when, one day, she came to see me, and said quite suddenly, “ O ma’am, I have something to tell you ! ” She looked so embarrassed and agitated, and fixed her eyes on me in such a supplicating manner that I feared she had got into some scrape, and I said, “ What is the matter, child ? tell me now at once ! ” “ Why, ma’am, I want you to give me

leave to get married!" I was confounded, for the fear of such a possibility for one of our poor girls had often haunted me, for of course the difficulty would then really commence. Concealing my anxiety, I said of course she knew how pleased I should feel at having her happily settled in a home of her own, and I then asked how it came to pass—who it was that wished to marry her. She answered that it was N——, brother to one of our Industrial children, who had taken a "liking to her way of going on," and was coming to see me to ask my leave, as Susan had accepted him on the condition that I should consent. I at once asked if she had told him her previous history. "No." "Well then, my poor child, he must be made aware of it without further delay!" I felt for the poor girl, but I had but one way to act, so after a long talk she consented that I should tell him when he came in the evening as agreed. Here was a painful task. He was waiting for her all this time outside my door. "O ma'am, how will I ever look in his face again?" I comforted her as well as I could, persuaded her it was better he should give her up, than lose faith and trust after marriage. She left me then, she said, with a load off her heart.

In the evening came the "boy." He began by detailing to me all the virtues he discovered in Susan. How good and industrious she was, always steady and quiet, no taste for gadding or "*cosheering*" like the women of Mud Island. How she was able to earn her bread (she had made a gown for his sister, and was sometimes engaged out of the school for a day's work in the neighbourhood); in fine he wished to marry her, and he hoped to make her a good husband. And then he dilated on all *his own* virtues. How he worked always with his father, never asking a penny from him, giving him his earnings, and only accepting, in return, food and clothes. How he was a country boy, and mixed with none of the people about Mud Island. How it was now time for him to settle and do for himself, and much more that would be too long to write. Well, it was now my turn. I began by putting fear into his very heart, when I asked him did he know what Susan had been before I took her into my institution? How he changed, and how troubled and frightened his countenance became! I watched him anxiously, while I prepared him to hear, what

I felt would be the worst to him ; and then, having pledged him to keep her secret, I unfolded my tale as gently as I could ; after which I insisted on his considering himself perfectly free, and begged he would take time to think over the matter. His first words were, " O ma'am, why did you tell me ?" Then, after I had explained all the truthfulness and trust required between husband and wife, " well," said he, " I believe you are right, sure you have experience on the matter ; ma'am you have an honest mind." His next question was, " Does any body know this but you ?" I had to say " Yes." " Does my father know it ?" " No." " Does your servant ?" (she had been in the Industrial Institution). " No." I felt the ground was giving way, and then I desired he would go home, and come to me in three days' time, but until then he should not speak to Susan after now leaving my door with her (as it seems she had conducted him to my house).

The third evening he came to me in my garden—" Well, what have you decided ?" he smiled and said, " I don't care one fig about what happened ! Susan is a good girl, and if God gives us a family she will rear her children well on account of all she has gone through !"

I need not tell you how rejoiced I felt. He then spoke to me of her sister (who had been imprisoned on account of concealing the money Susan had stolen), praised her, and said she should always find a home with him whenever she left service. Then he talked over the future plans, and I announced to him that Mrs. A—— and I had decided on giving Susan a present of a *mangle*. What a settlement ! I wish you saw the joy the said mangle has caused. Then we had a long talk of how the father was to be told, as I feared much he would not be pleased at the notion of losing the son's earnings. However, the bridegroom elect could see no difficulty ; he was sure his father would be kind and reasonable. After school the next day, I peeped into Susan's room, to see how she was going on. I was struck by the expression of her countenance, she had become really handsome, so much hope dawning, and such a load taken off her heart, for N—— says he will love and protect her, in the face of the whole world, and cares little even if her secret should come to light.

She caught hold of my hand, kissed it, and burst into

tears. "How can I ever thank you for all you have done for me," and she sobbed as if in real sorrow. "But Susan, why such tears, surely you should feel very happy now." "But, ma'am, am I not going to leave *you*, my best friend?" I felt indeed touched, to think of the poor girl giving me a thought under such circumstances. How deep are the feelings of our poor, and how far short do we, prosperous ones, fall of their real refinement of heart! I must not fill your pages with the "second volume" of my tale, for true to romance life (though mine is literally written as it occurred), a cloud came on. The father objected—the son sulked, and when he came to complain of all his family to me, he listened to my suggestion of throwing himself on his mother's heart. Of course she responded and all was brought to joy again; she called to the school to bless her future daughter, and the young couple were married last Thursday.

Now need I add one word more? Surely this little story is the best proof that can be given of the advantages of *Extern Industrial Schools* attached to Reformatories or Union Workhouses. Are they not more simple, and more productive of good than the Holloway system of "*Emigration*, a resource in all imaginable difficulties." Of course there will be many cases where it will be desirable and absolutely necessary to leave Ireland, but I cannot at all understand why emigration should be held forth as the great boon to the reformed prisoner. If the reformation be sincere and complete, why should we send away useful subjects. Half the money spent on the journey and trousseau would give comfort and prosperity to many, while settling them once more in respectable, though struggling positions. If the reform has not been sincere, why then give money to send them away. Let them be watched and made honest, at least secured at once, and forced to contribute to the public service by some prescribed and useful labour. It is impossible, if the subject be seriously considered, that means may not be found to classify such prisoners, so as to preserve the order of treatment presumed to be necessary (though apparently so very indulgent) for those who have injured society.

Being a woman, and consequently by the fact deprived of the rights of private judgment on a subject so important, I

must not permit myself to pronounce on this oft discussed matter, yet I cannot conceal how often I have asked myself the question—What gives the right of prisoners to the most nutritious food and the greatest care of their comfort and well-being morally and physically, as compared to the claims of the honest and innocent poor in the unions?

Why do I read so often the recommendations of the humane and even worldly-minded, that care should be taken to preserve the health of the prisoners in its fullest enjoyment? While again obliged to remark in daily accounts of meetings of guardians discussions—and recriminations and attacks—even accusations of too much indulgence, whenever an attempt be made to give the pauper more than will preserve life in sufficient vigour to prevent the necessity of an entrance into *hospital* where the food should be given more abundantly. Of course, I suppose, this is right and necessary, or it should not be tolerated by so many benevolent and good heads and hearts. I give up the point as a political-economy-mystery far beyond my comprehension—thankful that I am not obliged to believe it, and hopeful that the time may come when it will not exist. But having the opportunity, I should deem myself culpable if I did not add my pleading to all and each of those who have become aware of the frightful fate destined for our young girls in the unions, and cry aloud for some help—some change in this dreadful training to immorality and wretchedness which the present system has been declared to engender. I dare not trust my pen on this subject, for a woman could not treat it calmly, the wrong to her sex is too deep for utterance. It is inconceivable that such a state of things should exist under a queen, whose character of mother, wife, and daughter, is so justly a subject of her people's pride. She does not know how her poor girls are neglected, *corrupted*, and that under the roof so falsely called a refuge provided for helpless misery.

But to turn to another side—another picture. I have copied for you from Julia Kavanagh's *Women of Christianity* a short history. Her book is one which no lady who can afford herself any ordinary luxury, should be without purchasing for her private study. It will be found interesting to all, to the saint, or the worldling, or the heroine. The life now presented suggests so much that is important to

the subject now under consideration that its value alone will give some idea of the appreciation the book deserves. It is full of suggestions to the thinker, and above all to the *doer*.

It appears to me to solve many questions or rather difficulties—Rosa Govona should be the model, if not the patron saint of Industrial Schools. *

Yours always sincerely,

E. W.

P. S.—E. W. has received so much indulgence from the reviewers of the Quarterly, that she hopes they will not attribute it to vain presumption in begging that if any notice be made of this letter, care should be taken that no allusion be made to the whereabouts of her “happy pair,” as the newspapers circulate even in Mud Island, and it is best not to set gossips guessing.

* On the northern side of the Ligurian Appenines, in the basin formed by the Upper Tanaro, extends the district of Mondovi, a province of the Sardinian states. Surrounded by a fertile tract of land, rich in corn, vines, mulberry trees, and cattle, rises the chief town, Mondovi. It is built partly on the bank of the Ellero, partly on a hill which rises above the river. It can boast of a strong castle, several churches and convents, a seminary, a college, various manufactories, and some fifteen thousand inhabitants.

In this quiet place there lived, in the course of the last century, a young orphan girl, of the name of Rosa Govona. She excelled in needlework, her only means of support; she never cared for pleasure, and thought not of marriage; grave, mild, and silent, she lived alone, in the dignity of labour and the honor of womanhood.

Towards the year 1746, Rosa, being then in her thirtieth year, happened to meet a young girl, an orphan like herself, who was destitute, and without the means of earning a livelihood. The sight grieved her compassionate heart, and shocked her feminine delicacy. She took home the young stranger, and addressing her in language of scriptural simplicity, “Here,” said she, pointing to her humble dwelling, “here shalt thou abide with me: thou shalt sleep in my bed; thou shalt drink from my cup, and thou shalt live by the labour of thine own hands.” This last clause, comprising independence and self respect, was one of the most cherished points in the creed of Rosa. Pleased with the docility and industry of her young guest, she conceived the project of a female association, based on the principles of labour and mutual aid. Ere long the girl of Mondovi was surrounded by a society of young and unprotected single women, who dwelt beneath the same roof, and laboured diligently for their livelihood.

This association, being something quite novel in Mondovi, was naturally attacked; the wise derided and censured it; grave imputations were cast on the morals of Rosa and her companions, and

libertine young men followed and insulted them whenever they left their home. Their prudent silence, and, above all, their blameless life, at length prevailed over calumny; and they were allowed to live and labour in peace: nay, more, the authorities of Mondovì, seized with a sudden fit of official zeal, repaired their long neglect of an institution reflecting so much honour on the community with which it had originated, by offering Rosa, whose abode had now grown too narrow, a house in the plain of Carcassona. This she readily accepted, and was soon surrounded by seventy young girls. She obtained another and larger house in the plain of Brao; but, extending her views with her means, Rosa no longer confined the labours of her friends to the common tasks of needlework; the house of Brao became a real factory for the manufacture of woollen stuffs. Nine years had now elapsed since Rosa first took home the orphan girl. She might well have rested satisfied with what she had done; but, consulting only her zeal and anxious wish of spreading the good effects of her system, she set off for Turin in the year 1755.

Rosa Govona entered the capital of Piedmont, with no other protection than her own strong faith, and no higher recommendation than the two or three young girls who accompanied her. She simply explained her project, and asked for an asylum. The fathers of the oratory of St. Philip gave her a few rooms "for the love of God," and the military depot sent her tables and straw mattresses. Rosa and her companions were quite satisfied, and establishing themselves in their new abode, they cheerfully set to work.

The fact became known, and attracted attention. On the suggestion of his financial minister, Count of Gregory, Charles Emanuel III. assigned Rosa and her companions a large building, belonging to a religious brotherhood recently suppressed. The house was soon filled with forsaken orphan girls. The king read and approved the judicious rules laid down by Rosa, and ordered the factories of the establishment to be organised and registered by the magistrates appointed to superintend commercial matters.

From that time the Rosinas, as they were called in honour of their foundress, enjoyed the special patronage of the Sardinian government.

Rosa Govona felt deeply grateful for the favor her plans had received from the king. Knowing that the most effectual method of showing her gratitude would be to continue as she had begun, and to contribute to the commercial and moral prosperity of his dominions she established in Turin two factories; one of cloth for the army, and another of the best silks and ribands. Thanks to her, three hundred women without dowry, without any resource save their own labour, earned an honest and comfortable livelihood, and provided in youth for the wants of their old age. Houses depending on that of Turin were established at Novarra, Fossano, Savigliano, Saluzzo, Chieri; and St. Damien of Asti. Over the entrance of every house which she founded, Rosa caused to be engraved the words she had addressed to her first guest: "TU MANGERAI COL LAVORO DELLE TUE MANI," thou shalt live by the labour of thine own hands.

Rosa devoted twenty-one years to the task of going over the pro-

vinces of Piedmont, and founding asylums for the unprotected and industrious poor of her sex ; until exhausted by her labours, she died at Turin. Her remains were deposited in the chapel of the establishment there ; on the simple monument which covers them may still be read the following epitaph :—" Here lies Rosa Govona of Mondovi. From her youth she consecrated herself to God. For His glory she founded in her native place, and in other towns, retreats opened to forsaken girls, so that they might serve God. She gave them excellent regulations, which attach them to piety and labour. She entered on eternal life the 28th day of February, of the year 1776, the sixtieth year of her age. Grateful daughters have raised this monument to their mother and benefactress."

With this simple, yet touching record of a useful and dignified life, closes all that are told of Rosa Govona. We know more of what she did than what she was. She appears to us through her good works, thoughtful, silent, and ever doing, a serious and beneficent apparition. In aspect, she was grave, earnest, and resolute. A plain cap, a white kerchief, a cross on her bosom, and a brown robe, constituted the attire of the foundress of the Rosinas. One of her biographers calls her sister Rosa ; but it does not appear that she took any vows, or sought to impose any on her community. The Rosinas are bound by no tie ; they can leave their abode, and marry if they wish ; but they rarely do so. There will always be a certain number of women whom circumstances or private inclination will cause to remain unmarried. Rosa Govona was one of these, and for them she laboured. She wished to save them from vice, idleness, and poverty, to preserve to them unsullied the noblest inheritance of human beings, dignity, and self-respect.

According to an interesting account published in Paris a few days ago, the Rosinas are still in a prosperous and happy state. They are admitted from thirteen to twenty ; they must be wholly destitute, healthy, active, and both able and willing to work. They are patronized by Government, but labour is their only income, all work assiduously, save the old, who are supported by their younger companions. The Turin establishment is the chief and central one, the other houses still exist, with the exception of that which Rosa Govona founded at Novarra. It was closed when this town belonged to the kingdom of Italy ; and has not since been re-opened. To preserve the spirit of the modest and retired life which Rosa wished her daughters to lead, no commercial matters are transacted, save at the establishment in Turin, which governs the other houses. The labours of the Rosinas are varied and complete ; whatever they manufacture, they do with their own hands, from beginning to end. They buy the cocoons in spring, and perform every one of the delicate operations which silk undergoes, before it is finally woven into gros-de-naples, levantines, and ribbands. Their silks are of the best quality, but plain, in order to avoid the expense and inconvenience of changing their looms with every caprice of fashion. They also fabricate linen ; but only a limited number of Rosinas can undergo the fatigue of weaving. In order not to interfere with the silk establishment of Turin, the manufacture of woollen stuffs is now carried on at Chieri. *Government buys all the cloth of the army from the Rosinas,*

they even manufacture all the accessory ornaments, and make up the uniforms, which are cut out for them by tailors. Gold lace, and the rich vestments of priests, are likewise produced by these industrious women, who excel in every female art, and are renowned for skill in embroidery. The produce of their varied labours is gathered at Turin, in a large magazine, and sold there to trustworthy persons. The house of the Rosinas is patronized, not only by Government, but also by many of the inhabitants and tradespeople of Turin; for there is a general preference in favour of goods, excellent in quality, fair in price, and manufactured by the hands of these pure and innocent women. Their profits are moderate, but sufficient; the house in Turin alone, spends eighty thousand francs a-year; and it holds three hundred women, of whom fifty, who are either old or infirm, and consequently unable to work, are supported by the rest.

“I visited this remarkable establishment,” writes an eyewitness, “thanks to the kindness of the worthy ecclesiastic who administers and directs it. He accompanied me through those wide halls containing so many women, animated by the holy ardour of labour. Separated from man, they nevertheless share with him the fatigue to which he was condemned on the day when God sent him forth on the earth. They went through their tasks with mild gravity and admirable composure, yet displaying the zeal which a mother might feel in working with her daughters for the good of the common family. Six mistresses and one director (a woman) preside over them, and they are frequently visited by the Queen, who grants a special protection to these industrious women.”

One woman, poor, obscure, and unlearned, but strong in her faith, and, above all, in her love for her orphan sisters, did this.—*Women of Christianity, by Julia Kavanagh.*

THE LATE MONSIEUR VERDIER.

In the early part of June we received the following notification, dated Paris, May 26th, 1858:—"Monsieur Georges-François-Paul Verdier, avocat à la Cour Impériale de Paris, Agent général de la Colonie de Mettray, décédé à Paris le 23 Mai, 1858, à l'âge de 52 ans, muai des Sacrements de l'Eglise. Priez pour lui."

We were not unprepared for this melancholy announcement; we had heard, some days before, that M. Verdier was ill, very ill, with brain-fever; M. Demetz had come up to Paris, from Mettray, and was close beside his old friend, lamenting his illness, and fearing that in his death, should God take him, Mettray would lose another prop, fearing the anguish of another death-bed parting like that of M. de Courteilles; painful, though the spirit passed away from God's work on earth, to God's glory in heaven.

In Verdier's case, the sorrow of M. Demetz was doubtless increased by the thought, that the sufferings of his friend were the result of over mental exertion in that cause which both had so deeply and so warmly at heart. In the *Report* on Mettray for 1855, and of which admirable document we published a translation in the Record of the 21st Number of this REVIEW, we find the exertions of M. Verdier acknowledged by M. Demetz in the following terms:—

"We cannot conclude these observations on 'Patronage' without addressing our thanks to those who have seconded us in this work, and whose zeal, instead of diminishing, seems to increase in proportion as their task becomes more difficult. We would wish, Gentlemen, if the number were not too great, to pay to each individual, the tribute of gratitude due for his efficacious help; to recount with what persevering efforts the greater number have endeavoured to act (for good) on the children as well as their parents, well knowing that the best counsels have little influence in presence of evil examples on the part of the family.

We will content ourselves by naming M. Verdier, Agent-General of your Society, who, with a disinterestedness beyond all praise, has

charged himself with the 'Patronage' of all our children in Paris. We can hardly form a correct estimate of the difficulties which this office entails, or the incessant goings and comings of every kind which it exacts. M. Verdier is dismayed by no obstacles of this kind."

That these high commendations were merited, all who have studied the history of Mettray, are aware, and sad indeed must have been the feelings of M. Demetz, as he stood beside the sick bed of his stricken fellow laborer.

M. Verdier was not, even according to French ideas, a man of independent fortune, and depended for support upon his profession. Yet he found, or rather, by rising habitually at four o'clock, he *made* time by which he was enabled to serve Mettray, and to draw from M. Demetz, the noble eulogium which the reader has had placed before him.

This was a hard life; the courts all day, the care of the *colons*, then the inspection, the correspondence, the short rest, then to bed; at last "the sword out-wore the sheath," and the over-taxed brain could bear no more. Day by day, they watched him in his sickness, hoping and fearing, and then came the awful truth, that 'twere better he should die, for the tree had already died from the top, health would bring but idiotcy, and God in his great mercy called good Paul Verdier away—"Priez pour lui."

"Who shall tell what schemes majestic
Perish in the active brain?
What humanity is robbed of,
Ne'er to be restored again?"

"His loss," writes an English friend, who knew Verdier thoroughly, "to M. Demetz, will be indeed heavy, I had almost said irreparable. I had much opportunity in Paris of witnessing his rare devotion, and indefatigable zeal in the very difficult work of *Patronage*. It was his delight to work in comparative obscurity, for sheer 'love,' as he used

to say, of M. Demetz, and doubtless, still higher motives, which have, I doubt not, their reward."

Many of our readers will remember M. Verdier as the gentleman who accompanied M. Demetz, during his tour in England, in 1856. A special meeting of the National Reformatory Union, was held in the Law Amendment Society's Rooms, on Thursday, May 29th, 1856, which was attended by M. Demetz and M. Verdier, and in the course of some observations on Patronage Societies, M. Demetz said, "My friend, M. Verdier, takes devoted care of all our Mettray youths who go to Paris."

Truly it was devoted care, a care which cost a life; it is all gone and past now, and Demetz, loving like a Christian man, must say of the lost friend, as Galileo of the lost sight—"It has pleased God it should be so, and it must please me also."

Paul Verdier's relatives in Paris say—"PRIEZ POUR LUI." We say, far away here in Ireland, AMEN, AND AMEN. MAY PAUL VERDIER'S SOUL REST IN PEACE, 'till he, and the Good Samaritan, shall stand before the Son of God, with all the Universe around them.

QUARTERLY RECORD
OF THE
PROGRESS OF REFORMATORY SCHOOLS AND
OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF REFORMATORY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS AND OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

REFORMATORY AND REFUGE UNION.

An able correspondance on the subject of Government aid to Refuges and Industrial Schools has been conducted by this Union with the Privy Council on Education ; and although the Union has not carried its point, yet it has elicited from Government explanations, if not concessions, of considerable value.

The Ship School, for which purpose H.M.'s frigate the " Cornwall " has been kindly lent by the Admiralty, appears, under the fostering energies of the Union, likely soon to be launched into existence. It will require some 2000*l.* to fit it for its purpose ; and plans are being devised for the collection of this sum.

The Sub-committee appointed to consider the great question of the " Social Evil " are progressing slowly, but satisfactorily, in their endeavours to check it. They have printed two more tracts for distribution : twenty-five females have been rescued from the streets, and placed in institutions, during the last three months. About half of these have been paid for at the rate of 2*l.* and 3*l.* each, the others admitted free.

Another of the efforts of the Reformatory and Refuge Union is approaching completion—we mean the Girls' Laundry ; it has been opened by the matron and a few girls taking possession of the house leased for the purpose, in West End Lane—between Kilburn and Hampstead—about two miles from the Marble Arch. The establishment will now soon be in working order ; but as it is very improbable that the Institution can be rendered self-supporting for at least two or three years, contributions are required to meet the current expenses. The importance of the object will, we trust, be fully recognized by those who have means to give.

The Union continues its efforts to procure the admission of convicted youths into certified Reformatories, and with considerable success. This may appear to be a matter of comparative insignificance to be taken up by so important a body, or as one involving little or no trouble ; but those who have watched the police-court reports, and know anything of prison discharges, are well aware that there is very little general information as to the means of carrying such sentences, under the Reformatory Act, into effect ; and the labours of the Union have been of incalculable value. In course of time the resources of certified Reformatories may be better understood, and this labour on the part of the committee lightened ; but, meanwhile, the community must be much indebted to the Union for the trouble it has taken in this matter.

The training of masters and mistresses for Reformatories and Refuges still continues to engage attention : and several institutions have been supplied with superintendents. On the whole, the Reformatory and Refuge Union continues to deserve the good opinion and support of a generous public, and deserving it, will we hope continue to obtain it in an increasing degree.

PRISONERS' AID SOCIETY.

A Paper read before the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, on Tuesday, June 8th, by Rev Henry J. Hatch; T. B. Barwick Baker, Esq., in the chair.

In an admirable pamphlet published by the Reformatory and Refuge Union, detailing the various institutions existing in this kingdom, which have for their direct object the reformation of criminals, or the timely arrest of those who are on the confines of crime, and in danger of becoming entangled in its meshes, it is stated in page 4, that "there are six discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies." I am myself aware only of four others, making a total of ten, while there are no less than 167 prisons in the fifty-two counties of England and Wales alone; thus leaving 157 from which prisoners are discharged, and, so far as we know, thence forgotten, or disregarded until they shall reappear within the walls of the prison. I may have occasion to allude to these particular societies, more especially as I go on. I merely mention the fact of there been so few, as affording a reason for my dwelling at greater length than I otherwise should do on the reasonableness, generally, of some effort to assist a prisoner on his discharge. I may fairly presume that the paucity of such societies is mainly attributable to the want of more public knowledge of their real value—and I am further strengthened by the reflection, that with the exception of the Surrey Society for the Employment and Reformation of Discharged Prisoners, 1824—the Devon and Exeter Refuge, 1836—and the Durham Refuge for Discharged Prisoners, 1849, the others have only started into existence during the last four years. There must then, of necessity, be a great want of proper information as well to their necessity, as to their establishment and their working. There is, I think, a feeling beginning to spread that criminals, when reformed or when holding out fair promise of reformation, should be removed as far as possible from old haunts, old associates, and temptation to old habits: whether this feeling be founded in strict justice, whether it be in accordance with the mild precepts which would invite us to restore, in a spirit of meekness, them that be overtaken with a fault, I will not stop here to inquire,—but at all events, it cannot be denied that such a step would appear necessary so long as there shall exist such difficulty in the way of masters taking or retaking into their employment any one who have once had the brand of imprisonment upon them. I have ere this made my confession that I shall gladly welcome the time, if it ever in God's providence be allowed to come, when an Onesimus shall be received by a Philemon; when the returning prodigal shall be welcomed at *home* as one who is lost and is found; when a broken-hearted criminal shall experimentally be induced to believe himself an object of love and pity to man as well as his Maker—and shall find that *where* the character was lost, *there* it may be possible to regain it, and that he shall not be scouted, but rather encouraged in the attempt. It will not be thought presumption in me, as Chaplain of one of the most important and largest prisons in the country, and as Secretary to a Prisoners' Aid Society, which was founded so far back as 1824, and has been doing its quiet and unostentatious work for 34

years—to say that the former position necessarily brings vividly before me the requirements and the dangers of prisoners on their discharge, while my position as Secretary to the Surrey Society has given me some experience on the hearing and timely benefit of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies ; and that therefore, while pleading the general necessity of such aid, I should deal with it in the strong language forced from me by my experience and conviction, and that I should feel myself in some degree qualified to testify as to their details of working. First, then, as to their necessity ; it is no part of my business to inquire how it came to pass, and at whose door the fault may be laid, that so many hundreds of those who are committed to our gaols have never heard, I might say, even the voice of kindness,—have remained to all intents and purposes ignorant of the vital truths of the gospel, until immured in the solitude of the prison cell. Bred up in the very atmosphere of vice and irreligion, of blasphemy and unkindness, the wonder is, not that so many become vicious and criminal, but that so many appear to escape from its trammels ; nor am I at present concerned to consider what may be the appropriate remedies for such a state of things, nor even to compare the position of the honest poor labourer, with that of the criminal. I have now only to deal with the broad fact, that crime does exist, and that, under the vigilance of our laws, it is generally detected, the result being an appearance before the higher powers, and then incarceration in the walls of the prison—in short, that there are annually about 132,699 men, women or children committed to our prisons, and as a necessary consequence discharged from the gates at the expiration of their terms of imprisonment. And let me ask what in general is their position ? Knowing as we do the antecedent difficulties which have beset the generality of our delinquents, prior to their entrance to the gaol—that kindness and religious instruction is in thousands of instances a complete novelty, and knowing also as we do the power of God to recall the most abject from the error of his way, we have no right to doubt that many, whether driven by fear, or by nobler feelings, may be completely sincere, in an expression of their desire to quit the life they are leading, and return to the paths of honesty, sobriety, and piety. But what hope is held out to these ?—unhappily of the very name of prisoner, we have habituated ourselves to think harshly, while few are in the slightest degree aware of the trying difficulties of their position at the time I am speaking of. There seems, it is true, to be a better feeling springing up ; men of all classes of society are beginning to manifest pity and compassion, when of old there was but scorn and contempt : and this must be gratifying to every right-minded man. How much hopeless despair and consequent misery have sprung from our past apathy as regards discharged prisoners, it is appalling to reflect upon ; and I hail with the brightest augury of good the growth of this better feeling—it is beginning to be acknowledged that a man may have been a prisoner, yet have a soul to be saved ; that praying for “pity on all prisoners and captives,” means something more than regarding them with abhorrence, and leaving them to despair, without an effort to save them, or help them to retrieve their lost character. I believe there can scarcely be

imagined a more pitiable position than that of a discharged prisoner. His very imprisonment is probably the result of want of those friends who could counsel him aright, and a forced intimacy with those who, ignorant themselves, have been too ready, and still are, to lead him to ruin. As regards the vast majority of those who issue from the prison gate at the expiration of their allotted space of punishment, they may be considered, humanly speaking, as without friends, without home, without money, without character. And where there is an acknowledged difficulty attached to even the honest man finding good employment, clearly those who have the brand of prison upon them will labour under tenfold difficulties; and it cannot be doubted, that unless some employment be found for them, or some facility be given them, to verify their assertions of a desire to amend their lives, the alternative is forced upon them of returning to their former career. I am well sure that many, really in heart weary of a life of crime, have had nothing left to them but to starve, to beg, or to steal; and when we consider their want of education in those habits and truths which could, under God's blessing, alone stand them in good stead in the hour of trial—the little opportunity they have had for the exercise of self control—when we reflect that to starve is against their very nature, that to beg, irrespective of its demoralising and uncertain tendency, is in this Christian country, criminal—rendering them again amenable to imprisonment—and that many derived considerable profits, and enjoyed many of their falsely-called comforts and pleasures, from the proceeds of thievery, can we wonder that unfriended for good, with no one to foster and cherish their better resolution, and no means of putting them into play, but met with open arms and ready welcome by their old companions, the better feelings should soon evaporate, under their scoff and ridicule, and they should rush back in very despair to their former haunts, their former evil courses and associates, and in very doubt of the goodness or justice of Providence, drag on a life of crime and vice, to end as it must in banishment, ignominy, and ruin?

I am aware that there are some few even yet, who, with the feeling of the prodigal son's elder brother, are disposed to cavil at any efforts made to benefit the criminal class; but even admitting this objection to spring from a compassion for the wants of the honest poor, it yet seems to me, that it is meet that we should imitate the prodigal's father, and be merry and joyful when any one erring mortal returns from his riotous living to a more holy life and that the objectors might with far more credit to themselves make the attempt to succour the honest poor, and place them in a better condition, than find fault with those who, in imitation of the high teaching to which I have alluded, endeavour to alleviate the unquestionable difficulties in which, from the very nature of the case, criminals are involved. Let it suffice that we *do* find cases calling for the exercise of that feeling of sympathy and compassion which is so closely interwoven with our very nature; we put that feeling into play, and we hope and believe that we have befriended not merely the immediate recipients of our bounty, but, through them, the great mass of the poorer population, who are becoming more and more sensible of the injury worked

among them by the very presence of an unchecked criminal, and of the advantage to them and their offspring, of his removal or his reformation. The poor who are constantly employed, if honest, must leave their young exposed to great temptation from street companionship, and far from envying the position of the criminal, I have found that the poor are, for their means, large contributors to any efforts to check or reform crime, rightly considering that the benefit falls largely on themselves.

The question here naturally arises, to what extent are Prisoners' Aid Societies necessary? It would seem that when any infringement of the law had been vindicated, by the allotted term of imprisonment, and Justice had been thus fully avenged, Mercy should step in and do her work,—and it would further appear naturally to devolve as a duty upon the visiting justices, in co-operation with the governors and chaplains, to inquire into the future prospects of prisoners, to ascertain their antecedents, their family connections, and so far as practicable to assist all those who are hopeful to recover if possible the position from which they had fallen; I believe this is so far generally acted up to, that to a certain extent assistance is given, under the sanction of the law and the visitors of most prisons, to enable prisoners to return to their respective families; but I think the time has arrived when we must do more than this. I am of opinion, founded not on the crude ideas of a day, but upon mature and earnest consideration on this subject—that when the law has stepped in and performed its work, and vindicated its majesty in executing wrath on them that do evil, every prisoner of whatever age or sex, however deeply involved in crime, however apparently hopeless, who *expresses* a desire to escape from the course of life which he sees to be fraught with ruin, should have held out to him an opportunity of removal from his evil companions, and of verifying his assertions of repentance, by a return to a field of diligent and honest labour. Apply indeed such tests as may seem best suited to prove the sincerity of the expressed wish to reform, but it appears to me *none* should be given over, *none* despaired of, *none* absolutely refused. In the course of the last six years, with the funds of the Surrey Discharged Prisoners' Society gradually, it is true, increasing, but still totally inadequate to the demand made upon them, there have been no less than 3,410 prisoners assisted in various ways on their discharge, many of whom are now doing well. It is true, that the pressing are not unfrequently less deserving than the more modest and retiring, and that in our estimate of character, especially when seen only under the abnormal circumstances of a gaol, we cannot but be frequently deceived; it is impossible to doubt that hopeful cases may have been too often rejected as apparently hopeless; while those of whom we had been led to anticipate the best, have ended in complete disappointment. Hence I repeat my conviction, that every one who professes a desire, should at least have the opportunity of winning back his lost character, and the good opinion of his fellow-men. None should be forced back by despair, or the unforgiving feeling of his fellow-creatures, to a course from which he has a desire, however feeble, to escape—the smoking flax should not be quenched, nor the

bruised reed broken—but the faintest spark of returning penitence, should be fanned and cherished, if haply God may suffer it to expand into the full flame.

The existing societies of this nature, few though they be, may be yet fairly held forth, as, each in connection with its own sphere of operation, and by the happy results attending them, proving the proposition which I am anxious to lay down, that “a Discharged Prisoners’ Aid Society” should be attached to every prison in the country. It may fairly be presumed that each separate prison is built and appointed in every respect with reference to the population and the amount of crime of its peculiar locality, and though these may vary in different parts in the actual number of inmates, as well as in the facilities for their re-absorption into the general body of the more steady population, yet will there still attach to each the duty, as it seems to me, which, though varying with the local population, is imperative on all, of aiding those who on discharge from prison, at the expiration of their sentence, are without home, money, friends, or clothing, and in danger of being forced back upon their old courses, for want of a helping hand at the most critical period of their existence. Now let me briefly call your attention to the following statistics, in reference to the commitments during the year 1856. It appears that there were 99,336 males, 33,363 females, making a total of 132,699 of both sexes. The deaths bear a small proportion to the total number, being in fact only 195; and those consigned to lunatic asylums still less, being 138; and taking the possibility that a proportion, admit it to be even more than half, have facilities for again entering upon their respective calling, we have still left at least from 10,000 to 15,000, who must, at the expiration of their sentence, be again launched into the world, to fight against difficulties which few can appreciate but those who either, like myself, come into immediate contact with them, or whose special attention is called to them as magistrates or the leading members in society in each county.

Now if we view it as a matter of economy, the importance of aiding prisoners on their discharge may be made apparent. We must bear in mind that the expenses of prosecutions, whether borne by the county or borough fund as up to 1835—or shared by the public revenues as from 1835 up to 1849, or, as since that period, totally by the latter—in whatever shape paid, must come out of the pockets of the English people; and so far as it can be avoided, it must be looked upon as to that extent a gain. The returns for 1857 I have not been able to get at, but those for 1856 will equally well serve our purpose; and I find from “Part I. of the Judicial Statistics,” that the

Cost of indictments was £173,246 11 9

Of summary proceedings 21,665 12 11

£194,912 4 8

viz. in round numbers nearly 200,000*l*. And you will observe this is only the cost of convictions. It appears that the prison expenses during the year 1856 amounted to a total sum of 515,917*l*. 2*s*. 0*d*.,

or an average annual cost for each prisoner of 29*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.*, that while the number of prisoners during the year 1856 was 132,699, the expenditure was no less than 710,829*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Now without alluding to the ways by which much of this expense might be avoided, if preventive means to stop the sources or check the avenues of crime were adopted, or if a more general system of popular education could be set on foot, I venture to think, a proper and judicious attempt to prevent recommitments, by means of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, would diminish this expense to the country by a very considerable amount; and it should be borne in mind that this large amount of expenditure alluded to is in a measure irretrievably gone, and produces little or no good effect, whereas a judicious expenditure, of a comparative trifle in favour of all who are well disposed, to set them on their legs again, would not only keep them out of prison, but be the means of restoring healthful members to the body of society.

Little means exist of calculating the career of criminals, but we do know that in 1856 no less than 36,604 were in prison several times, varying from three to six or more: and in connection with my own prison, I have a nominal list of 147 boys under fourteen who had been in prison 568 times. But, what will more immediately touch our present calculations, I know of twenty-eight boys under fourteen who have been in prison 144 times, and 69 times during the period of one year. Now, it is clear that if steps could be taken on the discharge of these prisoners at first, to place them in a fair way of earning a livelihood, so as to prevent their recommitment, there would have been fifty-one re-convictions avoided; and as it is proved that the average cost of convictions is about 9*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* per case, and the annual prison expenses nearly 30*l.*, there would be a probable saving to the country of somewhat more than 1500*l.*, which is in fact actually thrown away, if not worse, when it is considered that each time a prisoner returns to prison he becomes more and more callous to the disgrace it inflicts on him. Now, how may this be avoided? I believe in no better way than by the immediate intervention and help of some fund expressly devoted to aiding prisoners on their discharge.

The societies at present existing, so far as we have been able to ascertain them, are as follows:—

The Surrey Society, for the employment and reformation of discharged prisoners, embracing both sexes and all ages. Started originally in 1824.

The Devon and Exeter Refuge, confined to females. Commenced in 1836.

The Durham Refuge, for both sexes, not confined to age, though generally the inmates are under seventeen. Started in 1849.

The Worcester Prisoners' Aid Society, unconfined to age or sex. Started in 1855.

The Birmingham Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, in 1856, also unconfined to age or sex.

The Wakefield Industrial Home (males). Commenced in 1856.

The Gloucester Refuge for discharged prisoners (males). Also in 1856.

The Glasgow Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, in 1857.

The Kingston-on-Hull Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, also in 1857.

The Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, London (males), and generally confined to the convicts' prisons, in 1857.

And I understand from Dr. Hook, that a Society with similar objects is in progress of formation in Leeds.

Now you will observe that few as these are, they are even yet but circumscribed in their efforts—and by no means general on their application to sex or age—yet I find from the Reports, that each is doing much good, though generally in want of funds.

The methods by which assistance may be rendered to discharged prisoners, may generally be classed under four heads; each indeed capable of subdivision and expansion, but I think every method will be embraced in one or other of them—these are,

1. By getting them into institutions where they may acquire habits of industry, and some knowledge of how to earn an honest living.

2. By corresponding with their friends, or their respective parochial ministers, and restoring them or reconciling them to their friends.

3. By assisting them to obtain employment by purchasing tools for them, taking their own ones out of pledge, helping them to make a decent appearance by means of new or redeemed clothing, or by gift of goods to sell.

4. By assisting them to emigrate.

Generally, owing to the diversity of character, age, sex, and disposition, I am disposed to think that a separate Institution or Refuge attached to each prison, besides being exceedingly expensive, would not answer the purpose intended, except in some few isolated cases. It is better that the Aid Society should place all cases suitable, in appropriate institutions, and pay for their expense, on an average, for one year after their discharge. Then I think there should be in connection with, and working under the guidance of, every chaplain, who should perforce be the Secretary of the Society, some trustworthy person to examine into cases in their own immediate locality; to prevent the contact with evil companions, who generally are on the watch to entrap prisoners, especially the young, on discharge; to take them home, where, as is frequently the case, shame causes an unwillingness to return; and generally to make inquiries as to the future conduct of those who have received the benefit of the aid of the society. It is astonishing with what plausibility a pitiful tale will be told, consistent in all points, and unbroken in its links of probability, but which frequently falls completely to pieces, on the visit of a trusty, faithful, and judicious messenger to the immediate neighbourhood from whence a prisoner comes.

No one, I suppose, will think me capable of undervaluing the influence or importance of Reformatories; but it has been too much the custom to imagine that these institutions do *all* the reformation; while prisons are rather calculated to deprave the character. Now I am well certain that there are thousands whose first seeds of reformation are planted within the prison walls; and indeed the very

willingness to enter a Reformatory, after a confinement in prison, is a proof of a better mind, what has sprung up in the prison; but until the public mind shall look with kindlier and more hopeful feelings on the prisoner, he has no alternative but to go to a Reformatory. In many cases, his reformation is, I verily believe, as complete, or nearly so, as to justify his being trusted; and many might with safety be tried; but no one will, perhaps no one well can, take into his household a discharged prisoner; scarcely even will they take a reformatory lad. I hope and believe I see signs of a better feeling in this respect also.

And now let me say one word as to the support of the Prisoners' Aid Societies. The main bar to their complete success is, as is too frequently the case, want of funds. And it becomes a question how far it might be *possible* for Government to aid the funds of such societies. I confess, much as I could wish to see such societies attached to every prison in the British land, or at any rate formed in every county—and with a full feeling that until we are so provided we shall in vain struggle with the debasing effect of crime on criminals, yet I see considerable difficulty in the way of any plan which has at present suggested itself to my mind. The value of this meeting may be, that some course of that kind may be suggested, because money is the very sinew of success; but I am ever loath to ask, where I do not see clearly the probability of success. The societies at present existing are too few in number and too partial in their efforts, as it appears to me, to give a reasonable prospect of calling on Government for special aid with any chance of success. Government, in dealing with public money, require that the want brought before them should not only be one of importance, not only publicly acknowledged, but publicly pressed upon their consideration. If any plan can be devised to call their attention to the subject, with a contingent probability of success, I for one shall be glad; my main object being to provide, that somehow, whether by Government or by private benevolence, prisoners should be assisted on their discharge to recover the position they have lost. I confess I feel that Lord John Russell's view of the matter has all the appearance of justice, and at any rate of being the feeling which would probably sway Her Majesty's advisers in dealing with this subject, unless subjected to severe pressure from without. Lord John, at a meeting at Kingston, for the Surrey Discharged Prisoners' Society, expressed himself thus:—

“I beg to state that I do not think it would be possible for the State to undertake the management of criminals to a further extent than it now does. I do not speak of the manner in which that duty is performed. With regard to the manner in which it is performed, improvements have been made from time to time of late years—inquiries have been instituted—and new plans and processes have been put in force—one of which (adopted in Ireland) seems to have been attended with very great success. But, in dealing with criminals, there comes a time when the State, having done its utmost—when the prisoner, having been confined for the period allotted by law for his offence, and for which the sentence has been pronounced by the

judge—when, having received all the spiritual and moral instruction provided for him in the prison—there comes a time when he must leave the precincts of that prison, and become again a member of that society whose laws he had violated. It would be impossible, with any justice to those who have always conducted themselves without reproach, that the State should undertake the management of these persons."

I beg to say I have mentioned this with a strong hope that some suggestions on the subject may be made by others who are to follow me. In the meanwhile, I may venture to assert that so far as the county of Surrey is concerned, ignorance of the want has been the main cause of inadequacy of funds; for when and wherever I have had the privilege of bringing the claims of that Society before the Surrey public, either by means of meetings or of sermons, I have found the most gratifying response made by all, alike the rich and the poor; and I have personally no manner of doubt that as such societies and their important influence on crime become more and more recognised, so will the funds be poured forth by English benevolence, in greater and greater sufficiency to meet the demands. Let me remind you that of the ten societies of the kind already existing, nine are strictly *local*, and one *general*; the latter being that established in London, and very admirable in its principles and mode of action; but, as I said before, mainly embracing the convict prisons; and at any rate ill-adapted to cope with wants so large as appear to exist. I should be disposed then to recommend, that until some general plan shall be devised, the chaplains and governors of prisons who feel, as they must, interest in the subject, having first procured reports of the already existing societies, and mastered their details of operation and management, should frame from them such plans as they may conceive best adapted to the wants of their own special charge, and having consulted with the visiting justices and the leading influence of their neighbourhood, should take such steps as shall seem to them most fitting to bring the matter generally before the public of their own locality—and I am much mistaken if they will not find, that on a proper representation of the emergency, coupled with a feasible proposition for dealing with it, they will meet with a very general response, sufficient at least to enable them to work with hope and with effect.

I have thus endeavoured to turn attention to the main points, as I conceive, of this subject; and I would merely close by observing, that even on the low consideration of self-interest in this world, prudence and reason alike demand that we should check the growth of crime by every conceivable way in our power; for we have not had its effect so frequently before our eyes that we cannot be now ignorant that there is no crime or vice, however private its nature, which has not in some way or other, directly or indirectly, an effect upon the public welfare: at the same time we cannot divest our minds of the spiritual interests both of ourselves and those with whom we are endeavouring to deal. We have the gratifying consideration that in this work we are saving souls from imminent danger by leading them to the rock of ages, by which alone they can escape

death ; and we have the blessed encouragement given to us to persevere, because " they that are wise shall shine like the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."

BELVEDERE CRESCENT REFORMATORY HOUSE FOR OUTCAST BOYS.

THE annual meeting of the members and friends of this Institution was held on Friday, July 23, when the Earl of Shaftesbury, its president, took the chair. The Home for Outcast Boys, situate near the south end of Hungerford Bridge, belongs to that useful class of Reformatories in which authority is not weakened by the excessive multiplication of masters. It ordinarily accommodates from 18 to 25 boys, who are under the care of the superintendent, Mr. W. Driver. Mr. Driver is a stern foe to sentimentalism, especially to that sentimentalism which is most apt to give a rosy tinge to annual reports, and Lord Shaftesbury's subjoined remarks on the report now presented, and on the general merits of the Home, are most just. There is no institution in London where work is done more faithfully and heartily than in the Belvedere Crescent Reformatory.

The HON. SECRETARY read the fourth annual report, which commenced by speaking of the lads who had gone to Canada ; and the committee had great pleasure in informing their friends that, as far as they knew, the whole eighteen who had reached that country under the auspices of the Institution were, without an exception, honestly holding their way. The tone of their letters showed that they still cherish warm feelings of attachment to what they call their Home, and all connected with it. In the last report the committee spoke of the great expense attending the emigration of the boys, and of the difficulty of getting money for that purpose. In consequence of that difficulty they had not sent out any lads since the last meeting. True, their president, Lord Shaftesbury, had kindly offered them 20*l.* for emigration purposes, but that sum would not have been sufficient to pay the passage of more than two boys ; and they had eight or ten well worthy of being sent to Canada ; and it would have been almost impossible to make a selection without appearing to act unjustly to those left behind. In sending out the last nine emigrants they had added to their debt something like 20*l.* or 30*l.* ; indeed they had always incurred debt by the adoption of this course ; and, therefore, they felt that they ought to discontinue the system rather than become involved in fresh liabilities. The committee had since turned their attention to facilities for home employ, and of what they had done in this respect they now gave the following account :—At the time of the last meeting two of their boys were employed by Mr. Hart, of Wych Street, brass-founder ; and so well was he satisfied with their conduct that whenever he wanted unskilled labour he applied to this Institution, and at Christmas last six of the lads were at work at his establishment. Much was due to the co-operation of Mr. M'Haffir, by whose timely encouragement those boys who occasionally seemed to falter were urged to persevere, and

were now amongst the best of the workers. Some time in October last there were but four boys at work in the foundry. They felt that the practice of letting boys go out to work and living in the house could not be carried out to any great extent, and they tried, in conjunction with Mr. M'Haffir, to adopt some arrangement whereby the lads might live out of the house, and at the same time be subject to some kind of supervision. Accordingly a room was prepared for them in the cottage of one of the workmen who lived in the foundry-yard, the wife of the man cooking their food, and the Institution supplying their washing; but at the end of six weeks this plan turned out a failure. The boys were brought back once more to the Institution, and three of them were saved, whilst one was lost. Fifteen boys in all had been employed by Mr. Hart since the last meeting. Of the fifteen, seven remained in his employ, and eight had left under various circumstances—some from idleness, others from a desire for change and enlistment, and some for reasons not known. Out of the above eight, six were able to read and write well, and were in other respects very shrewd; four were greatly deficient in moral tone and in patient plodding industry: two were quiet and trustworthy, and the remaining two were deficient both in morals and education. Three out of the eight had been in the Institution only about a week when they were taken into the foundry; on the other hand, three out of the seven still employed were taken to work within a week of their admission into the Home. They had no reason to believe that any of the boys were doing wrong—indeed, their past experience led them to infer the contrary. They were often agreeably astonished by the good intelligence of lads they looked upon as hopeless, and it was not long since they had a very pleasing letter from one who for four years seemed an incorrigible vagabond, stating that he had enlisted in the Bombay Artillery, and thanking the committee for the trouble they had taken about him. Of the seven still at work, one had been there more than a year, three for more than nine months, and three between two and three months. They worked hard, and sometimes for very long hours, and their conduct gave complete satisfaction. Their wages were not more than sufficient to pay for their food and clothing. Their money was brought home and placed in the hands of the superintendent. They were docile in a remarkable degree, and economical also, seldom going to the exchequer for more than a penny or twopence for miscellaneous purposes. The amount brought home to them for the last year was 55*l*. The weekly amount of each boy's wages averaged from five to seven shillings. The report went on to state that the committee were desirous to get the boys into respectable situations when opportunity offered. The boys were now occupied in making fancy boxes (a large number were on this occasion exhibited in the building), some of which might be seen at any time at the Soho Bazaar; and for which they were anxious to obtain a large sale, rather than depend upon the charitable contributions of the public for the support of the Institution. There were now 18 boys in the house, and they could speak of all of them with the most entire satisfaction. The financial statement showed that the receipts for

the year amounted to 555*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.*, and the expenditure to 574*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*, whilst there was a debt due to the treasurer of 395*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.*, but this was reduced by a government grant of 172*l.*

The Hon. F. BYNG moved the adoption of the report.

Mr. TUFFNELL, the government inspector of these institutions, seconded the motion, and observed that if this Home continued to be well conducted, as at present, he could see no reason why they should fail to receive government support in future years; and if the committee could succeed in obtaining for the Institution the privilege of being a "certified school," the advantages in their hands would be greatly increased.

The report having being adopted,

The CHAIRMAN expressed his opinion that it was a very satisfactory document, inasmuch as it stated, in a clear and honest and succinct manner, not only the success which had been experienced, but also the difficulties and the failures they had been obliged to contend with. He did not think the public acted fairly by these institutions—they had been so much accustomed to hear of great triumphs and unexampled successes, that unless everything was made to appear to them *couleur de rose*, they were apt to be dissatisfied. It was asking too much of human nature to expect that all outcasts could be reclaimed alike. Some there were who could be brought to discipline, and others who could not, whatever pains might be taken to secure such a result. It was, therefore, much better to tell the public the real state of things, as by so doing they prevented the expectation of results which could not be realised. He should be sorry if the committee desisted from the practice of enabling the boys to emigrate, as a very large proportion of those who had gone out under the auspices of such institutions had done credit to their patrons and to the country that gave them birth. He could wish that emigration amongst girls were more attended to than at present, as it was quite clear that in Canada there was every desire that the system should be encouraged; and as regarded the benefit which the public had the power of conferring upon the country, he verily believed that if they would only come forward with adequate funds they would soon clear the metropolis of nineteen-twentieths of the juvenile delinquents. It was a great and important question, and involved the well-being and security of the country; and he could only express a hope, as he had often done before, that the public would ere long see the absolute necessity of supporting institutions of this nature.

In answer to a question from Mr. Greig,

Mr. WELBY, the Honorary Secretary, said the actual inspection of the school was undertaken by no one but Mr. Tuffnell, who made an annual visit in his official capacity, and occasionally called to satisfy his wishes on the subject; but the Government had such confidence in the management of the Institution that they did not desire to interfere with the responsibilities of the committee.

A vote of thanks was then passed to Mr. Driver (the manager and superintendent), and to the chairman.

Criminal Returns for 1857.

The criminal returns for the past year are more than usually interesting, for they include in a very nearly perfect form the police statistics of England and Wales. Formerly the returns showed only the number of commitments; in future all judicial statistics will be given.

The police returns for 1857, which it must be remembered are unavoidably incomplete, give the following results of summary procedure:—Number of persons proceeded against summarily: males, 291,030; females, 78,203. Discharged by justices, 98,795 males; 36,679 females. Convicted, 192,235 males; 41,524 females. Here we have a total of 233,759 persons convicted and punished by summary procedure,—while the commitments for trial during 1857, amounted to only 20,269.—The police returns of summary convictions present some interesting results. The following table shows the characters of the persons who came into their custody:—

Characters.	Proceeded against by Indictment.		Proceeded against Summarily.		Total.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M. & F.
Known Thieves ...	5,005	1,428	13,551	3,118	23,102
Prostitutes ...	—	2,484	—	21,798	24,282
Vagrants and Tramps	718	165	13,554	4,833	19,270
Suspicious Characters	5,884	1,245	34,228	5,447	46,804
No known occupations	313	75	4,905	1,621	6,914
Previous good Characters ...	4,958	1,150	107,059	13,398	126,565
Characters unknown and not ascertained	6,524	2,082	117,733	27,988	154,327
Total ...	23,402	8,629	291,030	78,203	401,264

Upon the above large data it appears that of those proceeded against by indictment 54·0 were of the criminal class, 19·1 per cent. of previous good character, and of 26·9 per cent. the characters were either unknown or were not ascertained.

Another interesting return is that of the findings of coroners' juries during 1857: Coroners' inquests were held on 13,941 males and 6,216 females—making a total of 20,157. Of these, 184 were brought in murder; 187 manslaughter; 6 justifiable homicide; 1,349 suicide; 8,930 accidental death; 237 injuries, causes unknown; 2,949 found dead; 323 excessive drinking; 143 disease, aggravated by neglect; 167 want, cold, and exposure; and 5,682 other causes. The above numbers prove a decrease of 2,064 inquests, 9·4 per cent. on the previous year, with which alone the means of comparison exist, as the returns were then compiled for the first time. The diminution is attributed to the greater control which the Quarter Sessions have recently exercised in the disallowance of the costs of inquests which the Court deem to have been unnecessarily held. The periods of life of the persons upon whom the inquests were held, dis-

tinguishing the infant, the adult, and the aged and infirm, were—infants, 7 years and under, 5,496; under 16 and above 7, 1,716; 16 and under 60 years, 9,731; above 60 years, 3,214. The total costs of the inquests in 1857 were 61,541*l.* 1*l.* 7*d.*, giving an average of 3*l.* 1*s.* 0*d.* for each inquest.

The commitments for trial in 1857 happily maintain the largely diminished numbers which followed the passing of the Criminal Justice Act of 1855. But on comparing the commitments of 1857 with 1856, there is, nevertheless, an increase of 832 commitments, or 4·3 per cent. Here are the returns for the past 10 years:—

1848	...	...	30,349	1853	...	...	27,057
1849	...	...	27,816	1854	...	...	29,359
1850	...	...	26,813	1855	...	...	25,972
1851	...	...	27,960	1856	...	...	19,437
1852	...	...	27,510	1857	...	...	20,269
<hr/>				<hr/>			
140,448				122,094			

The increase in 1857 has extended over 32 counties, principally in the great seats of manufacture and trade. In the agricultural counties, the results are more mixed. Of the eastern counties, there is an increase in Lincoln, Norfolk, and Suffolk; a small decrease in Essex, and in the Midland counties of Northampton, Bedford, Oxford, and Bucks, as also in Sussex, Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset; but there is an increase in Hants.—In the metropolis, where any change affecting the working population is not so immediately felt, the decrease shown in Middlesex during the two previous years still continues, but not to the same extent,—while in Surrey and Kent, a large proportion of the population of which is located in and on the boundaries of the metropolis, the commitments increased. In Wales there is an increase in seven counties, which is more marked in Glamorganshire; of the border counties an increase is shown in Monmouth and Hereford, which is very large in the former, but a considerable decrease took place in Shropshire. The following table shows the results of the 20,269 commitments in 1857:—

Not prosecuted, and admitted evidence	...	...	135	
No bills found against	...	...	1,004	
Not guilty on trial	...	...	3,788	
Acquitted and discharged			<hr/>	4,927
Acquitted on the ground of insanity	...	...	19	
Found insane	...	...	16	
Detained as insane	...	...	<hr/>	35
Sentenced to death	...	...	54	
„ transportation	...	...	110	
„ penal servitude	...	...	2,473	
„ imprisonment	...	...	12,507	
„ whipping, fine, &c.	...	...	163	
Convicted	...	...	<hr/>	15,307
Total committed	...	...		<hr/>
				20,269

The executions last year were all for murder. Of the 20 persons convicted of this crime 13 were executed, all of whom were men.

The statistics of the ages of those committed in 1857 exhibit a marked decrease of commitments under 16 years of age. The following table shows the countries where those committed were born :

Birthplace.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Proportion per Cent.
England	72,741	24,313	97,054	77·8
Wales	1,942	961	2,903	2·3
Scotland	1,617	782	2,399	1·9
Ireland	11,105	6,962	18,067	14·5
Colonies and East Indies ...	543	109	652	0·5
Foreign Countries	1,842	174	2,016	1·6
Not ascertained... ..	1,287	445	1,732	1·4
Total	91,077	33,746	124,823	100·0

The degree of instruction was, as usual, extremely small : only 5·1 per cent. of those committed last year were able to read and write well. The proportion was as follows ;—neither read nor write, 35·5 per cent. ; read and write imperfectly, 58·0 ; read and write well, 5·1 ; superior instruction, 0·3 ; not ascertained, 1·1.

The annual increasing proportion of the female commitments is a painful feature of the returns, and is a discouraging sign among some evidences of improvement which the returns present. Of the commitments for trial in 1857, the proportion of females was 21·0 per cent. ; of the summary convictions, 28·3 per cent. ; of the total commitments, 24·3 per cent. But the females form a very much larger proportion of the re-commitments, and prove the greater difficulties in the way of female reformation, after the taint of commitment to prison. With regard to age it appears that crime does not begin so early among women as among men. Under 16 years of age the proportion of females to males is 13·4 per cent. only. In the five years between that age and 21 years the proportion is doubled, being 26·9 per cent. But the largest proportion of women is found between the ages of 21 and 30 years, when it reaches 29·9 per cent. In the whole of the remaining period of life, 30 years and above, the proportion fall to 28·3 per cent. In instruction, too, the women are found to be behind the men : 18·8 per cent. only of those who can read and write well are females, while 30·7 per cent. could neither read nor write.

Under the head of "Prisons" we find that the prisons last year were able to contain 26,022 prisoners, while the greatest number in them at any time was, 23,639, the daily average being 19,009. The punishment inflicted on the prisoners was as follows :—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Whipping	237	—	237
Irons or handcuffs ...	84	25	109
Solitary or dark cells ...	12,758	2,144	14,902
Stoppage of diet	38,740	6,593	45,333
Other punishment	2,045	156	2,201
Total	53,806	8,918	62,782

The total cost of the prisons last year was 447,004*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*—which gives as the average annual cost of each prisoner 23*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* This excludes the Government prisons, in which the total average annual charge per prisoner was 33*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* This greater charge arises chiefly from the higher scale of remuneration to the officers, and on the dietary and allowances to convicts, which are nearly double the average in the local prisons.

The unprotected and extremely helpless state of the young children committed, led to the establishment of Reformatories, which seem, on the whole, to be working well. These schools, which combine a new form of treatment for juvenile offenders, were established for the purpose of giving legal custody to their directors and superintendents over persons committed within the age of 16 years for any period not less than 2 years nor more than 5 years. The number of these schools continues to increase. They now amount to 40, 12 having been added in the last year. The expenses of this class of prisoners are defrayed from the public revenues at a fixed allowance of 7*s.* per head weekly. They amounted for the year ending the 27th of September 1857 to 20,641*l.* 2*s.*, of which 221*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* was recovered from the parents or step-parents under the provisions of the Reformatory Schools' Act. The total numbers committed to Reformatories during the last four years were :—23,176, 534, and 1,119

Under the head of "Criminal Lunatics," whose commitments are now included in the general "Judicial Statistics," we find that at the commencement of the past year, 586 were under detention, and 131 were committed during the year. The total cost of this class of prisoners in the year was 19,836*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*, of which only 1,541*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* was defrayed from the funds of the lunatics or by their friends.

The returns for the past year mark a most important change. Transportation, which has been in operation since the act of parliament of 18 Car. 2, and which authorized Judges either to execute, or to transport for life to America the moss-troopers of Cumberland or Westmorland, was abolished in 1857 ; for although the power to remove convicts to the penal colonies is reserved, and is applicable to all those sentenced to penal servitude, it does not seem probable that it will be exercised unless in very exceptional cases. For several years the numbers transported to Australia averaged about 4,000 ; last year they amounted to 461. In 1856, 2,915 convicts were discharged on tickets-of-leave ; last year the number was reduced to 933 ; of these, 926 were discharged from the government prisons, and 7 women from local prisons.

The organization of the police force throughout the kingdom, which was only established in several counties towards the middle of last year, has doubtless been the means of detecting a large amount of crime. The total cost of the police force in 1857 was 1,265,579*l.* 18*s.* The total establishment of permanent paid police was 19,187*l.* of which 6,635 were metropolitan and city of London.

From *The Philanthropist*, of September 4th, we take the following :—

ASSOCIATED FARMS.

1st. FOR DISCHARGED PRISONERS.

2nd. PREVENTIVE OF CRIME.

As might not unnaturally be expected, a variety of suggestions have been forwarded to us as to the mode in which discharged prisoners might effectually be assisted to regain the confidence and character, without which they could scarcely hope to secure employment. Many, previously ignorant of the existence of any societies for such a purpose, seek information as to their operation and success; but all alike seem generally impressed with a feeling that discharged prisoners, though willing to work, having neither character nor money, are very likely soon to fall into old habits, and are objects for special care and humanity, under reasonable restrictions. Almost all the suggestions, however, are such as are more or less carried into effect in the operations of one or other of the societies already existing. There will always, of necessity, be a variety in these operations, regulated by the local circumstances and requirements of each peculiar gaol or house of correction; and we trust that those who are disposed *actively* to enter upon this humane work in their own neighbourhood, or to support the effort by their means and influence, will apply for the reports of the existing societies, and see, by what has already been done, how they themselves may best be of service. One suggestion, however, has a certain degree of novelty in it, and, if practicable, would materially influence the question; at any rate the hint is thrown out that it may be improved upon by the consideration and experience of others.

The suggestion comes from Mr. Gurdon, of Assington Hall, Sudbury, Suffolk, and is to the effect that, as regards the provinces, every county or two counties together, should possess a farm for discharged prisoners generally, somewhat assimilated to the reformatory farms in discipline, but not, of course, restricted to age, where discharged prisoners might imbibe habits of industry and receive good instruction. "Artizans and women could be also employed on the farm—shoe-making, tailoring, and carpentry by the former class, cooking, washing, and serving by the women; and then after a certain time they may be drafted off into other situations, with a character, and money in their pocket." It cannot be denied that a farm for liberated culprits generally, while it might confer a benefit on society at large, and materially reduce the county rates, would yet be beset with many difficulties. Mr. Gurdon, however, thinks these difficulties very far from insurmountable. If the foundation be sound, the superstructure must stand if properly raised. There would be a great necessary variation in the supply of labour, and at one time a sudden influx of hands, at others a corresponding dearth. Spade husbandry is recommended; and the number of cases employed might be both selected and restricted to a certain number, at all events at first, until experience in the working of the system had been required. In

harvest weeks they should all be paid in the same proportion as other farm-labourers, deducting, of course, their lodging and victuals. As regards the possible displacing of parish hands, this, he admits, would be at first a serious difficulty. He suggests that this might be met by having, say 500 acres of heath or woodland, where the population is scanty. It matters little where it is, provided it be near a railway station. Of course the main difficulty of all would be the obtaining the necessary funds. We have elsewhere alluded to this as the besetting bar to progress in dealing with discharged prisoners. We feel it certainly to be *possible*, though perhaps difficult, that, under experienced and practical hands, a farm might be so conducted as nearly, if not quite, to pay its own expenses.

Mr. Gurdon speaks with the experience of a county magistrate who has taken very considerable pains to do what lay in his power to improve the poor around him. He thinks that a very large proportion of prisoners, if not a majority, are agricultural labourers, and with some justice he considers that there is a peculiar blessing attached to cultivators of the soil. We shall feel obliged if some of those gentlemen who are more practically versed in this matter than ourselves will favour us with their opinions as to the feasibility of this scheme, or any similar one which may be grafted upon it.

Mr. Gurdon, after touching upon this subject, submits for our consideration a system of co-operative farming, which should act as preventive to want, and consequently to crime. On this subject we can go fully with Mr. Gurdon, and make no apology for introducing the subject in his own straightforward manner.

He says—"When I came into my property, some forty years ago, I found that all the small holdings of five or ten acres had been swallowed up by the larger farms, and the labourer had no stimulus for bettering himself; in short, the staves had been taken out of his ladder, and he was unable to ascend. I resolved upon giving away 50*l.* annually in my parish, to the best ploughman, the best conducted, &c., &c. I am glad that this plan has now spread over the length and breadth of the land. Allotments followed, all very good in their way, but they did not replace the loss of the little farms. *Meum* and *tuum* could not be understood by the labourer, for whatever his hand fell upon was sure to be *tuum*, and the result was the gaol. Upon a small farm of 100 acres becoming vacant, I called together twenty of the best labourers, and told them that if they would subscribe 2*l.* each, I would lend them 400*l.* without interest to cultivate this farm. I drew up rules and regulations which they agreed to, to the number of thirty. In a few years they paid off the 400*l.* lent, and their shares are now valued at 52*l.* each member. It worked so well, that four years ago I let off another farm of 150 acres upon the same terms. This is also going on admirably, and they have paid me off 200*l.* An old friend of mine, Sir W— F—, was so pleased with it, that he told me he should let a farm of 500 acres upon the same plan. The members would tell you that it is the best scheme that ever was set on foot for the labouring classes. It is also beneficial to the landlord and rate-payer.

"I should mention that out of thirty members there are only about five or six that are *regularly employed* on the farm; the rest are with

other farmers ; and the farmers are now glad to get them, as they are sure of honest men ; for in case of conviction they would lose their share, which is now worth, as I said, 52*l.* each. I generally attend once a year one of their quarterly meetings, and it is quite pleasing to hear the shrewd remarks these men make. Pray make use of this information if you please, and I have no objection to be referred to for any further particulars."

We here subjoin the agreement and rules under which this co-operative farming is carried on. The thing so entirely commends itself to our judgment, that we shall be glad to find similar plans of mutual farms starting into existence elsewhere. Everything is now being done on a large scale, and by corporate bodies, and we can see no reason why farming should be exempted from the general system of partnership. The present instance is the first which has come under our notice of a farm being conducted by a "Co." The stimulus to industry and economy, as well as to honesty, in this plan of associating labourers for their mutual benefit, the motive it supplies to them for endeavouring to *understand* what they do, and its tendency to promote friendship among them, are no slight steps in the practical education of the labouring classes. Of course it would be impossible to succeed without a capital to commence with, and Mr. Gurdon must have had great faith in his scheme and in his men, and a large amount of benevolence, to lend them the capital required. But the English labourers, as a body, are possessed of much right feeling, steadiness, honesty, and perseverance. They, are however, seldom placed in circumstances to elicit these qualities. Mr. Gurdon evidently understands them, and they him. We can only hope that others to whom God has given means will follow his example, and we shall be much surprised if a general adoption of this or a kindred scheme, do not in a few years make a very sensible diminution in the number of paupers as well as of adult prisoners, and, as a necessary consequence, of the heavy expense at which they are maintained in unions or prisons by the ratepayers.

THE ASSINGTON AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION.

"He that tilleth his land shall have plenty of bread."

"Moreover, the profit of the earth is for all ; the King himself is served by the field."

AGREEMENT.

I agree to let from Michaelmas, 1853, for my life, to the undermentioned persons, forming themselves into an Agricultural Association, a Farm, called Severals, containing 136 Acres, more or less, for the annual rent of £194, and £3 for each house, upon the following conditions:—That the Society do not diminish their number of 30 members without my approval. That the land be farmed upon the four-course husbandry. That they conduct themselves with propriety, and pay their rent regularly. That every twelve years the land to be re-valued. That all repairs be done by the Association ; the Landlord finding rough materials. To insure the premises for £300, and to do one day's carting annually with four horses and two men.

Assington Hall, March 25th, 1853.

JOHN GURDON.

Names of the Members.

J. Marshall, J. Bell, B. Sowman, Sen., *Committee*; B. Sowman, Jun., John Butcher, Charles Green, John Austin, William Butcher, James Finch, William Whymark, Sen., William Whymark, Jun., John Griggs, John Stow, William Butcher, Henry Frost, Walter Pollard, George Farthing, John Chaplin, James Bailey, Daniel Godden, Israel Warner, James Butcher, William Gentry. George Crisell, John Theobald, Philip Butcher, Sen., Philip Butcher, Jun., John Butcher, William Smyth, William Griggs.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1. That this Society be denominated the "ASSINGTON AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION;" and shall consist of thirty Members, for the purpose of cultivating the aforesaid farm, for their mutual benefit.

2. That a Committee, consisting of three Members, be appointed yearly, by ballot, at Michaelmas, for keeping the accounts, and superintending the cultivation of the Farm.

3. That Four Meetings be held at the houses yearly, viz. the first Tuesday after every Quarter-day, for auditing the accounts, and transacting any business that may be requisite.

4. That the house be let to two Members agreed upon by the Society; that they have the charge of the Live Stock; that one be regularly employed upon the Farm; and that whatever extra labour is required, be arranged by the Committee.

5. That the following Articles be provided by the Committee for the use of the Members; viz. Household Stores of all descriptions, Home-brewed Beer, Milk, Pork, Bacon, Flour, and whatever else may be considered desirable.

6. Any Member convicted of Fraud, or any other crime, to be excluded the Society, with the forfeiture of his share; if refusing to work when called upon, or slighting it, the Committee to find a substitute, to be paid out of the Member's share of profits.

7 Any Member falling into unforeseen difficulties may be advanced a loan upon his share to half its value at five per cent. interest, provided the funds will admit of it, or he may sell his share subject to the Landlord's and Members' approval.

8. The Society is answerable for no debts, except those contracted by the Committee, for the public advantage.

9. Upon the death of a Member, if his share be not disposed of by will; his widow may enjoy it during her widowhood; at her decease or subsequent marriage, the share to be vested in his eldest son if living in the parish; in default of sons, to be sold (subject to the Landlord's approval) for the benefit of daughters or next of kin.

10. If an new Member, upon the purchase of a share, be unable to advance the whole amount, he must be charged five per cent. for such monies in arrears, the Society paying up the price of the share to those entitled to it.

11. Vacancies to be filled up by ballot, upon terms agreed upon by the Members; but those only who are labourers of the parish, and Members of the Stoke and Melford Union Association, to be eligible.

12. Any alterations to these Rules, or new ones added, may be effected, if carried by vote, at either of the Public Meetings, with the sanction of the Landlord, to be entered into the general minute-book.

PRISONS IN IRELAND.

By the 36th report of the Inspector-General of Prisons in Ireland for the year 1857, it appears that the large and progressive decrease of crime in Ireland, noted for the last six years, happily continues. Of late years the decrease in male crime had exceeded that in female to an immense extent, but last year an extraordinary change occurred, the decrease in female crime being ten times as great as that in male. This the inspectors conceive to be a most satisfactory fact, for the good conduct of the females of a country is a sure indication of the advance of prosperity, employment, and education. The common Irish offence of vagrancy has largely decreased in both sexes, and the decrease in juvenile crime has been "enormous." 3265 persons were in Gaol on New Year's Day last, against 3419 in 1857. In 1854 the number was 5755; in 1852, 8803; and in 1850, 10,967. 39,666 was the number of committals last year, and the daily average number of prisoners was 32,954. 32,798 convictions took place. The number of debtors imprisoned was 743. The committals represent 32,294 individuals, and the re-committals of females much exceed those of the other sex. The proneness of females to relapse is remarkable as compared with that of the superior sex. This is partly to be accounted for by the "lamentably defective" arrangements of the female wards, and the want of due classification. Out of 31,505 sentences to imprisonments in gaols in Ireland last year, only 3,932 males and 2250 females (less than one-fifth of the whole) were sentenced to longer terms of incarceration than one month, whereas no less than 13,434 males and 11,889 females were under sentences ranging from twenty-four hours to one month, and the average length of duration under sentence for each of these 25,323 prisoners was only ten days and twenty-three hours. Of the 39,666 persons committed, 10,136 read and wrote, 7560 read imperfectly, 2510 knew orthography, 2108 knew the alphabet, and 16,980 were wholly illiterate. The immense majority (34,543 out of the 39,666) were persons of the Romish persuasion, or Papists, and 722 were Presbyterians. There is a slight improvement in the education of the males committed, but with the females the reverse is the case, upwards

of half the sex being grossly illiterate, while only one-seventh of them could read and write respectably. The net expense of gaols in Ireland last year was £77,056, and a regular decrease has taken place since 1849, when it amounted to £128,630. The expenditure on bridewells was £31,404. The state of these latter is most reprehensible; there appears to have been utter neglect, and the conduct of the magistracy in committing them for illegal periods ought to awaken the attention of the Irish Executive. An immense appendix, abounding in tabular statements, fills up the bulk of the blue-book before us, but the object of printing so much useless matter at the public expense does not appear. It will certainly not be read by the most greedy devourer of parliamentary literature.

QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF REFORMATORY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS, AND OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

As Reformatories are now being established in Ireland, the cost of such institutions becomes a matter of interest and importance. Through the kindness of Miss Carpenter, and of Mr. Joseph Adshead of Manchester, we are enabled to present two very valuable communications on this subject. The first refers to the cost of American Reformatories. The second is Mr. Adshead's paper on the Comparative Economy of the Reformatory and Ragged Schools of England, read in the Punishment and Reformation Section of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, at Liverpool, Thursday, Oct. 14, 1858. The letter of Mr. Israel Russell, of the House of Refuge, New York, to Miss Carpenter, is as follows :—

*City Office,
House of Refuge, 516 Broadway,
New York, Jan. 5th, 1858.*

Miss Mary Carpenter,
Respected Madam,

I take the liberty by a good opportunity to forward a package of pamphlets and papers in response to a circular I received a few months ago, containing several queries regarding Prisons and Reformatories in this country, and requesting replies from any one enabled to give them in reference to these subjects. In the first place, however, I beg to say I send you the proceedings of the First Convention of Managers and Superintendents of Houses of Refuge and Schools of Reform in the United States of America, held in this city in May last.

The House of Refuge on Randall Island, New York, the first House established in this country, although receiving appropriations from both the State and City Governments, is the only institution exclusively managed by private citizens, on the voluntary principle. It is what is termed a close corporation, the members of the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents, who have charge of the Refuge, annually electing a board of managers from its own body, have always been gentlemen of the highest character for intelligence, of sound conservative views, and of practical business habits. They make their regular annual reports, both to the State and City Governments, and what can be said of but few institutions in the long period of its existence, now thirty four years, not the slightest doubt has ever been expressed by either State or City as to its judicious management, or a moment's hesitation in making the necessary appropriations for its annual support. The best evidence that can be given of its good management is :—the board of managers have frequently offered to make it over to the care of the State, but they have

invariably declined to assume the care of it, satisfied it would not be as economically managed, or as strict discipline maintained, under State appointments. It will be seen by looking at the different columns in everything relating to its cost, the figures are the lowest, except in one instance, and in its receipts for labour, &c., it is the highest, showing the lowest actual net cost per annum of each inmate. Without wishing to boast of our method, we can say our accounts are kept with the precision of any regular mercantile establishment.

The gentleman, the Chairman of the Statistic Committee, who prepared the tables from the printed forms which had been distributed by our Committee of arrangements, and sent to the several institutions in the country, has done it with great care and fidelity, and given all the facts which were stated in their returns. The results are the tables in the proceedings of the Convention.

You will perceive a very wide difference in the cost of them. Many of the new institutions can scarcely be said to be fairly in operation, and we therefore have reason to believe they will profit by the information thus brought together by this convention. At the same time, some of those entirely under State control, show that they are expensively managed. This, however, does not effect the character or beneficial effects of the system, as it is only the fault of the State Legislatures who permit it, by allowing too many high salaried officers to manage them. In examining the Table of Statistics, page 89 of Convention proceedings, the average cost of the whole per Capita for 1856, is 97.33 dollars. The average cost of the New York house alone, for 1856, is 85.05 dollars, without deducting the earnings, which amounted to 28.96 $\frac{5}{8}$ dollars, each inmate. Deduct this from the cost 85.05 dollars, leaves the actual cost at 56.08 $\frac{1}{8}$ dollars—which is the lowest cost of any of the institutions in this country. There is another view I will present of this matter, and it is only of our own house to which I will make any allusion. Our present location was a munificent gift of the corporation of our city of nearly forty acres of land in Randall Island, in exchange for ten acres we owned on the adjoining (Ward's) island, for which we paid 15,000 dollars—the savings of the Society, in the course of a few years, by economy and good management. The State then appropriated means to enable us to erect buildings to accommodate one thousand children, with a complete system of classification. They have already appropriated and paid us 186,000 dollars for this purpose, and we are going before the Legislature now in session, to ask them for 75,000 dollars more, to complete our buildings on the original plan proposed. In making a sea wall around the island bounding our premises, we reclaimed and added to our land two or more acres. The island was rough—a great deal rock and marshy wet ground, which, when we commenced to occupy our new buildings, three years ago, appeared like waste land, and would be of little or no use to us. It has, however, proved far otherwise. This forbidding and unprofitable looking portion of our premises, has been turned to most valuable account, in the employment of our larger class of boys, whom no kindness or discipline can reform, for we are sorry to say we have

some of this class always with us ; but not more in proportion than may be found in the same number of any other class of children in grades of good, bad, and those with more vicious or evil propensities. Many of our large boys, having been suffered to indulge in their bad habits too long, their reformation cannot be thoroughly accomplished before it is time under our system to bind them out to farmers or mechanics in the country. They frequently leave their places, and soon find their way back to their old haunts in the city, and are returned to us, in a short time, through the police, and different courts.

With this class of boys from seventeen to twenty years of age, we have had on an average from twenty to twenty-five constantly employed in suitable working weather and, in the three years we have occupied these buildings, at least three acres of what we thought worthless land, has been brought to a high state of cultivation, and large quantities of potatoes and garden vegetables have been raised for the use of the establishment during the past year. This has saved an outlay for the articles thus produced, and is therefore an item of revenue earned by these large boys, whose labor while thus employed it would be fair to estimate at from 50 to 75 cents per day, the wages of men who would do no more than these boys. The same with the boys in the tailor's shop and shoe shop, who make all the clothes and shoes for the whole establishment. The same may be said with regard to the girls who do all the washing, making and repairing garments for the whole establishment. If we had to pay for these expenditures it would make a large outlay, which is thus saved to the Institution. If the calculation of what the labor of these boys and girls would produce, if contracted for at their true value, as the other smaller children are to shoemaking, chair-making, and wire weaving, at 10 and 12 per day, and credited to our earnings account, it would reduce our net cost to nearly or about 40 dols. per annum. There is one thing in the statistical table which may tend to mislead unless explained, it is the different dates of the returns. For instance the report of our house is dated 1st May 1857, when it is the actual statistics of its affair from the 1st January to 31st December 1856, showing the number received, and the number disposed of, leaving 477 inmates in the house 31st December 1856. The other Institutions are made up in the same way, but their statistics show the operation for one year precisely.

Our house opened the first day of 1858, with a larger family than we however had before, viz. 577 boys, and 70 girls, a total of 647. Last year at same date 477, being an increase of 170 inmates. Our revenue from labor of the boys contracted for, amounts to about 13,000 dollars, and would have been over 14,000 dollars, but for the monetary revulsion which reached our establishment as it has all others. The total number of inmates received in the house since its opening in 1825, is 7336 ; our annual report will be published in the course of two or three weeks when I will forward one. In the mean time I forward by a gentleman from Staffordshire, the package alluded to before, who has promised to forward it, one is the 7th Annual Report of our house, a copy of our charter and other laws since passed,

our Bye-Laws revised in 1854, but only with slight modification from those adopted in 1826, and in use ever since ; a newspaper printed in November 1846, containing a memorial of the N.Y. Prison Association, to the Common Council for the establishment of a work-house which they were authorized by their charter to erect, it being the first movement in this City for that object ; attached to this memorial written more than eleven years ago, are some valuable statistics, which were collected at that time with the above object in view, as to the cost of support of prisoners and inmates of our houses of Refuge, of which there were but three at that day. Our House of Refuge then cost but 54.33 dollars per annum each inmate, from which was to be deducted their earnings of 16.5½ dollars each, leaving the net cost at 38.37½ dollars each per annum. This was owing to the low price of flour, beef, potatoes, and other articles of living, and the lower wages of the employers, all which it is well known, have since been at extravagant rates, and have materially advanced the cost of supporting every kind of public institution. But the late revulsion in monetary affairs will doubtless reduce the cost again to reasonable amounts. You will also find the 11th and 12th annual reports in one pamphlet of the New York Prison Association, with which I have been connected from its organization in 1844. We have an excellent and devoted agent, an Englishman, whose heart is in the work ; the support of this is entirely by voluntary subscriptions, and, as it is not a very popular object, it is hard work to raise much money for its support ; you will however see some valuable statistics in this also.

I have thought by addressing this package it would be most likely to reach the destination intended, and I trust you will pardon me for sending you more statistics than anything else worthy of notice.

I am very respectfully,

ISRAEL RUSSELL.

A TABLE

Showing the net Cost of each Inmate in the different Institutions, taken from the Reports rendered to the Convention May 12, 1857.

REPORTS OF INSTITUTIONS, 1856.	Number of Inmates.	Amount of Salaries Paid.		Proportion of expense of each Inmate paid to Care- takers, &c.		Total Cost per Annum.		Amount of earnings per Annum.		Cost of each Inmate per Annum.		Earnings of each Inmate per Annum.		Net Cost of each Inmate per Annum.	
		Dols.	Cents.	Dols.	Cents.	Dols.	Cents.	Dols.	Cents.	Dols.	Cents.	Dols.	Cents.	Dols.	Cents.
32nd Annual Report, New York, ...	B. & G. 477	9,119	51	19	11	42,005	73	13,414	06	85	05	28	96	56	08
29th " Philadelphia White Department, ...	Do. 244	5,886	86	24	12	27,066	32	2,429	49	95	18	9	95	85	23
29th " Colored Department, ...	Do. 123	3,098	00	25	10	11,012	32	2,606	72	87	41	21	19	66	22
10th " State Reform School, Westboro', Mass., ...	B. 545	10,673	86	19	58	47,392	93	7,794	07	83	32	14	30	69	02
8th " Report, Rochester, N. Y., ...	B. 330	8,345	60	25	20	31,500	00	12,000		96	00	36	36	59	64
6th " Cincinnati, Ohio, ...	B. & G. 228	6,910	00	30	30	26,279	38	2,137	88	122	00	9	27	112	63
6th " Providence, R. J., ...	B. & G. 143	8,859	00	25	10	15,345	72	2,559	06	91	00	17	89	73	11
3rd " Pittsburgh, Penn., ...	B. & G. 192	6,190	00	32	24	13,500	00	4,863	62	115	00	25	33	89	67
3rd " Cape Elizabeth, Maine, ...	B. 208	4,932	00	23	71	24,601	47	2,866	00	90	00	13	79	76	21
10th " New Orleans, Louisiana, ...	B. & G. 200	5,500	00	27	50	18,000	00	1,200	00	90	00	6	00	84	00
3rd " St. Louis, Missouri, ...	B. & G. 121	4,968	26	41	06	16,232	00	4,684	54	119	00	38	71	80	29
5th " West Meriden, Conn., ...	B. 170	4,432	96	26	07	14,000	00	1,435	28	94	00	8	43	85	57
House of Reformation, S. Boston, ...	B. 158	360	00	8	6	Not stated.		1,500	00	90	00	9	49	80	51*
Boston Asylum and Farm School, at Thompson Island, ...	B. 100	2,300	00	23	00	Not stated.		Nothing but labor on farm.		90	00	Nothing.		90	00*
1st Report State in School at Lancaster, Mass., ...	G. 76	3,900	00	51	31	13,000		No income from labor.				Nothing.		Of Actual cost no report	
1st Report Chicago Reform School, State of Illinois, ...	B. 67	2,272	00	33	91	3605	07	No income from labor.		109	24	Nothing.		109	24†
6th Annual Report, Baltimore House of Refuge, Maryland, for 13 months opened, ...	B. & G. 148	3,576	00	24	16	19,211	00	No income from labor.		100	00	Nothing.		100	00†

It will be seen by this table there is a great difference in the cost of supporting Inmates in these several Institutions. This, in a great measure, is owing to the different modes of management. By referring to the Report of the Committee on Statistics, in the proceedings of the Convention, folio 83, on the third page of Table A., it will be noticed whence they derive their support. The most of them are from State or City Government. If, by the State, the Legislature has the appointment of managers; if, by the city councils, and private contributors, they are managed by representatives from each body; or, if they derive their support from the city, county, or town only, they have the management as they please to direct.

* These two Institutions are always limited in number.

† These three Institutions, but recently organized and just commenced operations, their Reports do not yet show any earnings.

To those interested in the history of American Reformatories we recommend a paper entitled, *American Reformatory Institutions*, printed in the twenty-eighth number of this REVIEW. Mr. Adshead's paper, on the cost of English Reformatories, is as follows :—

Reformatories and Ragged and Industrial Schools have at length become national institutions, and are now recognised and carried on under parliamentary sanction and minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education. Each year's experience gives an increased understanding of the question, "What is to be done with the dangerous and vagrant classes?" A large number of young persons also, for whom no suitable provision had formerly been made, are now brought within the range of Ragged and Industrial Schools' Regulations.

An enlarged development of the various agencies now in operation cannot fail in time to a diminishing of the number of our criminal classes—Reformatories and Industrial Schools being essentially preventive institutions.

It has been a subject of common observation, that the youthful criminal almost inevitably becomes an old and hardened offender. There is a criminal community within our population, acting as by natural laws, altogether antagonistic to well-ordered society.

It has been generally considered by jurists, that there is but little hope of reclaiming the hardened adult transgressor, whose very element of existence is dissipation, profligacy, and crime. How is the swelling current to be diminished in its volume and to be narrowed in its course? How is the sapling to be made to yield before it becomes the stubborn plant.

Our Reformatories and Industrial Schools are pre-eminently adapted to check the current of crime at its source; to bend the young sapling, and to train it to bring forth the fruits of industry and good conduct, instead of the noxious fruits of infamy and vice.

I have a lively recollection of the feeling of concern manifested upon the question of Houses of Refuge and Reformatories and entertained by benevolent minds, twenty years ago. I had visited the Houses of Refuge in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and other parts of the United States, and had followed somewhat in the track of the late estimable William Crawford, the inspector of prisons for the home district, and the inquiry then was—"What can be done to establish similar institutions in this country?" Parkhurst was the result of that consideration, as an experimental institution, promoted mainly by Mr. Crawford, in conjunction with the late Rev. Whitworth Russell, and (the then Captain) now Colonel Jebb. The work comparatively slumbered, so far as to practical results, for some years.

The old Philanthropic Society, in St. George's Fields, London, was doing in a limited degree the work of reformation of juvenile delinquents; but youthful criminality kept annually increasing, and no salutary and renovating antidote was provided to arrest the moral malady.

A problem had to be solved ; the subject had to be fully grappled with ; benevolent minds gave themselves to the consideration of the question, and there will, I think, be but one opinion, that the interesting proceedings of the Birmingham Conference of 1851, with also the important inquiries instituted by the Parliamentary Committee of 1852, upon juvenile delinquency and neglected and vagrant children, gave a new and increased impulse and direction to those feelings of benevolent solicitude which had been cherished for the adoption and carrying out of plans for youthful reclamation.

The 17th & 18th Vict. cap. 86, of 1854, was the first general legislative enactment passed for the general advancement of Reformatory establishments, and which so importantly supplemented voluntary and benevolent efforts, and placed the institutions certified under its provisions upon a satisfactory basis.

It could scarcely be expected that in the first formation of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, there should be at once a completeness in their general economy. Bands of benevolent individuals determined upon establishing these preventive institutions. Funds had to be raised, buildings to be provided, suitable supervision and management to be procured, and thus the managers or boards would have gradually to feel their way, and by degrees to establish more efficiently their principles of action in carrying on these institutions ; nor could a uniform principle of action be well adopted, as is evident—place and circumstance having their influence upon economical results.

As, however, there is now a number of institutions, reformatory, and industrial, established, and which have the advantage of becoming acquainted with each other's operations, it may therefore not be unprofitable to make some inquiry into their general proceedings, or rather to make a few contrasts as to the comparative economy of several of the leading Reformatories, and also in relation to several Ragged Industrial Feeding Schools. Such inquiries may present views upon some points as to what to avoid, what to correct, or what to adopt—it being a most important element in the practical working of the institutions under review, to accomplish the largest amount of good at the smallest amount of cost, compatible with efficient working.

To develop more fully the subject of this paper, I propose to direct attention to the following topics in relation to Reformatories and Ragged Schools :—Their sources of income ; expenditure for supervision ; maintenance, and industrial results—with some suggestions and general reflections ; and be it to the honour of our country, that so large an amount of benevolent and voluntary agency is employed in working out the salutary results of these institutions. To this voluntary supervising agency may be ascribed that large measure of success which has attended the means employed—a sympathy not purchaseable by money. Enlisted amongst those who have taken a foremost part in the promotion of such institutions are to be found peers of the realm, members of parliament, clergymen, ministers of religion of various denominations, the various classes of professional men, merchants, and other sections of the community ; not passing by the devoted labours of many ladies, who have most earnestly

aided in the good work ;—all these marking with benevolent concern the welfare of the institutions under notice, and uniting for their promotion and advancement.

Important results must attend such powerful and influential combinations.

With those who take a practical part in the working of Reformatory Institutions, expenditure is a natural subject of inquiry. What the cost per head of each inmate ? What the amount per annum for superintendence, &c. ? What towards self-support by labour results ?

Such information can only be obtained by a reference to the published reports of the institutions ; with some of these documents it is not easy to come to a satisfactory conclusion. Regarding several establishments, inquiry is stopped at the very threshold—no average number being given of attendance through the year ; and the various kinds of outlay are so mixed up, that distinctive classes of expenditure cannot be clearly defined for comparison with the expenditure of other institutions. Some of the annual accounts end in March, others in June, others at the end of the year. It would be highly desirable could a uniform system be adopted in the classification of the various kinds of expenditure, with the average number of attendances through the year. By these means, comparisons could be readily made as to the economical working of the institutions. Out of about eighty reports before me, not one-third have furnished their annual statements in a manner to enable the writer to obtain information as to the cost per head of the inmates, of the respective Reformatories.

There is, however, sufficient information contained in the periodical reports of some of the institutions to indicate their comparative economy.

The Red Hill Institution appears to present itself as the starting point. Since its altered constitution in 1850, it has become essentially a Reformatory establishment—is considered the Anglo-Mettray, has received unequalled patronage and support—and has had the advantage of the lengthened experience of its late resident chaplain and superintendent, the Rev. S. Turner.

Red Hill is presented to the public attention as the model Reformatory establishment. On this ground, and from its general operations, it is natural that it should come more especially under review, and from which important information should be obtainable for the guidance of the inexperienced as to the necessary outlay or expenditure in the commencing and also in the carrying on of similar institutions.

The classes of expenditure, for simplicity of arrangement, are brought out under the following heads :—Salaries, house incidentals, provisions, clothing, and miscellaneous charges. These respective items will indicate the *pro rata* charge per head—a plan adopted with much clearness in the Kingswood Reformatory report.

For this purpose, it is proposed to notice the following ten Institutions :—

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Red Hill, Reigate. | 7. Kingswood, Bristol. |
| 2. Glasgow Reformatory. | 8. North Eastern, Newcastle-on-Tyne. |
| 3. Home in the East, London. | 9. Akbar Ship, Liverpool. |
| 4. Castle Howard, near York. | 10. Red Lodge (Girls), Bristol. |
| 5. Hardwicke, Gloucester. | |
| 6. Hampshire Reformatory. | |

The ordinary receipts and expenditure only are supplied. No particulars in details of farming or manufacturing operations are given, but credit for profit from labour when shown in the account.

To preserve the text of this paper in some degree of consecutive order without the interference of statistical and financial data, in the following ten Reformatories I have only presented the total net cost per inmate, and must refer for the particular classification of items of receipts and expenditure to note A, in which will be found the abstracts of annual statements, and also miscellaneous receipts and expenditure *in detail*—these furnishing an approximate view sufficiently near to indicate the comparative charges under similar headings, by which their economical relations may be readily contrasted. One example only, as an illustration of the classified form.

Red Hill Reformatory, Report, 1858. Average attendance in 1857, 277 boys.

ORDINARY RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	Per head per annum. £	s.	d.
Subscriptions and donations*	433	18	11	1	11	3
Government grant for maintenance and emigration.....	7813	3	4	28	4	1
County Association.....	295	16	1	—		
Parents and friends of inmates.....	173	1	0	0	12	3
Cr. " Surplus of Farm, &c.".....	274	16	1	0	19	10

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House incidentals.....	994	6	3	3	11	5
Salaries, wages, and provisions.....	4429	14	0	16	6	3
Clothing, washing and sewing.....	867	11	0	3	2	8
Miscellaneous charges.....	951	11	11	3	8	9

Net cost, £25 4s. 10d. per annum, or 9s. 8d. per week.

Provision was also made this year (1857) by the Redhill Reformatory for the emigration of 66 boys, at a cost of £1374 5s. 6d. or £20 16s. 4d. per head. £147 9s. 3d. was also expended in apprenticing lads, but no number is given.

* This amount does not fairly indicate the average amount of subscriptions and donations. The two previous years they were as follows:—1855, £659 2s. 9d. 1856, annual subscriptions and donations less expenses of public dinner; &c. £1585 19s. 5d. The report for 1857, refers to the very liberal donations of £1000 per William Gladstone, Esq., the respected treasurer of the institution, for the erection of another house for 40 inmates, upon the Mettray family principle.

- No. 1. Red Lodge Bristol Reformatory. Report, 1857. Average attendance, 1856—56 girls. Net cost per head per annum, £14 5s. 9d., or 5s. 8d. per week.
- No. 2. Glasgow Reformatory. Report, 1858. Average attendance, 1857—382 boys. Net cost per head per annum, £15 8s. 9d. or 5s. 11d. per week.
- No. 3. Hampshire Reformatory. Report, 1858. Average attendance, 1857—35 boys. Net cost per head per annum £19 5s. 2d. or 7s. 3d. per week.
- No. 4. Hardwicke (Gloucester) Reformatory. Report, 1858. Average attendance, 1857—35 boys. Net cost per head per annum. £20 14s. 3d.
- No. 5. Home in the East London. Report, 1858. Average attendance, 1857—47 boys. Net cost per head per annum, £21 11s. 6d. or 8s. 3d. per week.
- No. 6. The School Frigate, "Akbar" Report, 1858. Average attendance, 1858—95 boys. Net cost per head per annum, £23 5s. 8d., or 9s. 1d. per week.
- No. 7. North Eastern Reformatory, Report, 1858. Average attendance, 1857—64 boys. Net cost per head per annum, £23 6s. 10d. or 9s. 1d. per week.
- No. 8. Kingswood (Bristol) Reformatory, Report, 1857. Average attendance, 1856—47 boys. Net cost per head per annum, £23 17s. 8d., or 9s. 2d. per week, deducting labour.
- No. 9. Red Hill Reformatory. Report, 1858. Average attendance, 1857—277 boys. Net cost per head per annum, £25 4s. 10d. or 9s. 8d. per week.
- No. 10. Castle Howard Reformatory. Report, 1858. Average attendance, 1856-7, 35 boys. Net cost per head per annum, £25 6s. 3d., or 9s. 8d. per week.

The foregoing statement are the briefest references that could be given in showing the cost per head results of the ten Reformatories. The classified statement of the receipts and expenditure, with the miscellaneous details as shown in note A. will not be considered altogether as a perfect index of the nature of the entire working of the reformatory system. The accounts in the manner there supplied are the first which have been furnished in a collected and tabulated form, and are given more *as examples*, and as to *their extent*, as an approximation to what may be deemed as the result of reformatory operations, and which may be briefly commented upon under various heads commencing with

SOURCES OF INCOME.—SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

Hardwicke, 32l. 13s. ; Red Lodge Girls' Reformatory, 160l. 15s. ; Kingswood Bristol Reformatory, 206l. 11s. ; Home in the East, 409l. 17s. 11d. ; Red Hill, 433l. 8s. 11d. ; Hampshire, 502l. 14s. ; Castle Howard, 538l. 8s. 3d. ; Eastern Sunderland, 632l. 15s. 7d. ; Akbar School Frigate, 1163l. 0s. 6d. ; total, 4080l. 4s. 2d.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS PRO RATA PER HEAD FOR THE YEAR, AVERAGING AS UNDER.

	Boys.	Per head for the Year. £ s. d.		Boys.	Per head for the Year. £ s. d.
Glasgow, 382		nil	North Eastern, 64		6 15 3
Hardwicke, 35		0 18 8	Home in the East, 47		8 14 0
Red Hill, 277		1 11 3	Akbar ship, 95		12 4 10
Red Lodge Girls, 56		2 17 5	Hampshire, 35		14 7 3
Kingswood, 47		4 7 10	Castle Howard, 35		15 16 6

It will be perceived there is considerable difference in the amounts received, the lowest being at the rate of 18s. 8d. per head, the highest, 15l. 16s. 6d. per head. The sum total of subscriptions and donations for the ten Reformatories is 4080l. 4s. 2d. or at the average rate of 3l. 16s. 1d. per head per annum, for 1075 inmates, as indicated in the table.

It may be urged that taking the reports for one year is scarcely a fair criterion as to the amount of benevolent contributions to the respective institutions noticed; but it will be admitted that the year quoted is as fair for one institution as another; and the same objection might be urged against the selection of any particular year. The principle adopted has been to give a transcript of the receipts and expenditure of *the latest reports* obtainable, whatever results they might show, either favourable or otherwise.

SOURCES OF INCOME.—THE TREASURY—THE COMMITTEE OF PRIVY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION.

From the Treasury.—Home in the East, 205l. 3s. 7d. ; Hardwicke, 631l. 9s. 3d. ; North Eastern, 1121l. 15s. ; Hampshire, 438l. 19s. 3d. ; Kingswood, 838l. 15s. 1d. ; Akbar, Liverpool, 1995l. 2s. 9d. ; Castle Howard, 627l. 11s. 9d. ; Red Lodge, 874l. 10s. ; Glasgow Reformatory, 4988l. 8s. 5d. ; Red hill, 7813l. 3s. 4d.

From the Committee of Privy Council on education.—Hardwicke, 61l. 11s. 2d. ; Castle Howard, 95l. 17s. 11d. ; Home in the East-322l. 9s. 3d. ; Red Lodge, 76l. 6s. 8d. ; Kingswood, 98l. 2s. ; Glasgow Reformatory, 1792l. 16s. ; North Eastern, 95l. ; Akbar Ship, 273l. 7s. 6d.

TOTAL SUMS received from “The Treasury” and Committee of Privy Council on Education.

	Boys.	Per head for the Year. £ s. d.		Boys.	Per head for the Year. £ s. d.
Home in the East, 47		11 14 3	Kingswood, 47		19 18 4
Hampshire Reformatory, 35		12 10 0	Castle Howard, 35		20 13 6
Red Lodge Girls, 56		16 9 4	North Eastern, 64		20 16 3
Glasgow, 382		17 14 2	Akbar Ship, 95		23 17 5
Hardwicke, 35		19 15 7	Red Hill, 277		28 4 1

The Treasury allowance is the main element of support to the Reformatory system, and very properly so. It could never be expected that both the cost and the supervision of the youthful delinquents of the country were to be thrown upon the voluntary contributions and the voluntary agency of the benevolent portions of the community. Voluntary benevolence commenced, and has largely carried out, the long-needed operations of our Reformatory Institutions, and the Legislature both timely and wisely supplement their benevolent effort by the provisions of the 17 & 18 Vict. cap. 86, under the power of which 7s. per week per inmate, or 18*l.* 4*s.* per annum, is paid by the State to duly-certified Reformatories.

The amount furnished by the government to the ten Reformatories was 19,534*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*, or at the rate of 18*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* per institution, (or a very near approximation in the average number of the treasury allowance), and 2815*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, or 2*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* per head, from the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, making a total amount of 22,349*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*, or 20*l.* 16*s.* per head per annum. There is a great disparity in the amounts received from the sources referred to. The lowest amount received from the Treasury is 4*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*, ranging to 28*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* per head per annum.

There are those who refer disparagingly to the operations of voluntary benevolence, because it has not been enabled to afford entire support to the preventative institutions under review. Without entering upon the general question, as to what voluntary effort should do, or what may be considered as not coming within the scope of its operations, it might as well be expected that voluntary effort should supply the means to provide for the police of the country, or for the sustentation of our Gaols. Reformatories are places of detention for youthful criminal; but their *regime* and discipline are better adapted than those of our Gaols to accomplish *the true intent* of salutary punitive treatment, viz.—the reclamation of the offender; and happily, under the Reformatory system, there is a combination of influences peculiarly suited to the attainment of that object, which our common gaol system does not and cannot supply.

There is another subject, under the head of “receipts,” to which reference may be made. It is the quota contributed by parents of inmates of Reformatories, which appear under two classifications—voluntary and compulsory.

PARENTS AND FRIENDS.

Red Hill, Reigate	...	...	...	...	£173	0	0
Home in the East	...	...	...	...	84	9	6
Hampshire	...	...	...	..	39	2	0
Kingswood	...	...	...	...	11	2	4
North Eastern	...	...	...	...	1	13	6
Red Lodge	...	...	...	...	18	1	9
					<hr/>		
					£327 9 1		

PARENTS BY COMPULSORY PAYMENTS.

Red Lodge, per H. M., Inspector of Reformatories,.....	£44	7	0
Akbar Ship School, per magistrates' order,.....	35	2	6
<hr/>			
£79 9 6			

Or a total of 406*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*, being, upon the entire number 1075, an average ratio of 7*s.* 7*d.* per head per annum, or less than 2*d.* per week.

The enforcement of parental obligations to support their own offspring is one of the most important elements in carrying out the Reformatory system; and it is to be regretted that the pecuniary results of that enforcement, as shown above, are so excessively diminutive. There are profligate and abandoned parents (as may not be unfrequently seen by the police reports in the public prints), that appear to claim a right to send their neglected children to Reformatory institutions; and it will well become the executive boards of managers of Reformatories to aid in every possible way the rigid enforcement of the following clause, in the 17 & 18 Vict. cap, 87, sec, 2, which runs as follows:—

“In every case in which any juvenile offender shall be detained in a Reformatory School, under the said Act, the parent or step-parent, if of sufficient ability, shall be liable to contribute to his support and maintenance, a sum not exceeding five shillings a week; and it shall be lawful in England and Wales for any two justices of the peace, upon the complaint of any person authorized by one of her Majesty’s principal Secretaries of State, to take proceedings in that behalf, to summon the parent or step-parent, as the case may be, and examine into his or her ability, and (if, on consideration of all the circumstances of the case, they think fit), to make an order on him or her for such weekly payment, not exceeding five shillings per week, as they think reasonable, during the whole or any part of the detention of such juvenile offender in such Reformatory School; such payment to be made at such times as by such order may be directed, to the person so authorized to take proceedings as aforesaid; or to such person as the Secretary of State may, from time to time, appoint to receive the same; and by him to be accounted for and paid as the Commissioners of her Majesty’s Treasury may direct.”

In the return made to the House of Commons, there is shown the amounts compulsorily received by weekly payments, from the parents of Reformatory inmates, by Mr. Turner, the Reformatory Inspector, and previously by Mr. Morgan, of Birmingham:—

Number of parents against whom authority has been taken for proceeding, from 31st March, 1857, ending 31st March, 1858. 					605
Number of such parents under contribution the 31st March, 1858. 					292
Amount of contributions received during the twelve months, ending March 31st 					£629 12 8

Of the 605 persons against whom proceedings were authorized, 16 resided in London, 106 in Manchester, 47 in Birmingham, 24 in Leeds, 15 in Newcastle, 14 in Hull, and the remainder, in Sheffield, Bolton. Huddersfield, Ashton, Stalybridge, Coventry, Bedford, Norwich, Bristol, Falmouth, &c.; in all, 53 places.

The amount received is 629*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*, at the rate of 5*d.* per week per head.

It is not so much the large amount (although profligate parents should not be spared), obtainable from the parents, as its being extensively known amongst the dissolute class, that they are not, with impunity, to cast their children upon the public without being liable for their support—that either to pay or go to prison is before them.

This, determinedly carried out, may have a deterring influence.

The items of expenditure, under the various classifications shown in the statements given, will not fail to receive attention. A discreet economy should pervade all institutions such as those under notice; but no specific rule can be laid down. There are general charges which are more or less incidental to locality and circumstance; but in the “maintenance” economy much depends upon the governor or matron of the institution, as to a due regard to economise, both as to the purchase and consumption of the articles for maintenance. In the expenditure, “provisions” form a prominent feature, and under this head, there will also be a considerable diversity in the amounts; but as some institutions board portions (or it may be the whole) of their officers and staffs, thus lessening in amount the salaries and wages’ ratios, and proportionably increasing the “provisions” expenses, it is, therefore, deemed more fair to take under a distinct head, these two-fold classes of expenditure, showing, at the same time, the relative ratios of each kind of expenditure of each respective institution:—

SALARIES, WAGES, AND PROVISIONS.

NAMES.	No. of Boys	Salaries and Wages.			Per Head, for the Year.			Provisions.			Per Head, for the Year.			Totals, for Salaries, Wages, and Provisions.			Per Head, for the Year.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Glasgow Reformatory . . .	382	799	15	0	2	7	7	2169	14	4	5	5	11	2265	4	4	7	7	6
Red Lodge, Bristol (Girls)	56	155	16	6	2	15	7	312	10	6	5	11	7	468	7	0	8	7	2
Hampshire, Bristol	35	236	6	0	6	7	7	193	13	6	5	10	6	429	19	6	11	18	1
Hardwicke, Gloucester . . .	35	107	0	0	3	1	3	318	19	2	9	1	11	425	9	2	12	3	0
Kingswood, Bristol	47	285	1	0	6	1	4	379	9	5	8	1	4	665	10	5	14	2	8
Home in the East, London	47	408	17	11	8	14	0	520	16	8	6	16	6	729	14	7	15	10	6
North-Eastern, Newcastle- on-Tyne	64	441	17	5	6	17	11	578	17	1	9	0	9	1020	5	3	15	18	8
Red Hill, Reigate	277	1187	5	0	4	5	0	3342	9	2	12	1	3	4529	14	2	16	6	2
Akbar Frigate, Liverpool . .	95	711	18	2	7	9	10	899	12	3	9	9	4	1611	10	5	16	19	2
Castle Howard, near York	35	261	15	4	7	9	7	342	3	5	9	15	6	503	18	9	17	5	0

The preceding table, it will be perceived, ranges, for salaries and wages and provisions from 7*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* to 17*l.* 5*s.* per head per inmate: the Glasgow Reformatory, an old-established one (1838), with its large number of 382; and the Castle Howard Reformatory, of recent establishment (1855), with only 35 inmates.

PROFIT FOR LABOUR.

A brief notice only need be taken of this item. The following are the results, as drawn from the respective reports; and as there is somewhat of perplexity in defining, with distinctness, the labour profit of the field and the workshop, the following must be considered about as near an approximation as can be gathered from the state-

ments furnished. The reports of succeeding years, it is hoped, will furnish these labour results with more clearness. The following are the amounts for the year of the respective institutions:—

Kingswood, 7*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.*; Castle Howard, 10*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*; Hampshire, 13*l.* 6*d.* 2*d.*; Red Lodge, 30*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.*; Home in the East, 54*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.*; Hardwicke, 55*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*; North Eastern, 56*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*; Akbar Ship, Liverpool, 95*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.*; Red Hill, 274*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.*; Glasgow Reformatory, 616*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.*

The following gives *pro rata* “profit from labour,” results per head for the year;—

Per head for the year.				Per head for the year.			
Boys.	£	s.	d.	Boys,	£	s.	d.
Kingswood, 47	0	2	11	Red Hill, 277	0	18	9
Castle Howard, 35	0	6	6	Akbar Ship, 95	1	0	2
Hampshire, 35	0	7	10	Home in the East 47	1	3	5
Red Lodge East, 56	0	11	0	Hardwicke, 35	1	11	5
North Eastern, 64	0	17	9	Glasgow, 382	1	12	3

Some reformatories might be referred to, showing a loss in the labour result. All the above are on the credit side of the accounts in their respective degrees.

Industrial labour is a branch of Reformatory economy, to be encouraged and promoted as much as possible; but it is not easy to determine the class of employment most likely to be useful to the reformatory *détenu*, or profitable to the institution. It should also be borne in mind the ages and peculiar class of children brought under the influence of Reformatory discipline. In the Red Hill report for 1858, is shown the ages of young persons admitted for 1857, and illustrates the class to be wrought upon;—

1	4	22	29	40	84	4
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	8 to 10	11 to 12	12 to 13	13 to 14	14 to 15	over 15

There is not only their morally degraded state, but also, with many, their physical condition has to be regarded. From the ages indicated, will it not appear that there must be combined in the Reformatory Institutions the moral training of the School, as well as the employment of the workshops and the farm? A régime truly calculated to promote the best intention of the promoters of the Reformatory system, in the reclamation of the youthful transgressor, and to fit him for obtaining, by honest industry, his own support, either in this country, or in some distant region.

In reviewing the operations of the few Reformatory Institutions to which some attention has been directed, there is much to encourage: but there is a very material element in connection with their operations that must not be overlooked. It is the great importance of retaining in connexion with such Institutions, *the voluntary supervising agency*, the value of which cannot be too highly appreciated. It is the vital influence which permeates throughout all the organizations and arrangements of Reformatory managements to a degree so salu-

tary and advantageous. Withdraw the warm-hearted earnest zeal of the devoted voluntary friends, from the supervision of our Reformatories, and they would become mere places of detention, but little better than gaols, for the youthful delinquent, instead of what they are pre-eminently proving to be—houses of reform—a blessing to their inmates—and an extended benefit to the community.

GERMAN PRISONS.

At the Liverpool meeting of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, a paper, by the Recorder of Birmingham, "On the Treatment of Criminals in certain States of Germany," was read by Lord BROUGHAM, in the absence of the writer. In the summer of the present year, Mr. Hill made a short visit to Germany, and the promptings of his philanthropic nature induced him to render the temporary release from the cares of his judicial office subservient to the interests of humanity, by an endeavour to extend our knowledge in respect to the position of the convict question in that country. The results were described in the communication before mentioned, which has been printed, together with the interlocutory observations of the noble and learned reader, for private circulation. Mr. Hill, in his valuable work, entitled "Suggestions for the Repression of Crime," and the reports of Parliamentary committees, had directed attention to the successful system of discipline pursued for many years by Governor Obermaier in the State Prison, at Munich; and the principal motive of his recent enquiries appears to have been to test the validity of certain objections urged against it by Dr. Mittermaier, Professor of Criminal Law at the University of Heidelberg, in a recent publication on the subject of "Prison Improvements." Mr. Hill found, from intercourse with him, that the Professor's adverse strictures were not based upon personal observation, but in part upon "hearsay," and in part likewise upon the discussion of documents submitted to the Bavarian Legislature. Mr. Hill, as might have been expected, was not disposed to accept such questionable testimony, and accordingly he betook himself to the Gaol at Munich, a searching examination of which vindicated the encomiums passed upon it:—

"The great end which the Governor pursues with unwearied assiduity is the reformation of his prisoners. To effect this object, he engages them in manual labour, applied to various arts and manufactures; so as to employ each individual according to his previous habits of life, or his capacity, mental and bodily. The prisoners

are urged to industry and good conduct by rewards and punishments. So far as the law permits, their treatment is mild, and the Governor aims to act more by encouragement than by severity. Kindness as distinguished from indulgence, is the characteristic of his regulations. Indeed, the law in Bavaria is sufficiently harsh. The terms of imprisonment are of enormous length. Two prisoners were brought in from a distant gaol while I was present. One had been twenty years in confinement, the other twenty-four. To come under the care of Obermaier must, if I may judge from their appearance, be a happy change for them. Their countenance and bearing were those of men from whom life had been almost crushed out by a routine of gloomy and monotonous existence. Much to the Governor's regret, his prisoners wear chains; his power of rewarding exemplary conduct being limited to a diminution of the weight of these revolting appendages. In rare instances, however, as a reward for good conduct long continued, individuals are relieved of their chains by royal command.

"His prison answers in some respects to the convict prisons of England and Ireland. None of the inmates remain for a less term than six years. After that period, a certain limited discretion is allowed to him of recommending well-conducted prisoners for pardon, which recommendations are always acted upon by the authorities. Notwithstanding the rigors imposed by the law, many of the prisoners appeared healthy, and a large proportion of them had lost that repulsive expression which marks the face of the criminal in the lower stages of discipline."

So far no controversy arises between the Governor and the Professor, but the latter, in common with other influential persons, is the advocate of the separate system, which the former is not. Nor, indeed, has he the means of adopting it were he so disposed, the Bavarian Ministry having avowed their inability to incur the expense which the proposed change would entail. Mr. Hill's own views are in favour of a middle course. He says:—

"To separate the prisoner from his fellows at the commencement of his incarceration is, I hold, most desirable; nor would I give him associates until both he and they had manifested a steady desire for self-improvement, and a capacity for acting, to some extent, on their better aspirations. But looking upon him as hereafter to be returned to society, I cannot believe it wise, and herein Dr. Mittermaier agrees with me, to deprive him of companions up to the moment when he is again launched into the world—a period at which he will be called upon all at once to resist, by his own strength, influences from which he has been artificially guarded for years, and to resume the fulfilment of social duties so long suspended."

The Governor, moreover, is accused of having recourse to the practice of espionage, because he holds it to be the duty of

the prisoners to inform him of any misconduct on the part of their fellows. Such information being given, he proceeds to a public examination of the case in the nature of a trial, and the accused is convicted or acquitted according to the evidence; no benefit whatever accruing to the accuser for executing his invidious office. Much stress is laid upon the revengeful feelings to which the regulation is calculated to give rise, because in the course of the fourteen years during which it has been acted upon, three cases have occurred in which the accused has risen upon the accuser and murdered him; but Mr. Hill does not see anything very conclusive in the fact of such a number of cases of extreme violence having occurred in that length of time, in an establishment containing from 550 to 600 convicts. Mr. Hill justly remarks that here the essential ingredient in a spy system—"advantage operating by way of bribe upon the accuser, whereby a motive is created to inveigle the accused into the commission of an offence, or to fabricate evidence against him in order to sustain a false charge"—is absent. He adds:—

"That such a regulation does not become a dead letter, furnishes to my mind cogent evidence that the moral tone of the prison is high. To suppose that an individual prisoner unbribed, and yet not impelled by a sense of duty, he having no other possible motive, personal spite excepted, would step out from the throng to denounce a comrade, is to suppose that he would encounter the scorn and hatred of the community to which he belongs, without any motive. Before he moves he will require the support of public opinion, which will be against, and not with him, unless the moral sentiment of the general body is in favour of the proceeding which he is about to commence; his public being composed of his fellow-prisoners. If this be the true light in which to regard the regulation in question, it should be looked upon not as an objection to the Governor's discipline, but as an invaluable test of efficiency in the moral training of the prisoners. And I cannot but believe that the first indication of the tone having become relaxed would be that the Governor and his officers were left to find out delinquents by their own unaided efforts."

From answers with which Mr. Hill was two years ago furnished by the Minister of the Interior, it appears that the average of reformed prisoners is from seventy to eighty per cent.—"perhaps more." He believes that these figures do not differ materially from the truth; and assuming that the success which is officially claimed for the training of the Munich prison has been established, he thinks that we may look upon the Governor's practice as a long series of experi-

ments in reformatory training, of great value in aiding us to separate the essential conditions of reformation from those which are either merely accidental, or at best only auxiliary, or what are demanded by some peculiarity arising out of the race, or nation, or class, to which the prisoners may belong.

The following translation of a passage in Professor Mittermaier's book is given by Mr. Hill in an appendix :—

“ As to recent improvements, it should be mentioned that two special institutions have been erected for juvenile criminals, and that at the house for compulsory labour at Kaisheim, the following system has been successfully introduced. Prisoners who had behaved well, and whose term of imprisonment will expire in from four to ten months, are put to agricultural labour with the use of the spade ; and again, about fifty prisoners have, for the last four years been employed in the manufacture of agricultural machines and implements; this system has so good an effect upon the health, and also upon the morals of the prisoners, that in the whole of the country around, such prisoners as have been employed either in agricultural labours, or in the manufacture of machines, are gladly taken into service, and confidence rises so much the higher as but few instances of relapse occur.”

The following passage from Mr. Hill's paper is most interesting; to those who had the great pleasure of hearing the paper read by Lord Brougham, it will be doubly interesting ; as being the part at which, when he had come to the reading of it, the genuine man broke out, and the veteran worker in the cause of humanity was overcome by the detail of noble self-denial, and of entire devotion to good works in aid of the fallen fellow-man. Mr. Hill writes as follows :—

“ Although I had no opportunity of visiting other prisons, I had the great advantage of two long interviews with Dr. Wichern, the distinguished founder of the Rauhe Haus, near Hamburg, whom the King of Prussia has lately appointed Chief Inspector of Gaols throughout his dominions. The difficulties in Prussia, arising out of the laws which regulate punishments and prisons, and the present state of opinion among official men, are such as to offer very serious obstacles to improvement. Dr. Wichern, however, has struck out a most happy expedient for gradually introducing the required changes. At the Rauhe Haus, in addition to the juvenile outcasts of both sexes who are cherished in this establishment, Dr. Wichern opens its doors to earnest and disinterested young men, who seek him with the intention of devoting their lives to the good of others. Members of this body, who feel a vocation to Reformatory labours, he sends, after a training of three years, to the Prussian gaols to fill the inferior offices within their walls as vacancies occur. They reject no duties, however servile, attached to the post to which they may be appointed.

They are instructed to act on the minds and hearts of the prisoners ; but rather by kindness of manner, and by the example of self-sacrifice and unsullied moral conduct, than by precept or exhortation, which might be deemed an encroachment on offices filled by others.

Dr. Wichern has a lively and, I trust, a well-founded belief, that the unassuming labours of these devoted men, all acting under the impulse of strong religious convictions, will work a silent amelioration in the prevailing spirit of the intercourse between the prisoner and those under whose controul he is placed, by proving the superior efficacy of gentle treatment as compared with harshness of demeanour ; and thus a foundation will be laid for a gradually arising superstructure, combining all which a wise benevolence can desire. It is impossible to contemplate so noble an enterprise without emotion. Doubtless it will have the cordial wishes of this audience for its triumphant success !”

PHOTOGRAPHS AS A MEANS OF DISCOVERING RUNAWAYS FROM GAOLS AND REFORMATORIES—It has frequently been urged upon the consideration of Magistrates and Judges, and indeed we might add upon the Legislature, that if Photographs were taken of those sent to Gaol or to Reformatories on admission, very considerable good would result from the practice. First, the child or man would see what he was when he entered, and by comparing himself six months or twelve months later with what he was at the time of entry, he would judge for himself, if well disposed, how well designed was the system under which he had been placed. If any doubt this statement, they need only apply to our friend, Mr. Driver, of the Belvedere Crescent School, Hungerford Bridge, and his photographs and his experiences will soon explain the whole theory. Miss Carpenter, too, can through her experiences at the Red Lodge, prove the value of the photographs.

It is not, however, in the case of Reformatories, that those photographs are valuable : they are still more important in the case of adult criminals. Mr. Recorder Hill thus, in his evidence before the Transportation Committee of 1856, explained the whole scheme, and gave to it its true value and position.

“ 1794. Mr. *Monckton Milnes.*] Would it seem to you probable that the police could trace out accurately the locality of these ticket-of-leave men with the very limited amount of surveillance which is at present exercised with regard to them ?—I think not ; but I hardly think that it is the want of surveillance which is the great evil ; I think I can explain how the difficulty really arises, and it appears to me to be thus. For the purpose of clearness I will compare our country with France. The criminal statistics of France, as the honourable Member probably knows, are very full and accurate ; ours

are anything but full, and I fear anything but accurate. In France they have had for many years a very perfect registration of births; the name of the new-born child is not only registered but the names of his father and mother. It is therefore practically impossible to make any great use of *aliases* in France, and, in point of fact, I learn from Monsieur Demetz, with whom I have conversed very fully upon this subject, that there is no difficulty in identifying any person in France. If he is apprehended they ask him who he is; if they have any doubt of the truth of his answer they write to his place of birth, and if they find he deceives them they keep him in confinement, but do not put him upon his trial until they have ascertained who he really is; having ascertained who he really is, they then write to Paris, where all the criminal statistics are drawn into a focus, and they learn what the French call his antecedents; that is to say, they know how many times he has been convicted, and probably a great deal more about him than the dry facts of his previous convictions. But in England our system of registration of births has not been in operation for a sufficient time to enable us to do that, and if it were so we do not draw into a focus at present all the information respecting criminals all over England, so that it would not be possible by application at any office, nor probably at any number of offices, to obtain the information which is given in France. In the absence of this power, which cannot be created all at once, for the registers must have time to grow old, and Lord Brougham's Bill to establish a system of collecting and classifying judicial statistics must have time to be passed and worked upon, I have suggested, but the suggestion has not been adopted, this expedient. Captain Gardiner, the ingenious and excellent governor of the Bristol gaol, has possessed himself of a photographic apparatus, with which he takes the likeness of every one of his prisoners who he has reason to believe is a person really embarked in crime as a calling. Now he says he can produce copies for 6*d.* each. It is believed by the police that, with the exception of London, 14 copies would be all that would be required, to send them to the great resorts of criminals, namely, to towns which are likely to be visited by old offenders, who desire to hide themselves, and to go where they are not known. Several would be required, no doubt, for London; say that 20 are required in all. Therefore, at an expense of 10*s.*, not for every prisoner, but every one of a class which is well known, and can be perfectly designated by the police, you would have multiplied the portraits of all these men, and thus you would baffle their *alias*, which is now very powerful, and they would be recognised as old offenders. I may add, that I know, from cases which have come before me upon the bench, sessions after sessions, that long before the ticket-of-leave system came into operation, many veterans passed as being convicted for the first time. It is a troublesome matter to obtain the evidence of previous conviction, when the offender comes from a distance. You must not only have the certificate of his previous conviction, but you must have a witness who will swear to his identity; that is to say, one of the police of a distant town makes a long journey to come to swear that the prisoner at the bar is the man to whom the certificate applies.

1795. But would that extremely dangerous class to which you allude be a class likely to receive tickets-of-leave?—Yes, indeed ; and at all events, if they did not, the system would be equally useful upon an absolute discharge.

1196. *Chairman.*] Do you not conceive that such a system as that which you have now indicated, may be made of great advantage in the administration of criminal justice?—I do ; and I do not speak from my own opinion (which is not worth much), but from the opinions of gentlemen connected with the police, who think that it would furnish them with a very great advantage.

1797. *Mr. B. Denison.*] How would you make it evidence?—I do not propose to make it evidence, but to use it as a clue for inquiry ; for instance, I have before me a portrait of a man, and the prisoner who comes answers to that portrait, and answers to any description, which may be made to accompany that portrait, as to his height, and so forth.

1798. *Mr. Adderley.*] It is rather carrying out the description which is already given?—Exactly so. That enables me to write to the gaol where he comes from, and in that way I ascertain, before I go to the expense of sending for persons to identify him, that he is really the person he is suspected to be.

1799. *Chairman.*] You not only send such description as you can give in writing, but you send this photograph, and in that way you give greater assistance than would otherwise be given, upon the question whether that is the man or not?—Yes, and I give far greater assistance, I believe."

The following circular was largely distributed at the time it bears date, and is referred to by Mr. Hill :—

PHOTOGRAPHY AS AN AID TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

Her Majesty's Gaol, Bristol, December, 1854.

Sir,—The advantages which I have myself seen derived from the use of photography, as an aid to the administration of criminal justice, are such that I am induced to make an effort to procure its general adoption throughout the Kingdom.

The importance of being enabled in the cases of all hardened criminals, to prove previous convictions must be too self-evident to dwell upon ; neither does it require argument to show that the difficulties hitherto in the way of such proofs have been always numerous and hitherto insurmountable.

When the convict has been sent back for a second time to the same Gaol the required evidence has been easily procurable ; but it is well known to all who have been concerned in criminal administration, that the most cunning, the most skilled, and the most daring offenders, are migratory in their habits ; that they do not locate themselves in a particular town or district, but extend their ravages to wherever there is the most open field for crime, or where the chances of plunder most present themselves. That this is the case will be

attested by the police of almost every large city, whose experience will have failed to connect the most extensive and best planned robberies with their resident known thieves.

A knowledge of the foregoing truths induced me, a few years ago, to desiderate some mode by which descriptions of committed prisoners suspected of previous convictions might be circulated among the Governors of leading gaols, but numerous difficulties at first presented themselves.

Periodical visits of reception might be useful, but they would have two great disadvantages: first, they would withdraw the Governor or confidential officer too frequently from his gaol duties: and secondly, they would entail expenses which the counties could not bear; written descriptions, in very marked cases, might be effective, but, as in the great majority of instances it would be found impossible to make them sufficiently precise, they would only tend, where parties were sent to identify, to frequent disappointments and useless expense.

Photography then suggested itself to my mind, and it became at once apparent that if I could devise some means of making the operation sufficiently sudden, I might, in scores of cases, even without the knowledge of the prisoner, procure his likeness, a very iron of himself, of which, being capable of multiplication to any extent, I might transmit a copy to wherever it might promise to lead to useful results.

Twelve months continuous study of the system has enabled me to perfect it; I have now an apparatus in my gaol which I use daily. I have rendered it most subservient to the object for which it was designed, and though its use have brought to justice several hardened offenders, who, being unknown in my neighbourhood, would otherwise have escaped with inadequate punishment.

J. H. came into the Bristol gaol upon commitment for trial, a perfect stranger to me and my officers: he was well attired, but very illiterate; the state of his hands convinced me that he had not done any hard work, whilst the superiority of his apparel over his attainments led me to suspect that he was a practised thief. I forwarded his likeness to several places, and soon received information that he had been convicted in London and in Dublin. The London officer, who recognised him by his portrait, was subpoenaed as a witness, picked him out from amongst thirty or forty other prisoners, and gave evidence on his trial in October last, which led the Recorder to sentence him to six years' penal servitude.

J. D. came to gaol wholly unknown: his person and manners induced me to suspect that it was not his first appearance in a place of confinement, and having made several copies of his portrait, I sent them round to the governors of different prisons. He was recognised as having been convicted at Wells; the necessary witness was subpoenaed, his former conviction proved, and he was sentenced to four years' penal servitude.

I could mention several instances in which some most notorious thieves, strangers to this part, have been brought to proper punishment.

Such having been my own experience, I now appeal to the governors of other gaols to aid me in carrying out the system upon a broad and a national scale: the cost of an apparatus complete will not exceed ten pounds, and it may be worked at an expense of about five pounds per annum.

I have only to add my wish that you should bring this communication under the notice of your visiting justices, and to say, should the authorities of any district consider that I can help them by instructing their officers in the exercise of this most useful art, I shall be happy to do so.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

James Anthony Gardiner, Governor.

To the Governor, H. M. Gaol.

The following passage, from one of the Manchester papers of November last, will show fully the opinions of Mr. Hill are borne out by experience :—

PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE POLICE.

“ On the 30th of September two boys, who had been committed to the Manchester and Salford Reformatory, absconded, and so cleverly was their escape effected that for some time no clue whatever could be obtained to their whereabouts, although every effort was made and a detective officer employed to discover their retreat. Handbills were then circulated, offering a reward for their recovery, but still without success. It is customary to take a boy's photograph on his admission to this reformatory; and copies of those of the two absconders were last week dispatched to the principal seaports and large towns in the kingdom. On their receipt in Leeds the master of the mendicity-office immediately recognised them as having been relieved there under fictitious names, stating that they were ‘ mill hands’ from Bury, on their way to York and Hull. Communications conveying this intelligence were at once addressed to these towns, and two days afterwards they were captured at Hull by an officer, who instantly recognised them from having seen their photographs. On being brought to the police-office, they told a very plausible story, strongly denying all knowledge whatever of Manchester, or any connection with its reformatory. Suddenly the police superintendent held up before each of the boys his own photograph. Like an electric shock, the effect was instantaneous; they changed colour, and in a few moments one of them very doggedly exclaimed, ‘ I'm beaten: we'll give in now.’ A telegram was then dispatched to Manchester, and on the following day the governor safely returned with them to their proper quarters at Blackley. The criminal history of one of these boys, a native of Birmingham, is most remarkable, as well as painful. It is as follows :—

Though only seventeen years of age, he has been once in each of the following prisons under sentence :—London (five years ago,) Liverpool, Nottingham, Bristol, and one (name uncertain); twice each in Worcester, Coventry, Warwick, and Salford; three times in Stafford; five times in Birmingham, and twice in Manchester, whence

he was committed to the reformatory; in all, 23 times, exclusive of upwards of 100 apprehensions, with discharges for unproved or minor offences, committed in various towns in England. It is gratifying to state, that although 30 committed boys, principally from Manchester and Salford, and mostly constituting the cream of juvenile criminality, have been received in this reformatory in the past 12 months, and although the facilities for absconding are necessarily numerous, yet such is the moral influence exerted, united with the maintenance of strict surveillance and discipline, that (with the exception stated) not a single escape has been effected since it became a certified institution."

THE LATE REV. JOHN CLAY.

Few readers of the IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, more especially readers of THE RECORD, are unacquainted with the name, and merits, and services to his country, of the late lamented clergyman, who has so recently passed away, to a better and a far kinder world than this.

In THE RECORD of this REVIEW, for April, 1858, we wrote as follows:—

"Since the publication of our last Record we received the Rev. John Clay's final *Report* as Chaplain of the Preston House of Correction; he has retired from his office after thirty-six years of duty, discharged with an enlightened zeal which made him the most useful as he was the most distinguished of those able men holding the posts of Prison Chaplains. Mr. Frederick Hill, in his invaluable work on *Crime*, designates Mr. Clay, 'the zealous, benevolent, and able chaplain of the prison at Preston.' No description could be more true; no man has done more to aid us in solving the difficulties connected with prison discipline and the sources of crime than Mr. Clay, and he retires from his chaplaincy regretted and respected by all in these kingdoms who are interested in the noble work to which his life and genius were devoted. South tells us, 'that which makes the clergy glorious is to be knowing in their profession, unspotted in their lives, active and laborious in their charges; and lastly, to be gentle, courteous, and compassionate to all. These are our rolls and our maces, our escutcheons and highest titles of honour'—such a man as this was and is the Reverend John Clay."

The epigraph, or motto of this *Report* was as follows:—

"The vast majority of all who enter your prisons as criminals can be sent back into the world, after no unreasonable term of probation, honest men and useful citizens!"—*Speech of M.*

D. Hill, Esq., at the *Birmingham Meeting for the Promotion of Social Science*.

The *Report* was a reprint, or a resumé of the most important of Mr. Clay's papers, as those on the *Chief Causes of Crime*; *Reformatory Prison Discipline*; *Reformatory Schools*; *Hasty Prepossession of Witnesses*; *Some Results of our Discipline*; *On the effects of good and bad Times on Committals*, with a *Postscript*. These and his usual elaborate and clear *Report* made up the Reports for two years, ill-health having rendered him unable to print that for 1855, at the regular period.

He thus touchingly concludes:—

"It is not without regret that I now take leave of responsibilities which, for more than thirty-six years, it has been my anxious desire to discharge with fidelity and efficiency. Whether, under Providence, I have been in any degree successful in my aims, it is for others to pronounce. In finally withdrawing from my post, I believe myself to have yielded only to bodily weakness; but, in thus thinking, I know that I may be wrong; and, indeed in reading over the foregoing pages, I am sensible of a prolixity and egotism which betray infirmity of another kind. I would, however, plead both for these and other faults that it has been only during the intervals of freedom from pain and depression that I have felt able to commit my thoughts to writing, and use some of the materials I had collected. I have often been on the point of throwing my task altogether aside, and might have given way to the impulse, but for the fixed and deeply felt desire to prove to all who do not refuse to sympathize with a Jail Chaplain's cares and anxieties, that, among the multitude of our prisoners and outcasts, there are many—oh! *very* many—yet capable of being brought by God's grace within the Christian fold.

JOHN CLAY.

Preston, 5th January, 1858."

Mr. Clay lived but a few months after the publication of *The Report*, but amongst those interested in the study of the questions to which he had devoted his life, his memory and friendship were as dear and respected as ever: and we recall with pleasure the fact, that at the meeting of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held in Liverpool last October, there was no man more missed, no man whose presence was more sincerely desired, than that of the Rev. John Clay.

He lay sick then : like Paul Verdier, he had out-worked himself in the cause of Reformation, and like Paul Verdier he died a martyr to duty, self-imposed in many of its most arduous points. In November, the following paragraph appeared in all the newspapers :—

“ **DEATH OF THE REV. JOHN CLAY.**—This reverend gentleman, late the Chaplain of the Preston House of Correction, expired after a long illness, arising from natural decay, at Leamington, on Sunday last, in his 63rd year. The reverend gentleman resigned the chaplaincy of the gaol on the 25th June, 1857, after having filled that office nearly thirty-six years, during which time he had become an authority on prison discipline and criminal statistics. His influence in these matters was not confined to this country, for his lucid and comprehensive reports were translated into most of the languages of the Continent. At the time of his resignation he had for seven years received a salary of £350 per annum, and according to Act of Parliament, a retiring pension of £262 10s. was granted to him out of the county funds, at the September session, 1857, of the county magistrates, being three-fourths of the salary he was receiving when he resigned.”

This appeared to Mr. Frederic Hill but a poor, cold memorial of one who had done so much to save men from themselves and destruction, and so Mr. Hill, the Recorder of Birmingham, adding his testimony to that of his brother, transmitted the following letter to the editor of *The Alliance Weekly News*, and which we extract from the number of that paper of Saturday, December 11th :—

THE LATE REV. JOHN CLAY.

“ Dear Sir,—I send you a short notice of the late Rev. John Clay, written by my brother, the assistant secretary to the Post-office, who knew the deceased thoroughly. Mr. Frederic Hill was, before he took his present office, one of the inspectors of prisons, in which capacity he visited Preston Gaol, and witnessed, from time to time, the severe and exhausting labors of its excellent chaplain, whose loss is deeply lamented by all who take an interest in the reformatory treatment of criminals, or in the prevention of that overwhelming cause of crime—indulgence in drink.—Dear Sir, your faithful servant,

T. H. Barker, Esq.

M. D. HILL.

In the Rev. John Clay the country has lost one of the oldest, most zealous, and most persevering supporters of a wise and humane treatment of criminals

It is now nearly 40 years since Mr. Clay entered on his duties as chaplain of the House of Correction, at Preston, a large prison used by the whole of North Lancashire. For a long period he had to perform his arduous duties not only without assistance, but against determined opposition; an opposition which did not cease until the appointment of the present excellent governor, Colonel Martin, between whom and Mr. Clay there was always a cordial union and co-operation.

Mr. Clay was one of the first to condemn the use of the degrading and stultifying treadmill, and to urge in its stead the introduction of useful labor. He was also early alive to the demoralising effect of indiscriminate association, especially when the prisoners passed their time—as was formerly the case with all the untried, and with many, indeed, of the convicted—in idleness.

By the pains he took at the critical period of liberation to procure employment for the discharged prisoner, and, when possible, to reconcile his former employers and friends with him, Mr. Clay enabled many a discarded convict, who would otherwise have had scarcely any alternative than a course of crime, to return to a life of honesty, industry, and respectability, to a strict pursuance of which Mr. Clay's communications with him, from time to time, greatly strengthened his resolutions.

In order to ascertain beyond doubt the practical result of the reforms which he instituted, Mr. Clay took regular means of learning, as far as practicable, through the county police and otherwise, what was the after-life, whether good or evil, of the inmates of his prison, and the indisputable proofs thus afforded of the good effect of those reforms greatly assisted him in obtaining their wider adoption.

Mr. Clay also succeeded in demonstrating the great cost imposed upon the country by every criminal who is suffered to go at large; and how much wiser it is, even in a mere economical sense, to take effectual means, although they may be expensive, to reform offenders, than after a short imprisonment to let them loose again, without their having either the desire or the ability to live by honest industry.

But Mr. Clay did not, like weaker-minded philanthropists, throw all the blame arising from crime on the neglect of the richer

classes, or on government. He showed that far more depends on the working classes themselves than on others; and that the money wasted, and worse than wasted, in drunkenness, would suffice to make thousands of families comfortable, happy, and prosperous, who are now steeped in misery, and exposed to constant temptation to commit crime.

The results of his experience, lucidly set forth and ably commented upon, appeared in Mr. Clay's admirable reports, and by their means, and by the evidence which he repeatedly gave before parliamentary committees, he acted upon the whole country, and greatly promoted the general improvement of prison discipline.

Had his country rendered to Mr. Clay but a tithe of the good which he conferred on his country, he might still have been alive, assisting by his counsel, if unable still to engage in active labor; but his spirit and liberality were beyond his physical strength and narrow income. He was allowed and compelled to work beyond his power. No church living, to which he would have done so much honor, was presented to him; and, till it was too late, no assistance was afforded him in the discharge of his prison duties, or the means offered to him of retiring on a pension sufficient for his necessities, and the consequence is that Mr. Clay has sunk into the grave before his natural time. May his own country, and the country at large, as far as still lies in their power, discharge to Mr. Clay's children the debt of gratitude which they left unpaid to the philanthropist himself!"

IRISH REFORMATORIES.

At last Irish Reformatories are being established; for example our Protestant friends issue the following notice, which we take from *Saunders' News Letter*:

"We are glad to find that a subject so important to social welfare is not likely to be neglected in the county and city of Dublin. An act passed last session provides for the maintenance in reformatories of those poor children who, more sinned against than sinning, are detected in the commission of those minor offences to which the thoughtlessness of childhood or the incentive of evil example has enticed them. To save such from the downward road to ruin, government will defray the expenses of their maintenance in such institutions as philanthropy shall provide, and all juveniles must be sent only to a 'reformatory under the exclusive management of persons of the same religious persuasion as the offender.' We understand that Roman Catholic reformatories are already being established in many counties; and it

would be lamentable indeed, if the Protestants of Dublin were to neglect to provide an asylum for the poor children of their own church, who, often from parental neglect or depravity, have taken a step in the career of crime. During the year 1857, it appears, that no less than eighty boys and twenty-nine girls, Protestants, were convicted within the police district of Dublin, and might now be inmates of a reformatory, if such existed to shelter them. It is, therefore, with sincere gratification we have learned that the subject has engaged the attention of the Dublin Parochial Association, consisting of the parochial clergy of almost all the parishes in Dublin; and that at their last monthly meeting, at the Chapter-room of Christ Church, they appointed a committee to take measures for the establishment of a Protestant Reformatory, under the new act, for the city and county of Dublin. The committee consists of Rev. Edward S. Abbott, Rev. Richard Barton, Rev. William Greene, Rev. William Maturin, Rev. J. H. Monahan, Rev. Thomas R. Shore, and Rev. Charles S. Stanford. In such hands we are sure the work will go on and prosper, and that the Protestants of Dublin will not be subjected to the reproach of having been indifferent to an object so important to the well-being of society."

We understand that funds have been freely subscribed, and that a Reformatory for boys and one for girls, will shortly be opened in Dublin. Our friends have sent one of their body to England for the purpose of seeing the working of the chief schools in that country.

From *The Southern Reporter*, we take the following :

THE CORK REFORMATORY.

"We have been asked—what about the Reformatory? Are they asleep, or is the project abandoned? We have great pleasure in replying that all these forebodings are without foundation, and that the managers have exerted themselves actively to bring the project to an issue, useful to the class intended to be benefitted, honorable to those who have employed their abilities, and worthy of our city. An establishment of this kind cannot be brought into action in a moment, there is much consideration to be employed, and the aid of various persons must be secured, who are very difficult to be obtained. It is known that a religious fraternity is to have the rule of this place, but it must be evident that it is not every order which would answer or agree to serve the requisite duties. Still we can say that very anxious efforts are being made to overcome this difficulty, which we trust will be crowned with the desired result, so that the first grand necessary of directors will be secured. Pending this conclusion, all that could be achieved, has been well and effectively done. The committee have taken a lot of ground near Upton, for their intended establishment, which embraces an extent of an hundred and twelve acres, for a long term of years, virtually equivalent to a fee-simple estate. This position is admirably located, being sufficiently separated from any populous town, and, at the same time, so well

served with close railway communication as to be possessed of all the advantages in the way of supply which a city could offer. Between Cork and Bandon, both the advantages of a provincial capital, and a country town can be commanded. Everything cheap that is possessed in this emporium for manufacture, and all that can be had in that market for provisions and country produce, will be available. At the same time, the inmates will be removed from the seductive influences of former companionship and old acquaintance, and so they will be removed from the most active incitements to renew their old course of vice. In every way, then, this affair seems to have been well and considerately managed. Nothing has been hurried or retarded unduly; proper deliberation has been used before action; but then, prompt and energetic conclusion has been apparent, when the determination was arrived at. From these most trustworthy grounds of credence we rely that a practical and useful result will issue, and that we shall see such an institution founded as will be a just pride to those who are interested in the reclamation of criminals. We need not revert to the arguments which we were the first in Ireland to start in maintenance of the worth, and even to place it on no higher basis, the economy of this movement. Now, it is generally acknowledged and believed in, and therefore it would be superfluous to maintain it with any force of argument. To us the most satisfactory knowledge is that which proves that the principle is passing into reality, and that the benevolent intention is being embodied in the humane act. This is the sort of proof that comes home to our convictions."

A girls' school managed by Sisters of Mercy is certified in Athlone; an admirable school, managed by the Ladies of the Good Shepherd, is certified in Limerick; another, from which we expect grand results, is certified at High Park, Drumcondra, under the care of the Ladies of the Order of Charity; another is certified at Monaghan, under the care of the Sisters of St. Louis; and one under the management of the Sisters of Mercy will be shortly opened at Golden-bridge.

With regard to Patronage for Catholic children, a most invaluable assistant will be found in the Society of St. Vincent de Paul; at the October meeting of the Society, held in London, the President said, "he would take this opportunity of speaking to them, of another work which was very desirable in England. He alluded to the patronage of boys who left the Reformatory schools, There was much need of the exertions of the Brothers to take care of those boys. He had received all the necessary information on the subject from the experience of the Brothers in France; and he would advise them to attempt the work, if it was found that much money was not required to carry it on. He apprehended that it was a work rather of labour and of organization; and he was glad to say that the organization of the Society was certainly the best in England to

carry out any work of the kind." And our friend, the Rev. Father Caccia, thus writes upon this subject to the Council :—

CATHOLIC REFORMATORY SCHOOL,

Near Market-Weighton, Yorkshire.

October 13th, 1858.

"I feel much gratified for the occasion you afford me of a direct correspondence with a society which I highly esteem, and whose co-operation in the Reformatory movement I consider essentially necessary.

"From the Report and Circular which you will receive by this post, you will become acquainted with the working of our Reformatory, and the conditions on which boys are received from other counties. You will be happy to learn that the buildings there alluded to, which were intended for the accommodation of seventy boys, have been completed for more than two hundred. The premium also, which is there stated at £10 for each boy, is now reduced to £5, but without the right of vacancies: £2 of this goes towards the bedding, &c., of the boy, the remaining £3 to the building fund.

"The travelling expenses of the boys are to be defrayed by the county to which they belong. I have already four boys from London. I have now eighty-five boys, and three others are coming. The average number of Yorkshire boys is about one hundred and twenty, so I shall have about eighty vacancies for other counties, twenty of which are even now filled.

"Any other information you may require I shall be most happy to give you, and more happy if you, or any member of your Society, will favour me with a visit.

"In addition to this reply, I take the liberty of sending to you the copy of a letter which the Hon. Charles Langdale presented a few days ago to His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. I hope that this plan will meet with the hearty co-operation of the Society.

"Believe me to remain yours very truly,

"CHARLES CACCIA."

[Copy.]

"August 18th, 1858.

"MY LORD CARDINAL—

"When the Right Rev. the Abbot of Mount St. Bernards called the attention of the public as to the best manner of disposing of Reformatory boys, I, amongst other, gave my opinion in *The Weekly Register*, of May 22nd, as follows :—

"1st. In every Reformatory, an annual allowance—say £1 for each boy, should be set apart for supplying the boys according to their respective wants on their entering into society, as I am doing at this present moment. This fund may be increased by contributions.

"2nd. An external patronage, charged with obtaining employment, and at the same time exercising a moral control, may be found in the Societies of St. Vincent-de-Paul, whose Central Committee will receive from the managers of the Reformatories the requirements and the circumstances of each boy previous to his dismissal.

“ ‘3rd. The same patronage will assist those boys to emigrate who, either because of bad parents, a doubtful reformation, or difficulty in obtaining employment, are exposed to the danger of a relapse, or the inability of procuring the necessaries of life.’

“ On a late occasion, visiting Mount St. Bernards, I found that the present Superiors agreed with my plan, and having made known to them my intention of submitting the same to the patronage of your Eminence, they desired me to make known to you their wish to see it carried out.

“ There is only one Catholic Reformatory remaining, which is the one in your diocese. If the plan meets with your approbation I feel confident something effectual may be done for the future condition of our boys, and we may thus insure the success of our present endeavours.

“ I think that as Societies of St. Vincent-de-Paul are spread all over the country, with a central board in London, they might undertake this great work of charity without incurring any expense, and with but little trouble.

“ They will not be called upon to procure a situation for all the boys leaving Reformatories, but only for those for whom the managers make an application ; and, if a proper situation cannot be found, they will inform the respective manager of the fact, that he may resort to other means—for instance, emigration to Canada, where the boys will be recommended to the same Society.

“ I hope your Eminence, in your charity, will give this matter due consideration. If you think it better to modify, or even change this plan, I shall be happy to follow the line of action you may propose. I am extremely anxious for the future result of the Reformatory training.

“ With the most profound sentiments of respect and reverence, I have the honour to be Your Eminence's most humble and obedient servant.

CHARLES CACCIA.”

A letter addressed, October the 2nd, by the Right Rev. Abbot of Mount St. Bernard to the Secretary of the Provincial Council, contains the following passages on the same subject :

“ I have thought for some time that through the intervention of the Society of St. Vincent-de-Paul, some good outlet for our Colony Boys might be found. I am quite favourable to Colonization and emigration, as you know.

“ The plan, I think, that would succeed would be for some agent of the Society of St. Vincent-de-Paul, on the spot they would colonize, to take care of them, having previously obtained land for their cultivating, &c. If the boys could go *at once* from the colony, direct to the place in America prepared for them, an agent being there to receive and overlook them, *this* plan, I think, would succeed.”

A Male Reformatory for Catholics will be soon opened in the neighbourhood of Dublin. Every arrangement is made, and the staff is nearly ready. A Committee has been formed, and comprises amongst its members the highest legal functionaries, and gentlemen of the most influential position in the mercantile classes in Dublin. They have wisely resolved to place the institution under the management of a religious body, as being safest, and, at the same time, most economical. We shall, we hope, in our Record for next quarter, be able to report that this institution is successfully at work.

Before closing this portion of our RECORD of the present quarter, we would urge upon those gentlemen anxious for the success of the movement, the necessity of joining the Dublin Committee, and of working the whole of Ireland in unison, and as has been found so useful and successful in other associations. It is not a question as to whether Cork shall be better than Limerick, or Dublin better than Belfast, or Monaghan superior to Athlone;—the real question, and the charitable and philanthropic one is—how shall we all be best able to help each other, and to make Reformatories, Male and Female, as perfect and as useful as are our other almost innumerable Institutions for the cure of moral or physical evils.

CONVICTS IN ENGLAND.

There are convicts in Cork harbour, and there are convicts in Philipstown; there is a colony of convicts at Lusk, and there are 60 or 80 convicts at Smithfield, without a lock, or bolt, or bar on the door, to keep them from rushing into Smithfield market, and thus escaping. If the reader will look towards that large building on the North Circular Road, he will see an establishment containing nearly 500 male convicts. Thus it will be understood that in various parts of Ireland, convicts are stationed, with all the means of creating riot amongst their fellows, and with a power of doing wrong and mischief, never possible to their English fellows; yet these Irish convicts have never broken into revolt, have never spread terror and dismay amongst the people of their neighbourhood, have never rendered themselves objects of horror to all good and thinking men—and all for the plain and simple reason that they have been treated as rational beings, and to each has been given such fair and reasonable reward, compatible with his condition, as his good conduct and PROVED reformation had shown him to deserve.

Unfortunately, such is not the state of things in England ; and thus we find, that in the month of November last, the Waterloo Station in London, and the whole town of Weymouth, were affrighted from their propriety by a gang of convicts, who were supposed to have suffered those punishments, and undergone that discipline which are presumed to dwell in, and to be developed by, confinement in Pentonville or Millbank Prisons.

We take the following passage, descriptive of the state of things to which we refer, from the *Daily News* of November 27th, 1858 :—

“ Mutiny of Convicts.—About eight o’clock on Tuesday morning a confusion and alarm, never witnessed before, took place at the South Western Railway, Waterloo-station, a gang of no less than eighty convicts refusing to proceed by the regular train to Portland. The persuasions of the officers were useless, and it was ultimately deemed expedient to send to Millbank Prison for the Governor and additional guard, when, after two hours’ delay, the convicts were forwarded on their journey.”

The following extract from the *Southern Times* of November 27th, (a Weymouth paper,) gives the facts at length, and they are worthy of the closest attention, as they show profound ignorance, or gross carelessness, or utter recklessness, on the part of the Prisons’ Office in London :—

“ Return of Convicts to Portland Prison.—About 80 of the convicts who were sent from Portland a few weeks ago, in consequence of the part they took in the *emeute*, having undergone a few weeks’ solitary confinement in Millbank Penitentiary and Pentonville Model Prison, were returned on Wednesday to their former quarters. When they arrived at the Waterloo station, and found that they were to be taken back to Portland, some of them expressed, in very forcible language, their determination not to go, and it was with great difficulty, and after considerable delay, that they were got into the Railway carriages, having first been divided into two parties. A telegraphic message was despatched to the prison at Portland, informing the Governor, Captain Clay, of the resistance made by the convicts, and he sent off to H.M.S. ‘Blenheim,’ lying in the Portland harbour, for force, in case of any serious difficulty occurring in conducting the convicts from the terminus to Weymouth. The first detachment of convicts arrived in the after-

noon, tolerably quiet, and under a comparatively small escort. A strong guard, however, had to be provided in London to accompany the second gang, numbering 48 convicts, and on their way from Weymouth to Portland they were met by 60 marines, and a body of the sailors of the 'Blenheim,' dragging along one of the ship's guns. Under this strong escort, they were marched through Portland, shouting, yelling, and swearing with great energy. From the expressions they used, it would appear that they estimated the horrors of solitary confinement in Millbank or Pentonville, as light in comparison with the prospects of a return to Portland. These men, we believe, were not among the number who were flogged for insubordination; the only punishment they have had has been a few weeks' solitary imprisonment. It seems a very questionable policy to give such rebellious spirits a chance of raising another riot in the prison, though the excellent discipline maintained there, and the vigilance of the officials, will, no doubt, prevent anything so serious as the outbreak which recently occurred."

We need not write one word upon this disgraceful statement. We hardly know which to pity more, the convicts at Portland, or the people in Weymouth.

ST. JOSEPH'S INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS

INTERN CLASS OF WORKHOUSE ORPHANS.

Many of the Patrons of St. Joseph's Industrial School, are fully aware of the fact, that within the last few months seven orphans or deserted children have been taken from the children's ward of the North Dublin Union, and placed in the intern class of St. Joseph's; they are also aware of the circumstances and objects which have induced the founder and managers to take this step.

However, as a misconception seems to exist in some quarters, with regard to the exact amount of responsibility and risk incurred by this withdrawal of children from the Union, it is well to state here clearly and emphatically, that no assistance whatever has been given by the Board of Guardians towards the maintenance of these children. The Guardians merely *permitted* their withdrawal. The whole cost of their support, instruction, and clothing, is borne by the subscribers, and the managers of the Institution, which is for the present the refuge and home of these friendless children.

Some, who have thought deeply on the question of the duty which society is bound to discharge towards unprotected and destitute children, are of opinion, that the poor-rates should be charged with their support in Industrial Schools, or institutions in which self-dependance is one of the first lessons inculcated, and in which the "family principle," is not necessarily or systematically ignored.

This is not the ground on which to enter upon controversies, in the course of which unrighteous custom must incur heavy censure, and strong prejudices meet with rough treatment. But to wait for wholesale reforms in such matters, would suppose very "weary waiting," and to decline all personal trouble in resisting evil, until such a time as enlightened opinion should carry the question by acclamation, would deprive all true workers of their real strength and merit.

It is sufficient here, cursorily as possible, to indicate the motives which have led the founder and managers of St. Joseph's to adopt those Workhouse Orphans, and to shew what the result of industrially training such subjects is likely to be.

Much experience of workhouse rearing as shown in the conduct and fate of those who have been subjected to it, and a rather intimate acquaintance with the real history of girls who are now expiating

offences against society in the convict prisons of the country, have led to the decided conviction, that the want of moral and industrial training in the workhouse schools is the great source of crime, especially among women and children.

In workhouse schools when vice is not cultivated, idleness, at least, is permitted. In most cases no means are given the children, whereby, on coming to a proper age, they might be enabled to earn their bread in the world. There is no system, or organization within the workhouse itself, by the instrumentality of which the children might be settled independently of the poor-rates—apprenticed—or even got rid of. A transfer to the adult wards when the time arrives, is all that can be looked forward to.

The adult wards of the workhouse contain the essence and concentration of the lowest vice in loathsome variety, and are the gathering place at one time or another of all the unconvicted crime of the country. Pauper-reared children, haplessly divested of all ties of home and kindred, and without that moral stay which only the influence of healthy family life can give, are ill prepared indeed to resist the torrent of evil example and invidious temptation which here besets them. Innocent girls too frequently leave the workhouse in company with designing hardened reprobates, and either return again ruined and shameless, or find their way by a more or less round about road, to the bridewell or the gaol. In the latter case, if the girl be legally sentenced to detention, the stain which her character has suffered from the consequence perhaps of mere folly, or weakness, becomes an indelible brand, and the deplorable effects of unrestricted intercourse with old offenders to whom a sojourn in the gaol is a mere "holiday from vice" are soon apparent in the mode of life henceforth adopted by the unhappy girl. The convict prison is too often her destination; and, strange as it sounds, the solitary cell is in reality the refuge, and the home, and the school for such as she—the first "institution" of the many she has passed through, in which her rights as a human being are acknowledged, and an effort made to save her by a mildly stern and strictly *just* discipline, from a fatal descent to a still lower deep. Here at last, in spite of harsh discouragement and fearful waste of time and money, the evil is sought to be partially counteracted which might have been wholly prevented.

Facts such as these, which blue books prove, and public officers of many departments are forced to bear witness to, make it difficult of comprehension, that conscientious men and women can lie quiet in their beds without having uttered a word of remonstrance or of protest. The managers of St. Joseph's Industrial Institute, feeling convinced that many would be found willing to give help in rescuing the poor children who seem so fatally doomed, if only some way were pointed out of doing so, determined to risk something for so good a cause, and at any rate to save some few from swift destruction.

It is well known that the female children of the North Dublin Union are in many respects well taken care of. The chaplains are vigilant in the discharge of their duties: and the officers in charge of the department are at once humane and efficient. The children are well instructed—indeed much better than a class far superior to

them—and above all they are jealously separated from contact with adult paupers. It was therefore resolved that to this foundation should be added the superstructure without which all the rest can be no more than buried treasure—vain and useless. It was resolved to take out some of these children, and by giving them a thoroughly industrial education, prepare them according to sound common sense principles to take their place among honest respectable bread-winners.

After some visits to the Union a number of girls were selected as likely to be eligible cases; a request was made that they should be put through a course of probation; materials were supplied, and the mistress undertook to teach them the common sort of sewing as a preparation for shirt making. No opposition was offered by any of the authorities, and much kindly assistance was given by the officers in charge of the children. Of those selected in the first instance some few after a while dropped off disheartened, being unused to active exertion for any definite purpose: and some of those invited declined to enter the class, having a sort of undefined dread of leaving the house—the stories they had heard of what befel girls who had gone to service and met with bad treatment, and come back to the union to be “dressed in woman’s clothes, and sent to the woman’s ward,” were not likely to give them courage to face the world outside. Many however persevered; and to these the prize was given.

Finally seven girls were brought out as a sort of first instalment. The guardians gave consent, and the pauper orphans are now Industrials of St. Joseph’s.

A few paragraphs will save lengthened details. The children soon after their removal to the school, were called separately before the managers to give an account of themselves. The answers were noted at the moment, and the following are the facts of each child’s history greatly curtailed.

No. 1.—Age between fourteen and fifteen; has been *nine* years in the Workhouse; is an orphan. Heard that her mother died long ago, and that her father also died soon after he came to the Union, with his two children. Does not remember to have ever seen her father. Thinks she has two sisters well off in Liverpool: one of them married; cannot say whether they are step-sisters. Long ago one of them took over herself and little sister to Liverpool, kept them with her a while and was kind to them; but finally sent them back saying they were *idiots*; gave a note to eldest child; does not know who it was for; tore it up on the way, thinking it was no matter, and threw the pieces into the sea. When landed on the quay did not know where to go, and wandered about the streets looking for the Union all night. Early in the morning, met by chance a woman who had seen them with the sister, and were brought by her to the Union. No one has ever come to enquire for them since. The little sister is still in the Union. Has no acquaintance whatsoever outside.

No. 2.—Age between fourteen and fifteen. Has been *fourteen* years in the Workhouse; is an orphan. Knows nothing of her father and mother; never heard how she came to the Union. Has no acquaintance any where.

No. 3.—Age about sixteen; has been *fourteen* years in the Work

house; is motherless and knows nothing of her father; thinks he may be alive; heard that he went to America long ago. Has an aunt in Dublin, but cannot tell where she lives. Was taken out once by her godmother who keeps a shop somewhere in Dublin, but after a week got sore eyes, and had to go back to the Union. Has heard nothing of these relatives for some time.

No. 4.—Age sixteen. Has been *ten* years in the Workhouse. Is motherless; cannot tell whether her father is alive. Was brought to the Union by her mother, who died there soon after; does not remember her. Thinks she has brothers in Kilkenny, but knows nothing about them. Once, a long time ago, a woman came to the Union, and said she was paid to come over from England to look after the girl; heard no more of her. Has no relative in the Union, is not acquainted with any one outside.

No 5.—Age sixteen; has been *two years and a-half* in the Workhouse; is an orphan; lost her mother eight years ago. Her father died in the house, about a fortnight after he went in with four children; he was a compositor and pressman by trade, and earned even in declining health £1. 10s. a-week; got help from the trade, but finding his case hopeless went into the Union to leave his children there, and to be near them when dying. A boy and a girl are still in the Union, one boy ran away from "the sheds," and is supposed to be with some friends in Dublin; the girl's step-mother is in England, and that woman's mother is in the Union. There are uncles and aunts in Dublin, but none of them have ever come to look after the children.

No 6.—Age sixteen; has been *nine* years in the Workhouse; is an orphan; her father, a soldier, died ten years ago, and his widow about a year after went to the Union with five children. She could have got the boys into the Hibernian School, and actually brought them to the door for the purpose of leaving them, but her heart failed, and in order not to be separated from the children she brought them all into the Union, where, after lingering in very bad health for four years, she died. This girl was once taken out of the House by an aunt, who kept her with herself, and sent her to school; but the aunt dying soon after, the child went back to the Union. Two of her brothers are in situation, she cannot tell where, heard that one of them lives in Dorset-street; another brother, and a sister, remain in the Union. These children have or had relatives in Dublin, butter factors by trade, but nothing has been heard of them for nearly two years.

No. 7.—Age twenty-two; has been *sixteen* years in the Workhouse; is an orphan. Both parents died before she was brought to the Union by her grandmother who is still there; has a sister, a servant in England, who writes to her, but has no means of helping her; is lame: never left the childrens' ward; was appointed to assist in the infirmary, but received no other remuneration than extra diet. Has no relatives or friends in Ireland.

These girls were not selected for the strangeness of their history, or as quite extraordinary examples of desertion and utter friendlessness. They were taken, almost at random, from a class of nearly *three hundred*. They can all read and write well; they know accounts, and

are thoroughly instructed in catechism and Christian doctrine. But as the greater number of them had never been in an ordinary dwelling house, their awkwardness on first entering one, was both provoking and ludicrous. The use of knives and forks was unknown to them; the hall mat seldom failed to trip them up; they had not presence of mind enough to carry a can of water, and it required practice and experience to enable them to get up and down stairs without falling; as for their proficiency in needlework, it is enough to state that the first week they were put to ordinary shirt making, the united earnings of five of the class, amounted to *nine pence*.

At present the intern class of St. Joseph's consists of these seven orphans, one girl selected from the extern class, and a matron. The latter is a respectable middle aged woman, worthy of trust, full of the hard experience of a struggling life, and not in station much above the position the children must hereafter occupy. They learn much from her which a more lady-like person could not so well give; her homely cordial conversation, and her example of untiring industry, are invaluable as aids to education; she is a soldier's widow, saw a good deal of life in various quarters of the world, and of late years supported herself and an invalid step-daughter by dress making. She is at once overseer of the work department of the general Industrial School, cutter out, and instructor in every branch of household work. As it was found that she could not remain in the Institution at night on account of the said sick child, one of the extern class was appointed to fill her place at that time; the latter is an excellent worker, and in conduct the best example the children could have. Her family live in the neighbourhood, but for the present she remains altogether in the Institution.

The intern class work during the day with the general Industrial School, which continues to be carried on as usual, except that plain work has been substituted for crochet. In the morning hours the interns clean down the house, scour, polish grates, and otherwise qualify for household service; one of them, appointed in turn, remains in the kitchen, and is in fact the cook of the establishment. Two of the externs who are very destitute get dinner daily, making in all eleven at that meal. In the evening after supper the children sit in the kitchen, and under the cheerful influence of candle and fire-light, continue the work of the day, or knit stockings for themselves until it is time for general prayer and bed; passers by often hear them singing their hymns and school songs in chorus.

During the week they are often sent on various errands for the sake of exercise, and on Sunday they generally get a country walk. On that day also, after hearing mass and sermon in one of the city churches, they return to dinner, and finish the day by remaining from three to six o'clock at the Sunday School of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent De Paul; a great many of the extern class also attend this admirable school. Those, therefore, who are too busily engaged at work during the week to give much time to book learning, have their knowledge of reading and writing kept up in this manner; while those who might be led into mischief by the idle and vicious companionship of the streets on Sunday afternoons, are safe with the good sisters;

who, true to their charitable vocation, not only instruct, but also interest and amuse the children, allowing them to remain after school hours, teaching them small games of various kinds, and giving them books to read. During the summer the children often talked of their play in the garden, and the nice stories they read in "the nun's summer house."

This is something like carrying into practice the doctrine of the communion of labour, one charitable institution thus coming to the aid of another. There is one more instance of the application of the same principle, by which St. Joseph's profits largely. The superiors of the missionary college of All Hallows, have directed that a portion of the broken bread and meat, which is distributed to the poor, shall be sent to the managers of St. Joseph's. This food is prepared with care, and so good nourishment is provided at a time, when a longer course of Workhouse diet would be likely permanently to injure the already ill-grown children. Thanks to this assistance, the appearance of the children is much improved; they have grown stout in person, and are fast losing the "poor-house look," by which visitors so easily distinguished them from the other class. Whether they shall ever reach in height the average proportion of Irish girls is another question.

So much being said of the past and present of the Orphans, a word will suffice in reference to their future prospects. The object being to make them good plain workers and good common household servants, no doubt whatever is felt that they shall be easily disposed of when that point is reached. Many applications are made at the School for girls to mind children, or help in kitchens. An honest girl in either capacity is invaluable, and when any kind of training is added to that, the candidate is sure of promotion. In last year's report of St. Joseph's it was stated that twelve girls belonging to the School had been placed in respectable situations in various capacities. Since that time eight others have been similarly provided for. Of these *twenty*, not one is missing: they have all been heard of within a very short time, and no instance of bad conduct has been reported of any one of them. There are now in the School two of those girls who are out of place for the moment. They are availing themselves of the opportunity of learning plain work. They have come back to the old shelter of the School quite naturally, feeling sure that they have a good chance of being provided for as children of St. Joseph's. Among the benefactors of the Institution, there is one to whom special gratitude is due. This lady has taken at different times no less than five girls from the School—has kept them in her house—trained them as servants under her own eye—and given them what was worth gold to them—the means of earning henceforth an honest comfortable livelihood.

With such aids as these the managers of St. Joseph's are justified in feeling no painful anxiety about the settlement of their children. In some cases, for all may not be fit for household service, it is contemplated to lodge out the girls with the parents of some who attend the extern class—giving them work as usual in the School, but obliging them to support themselves, and by hard experience compelling them to learn the value of every halfpenny they earn. Some time must elapse before this can be done, for until a girl is able to earn 4s.

a-week she cannot be expected to live independent of the Institution.

To set out with the expectation that this Institution could ever become self-supporting would be utopian indeed. It is no factory; factory hours are not kept, neither are factory principles admitted as a rule of conduct. Poorhouse diet would in no case be acknowledged as sufficient for the support of growing girls. When the girls advance so far as to be able to pay their own personal expenses in the Institution, that gratifying fact will only be the signal for sending them out on their own account, and getting others still untrained to fill their place.

If £100 a-year were subscribed for the support of this Institution, there is every reason to hope that under kind Providence the work would be carried on gloriously. As it is, the managers are absolutely without resources; and their efforts are foiled, not only by want of funds, but by sheer anxiety of mind which necessitates painful attention to minute details at a moment when every thought should be given to carrying out larger views. The same noble-hearted friends whose generous encouragement led to the establishment of the Institution three years since, have never ceased to give sympathy and aid. The public have as yet given no help. It certainly cannot be said that the public are either uncharitable or careless. But until lately the existence of the Institution was not generally known, and that accounts fully for the want of patronage. If private means were at the disposal of the managers they would be only too glad to struggle on in obscurity, and work out in silence the principles which they know to be true. Now they are constrained to ask for help—and they feel confident they will obtain it.

Let hope be placed where hope is. Surely there is a message and a promise for the forlorn Workhouse Orphans, just as there was for the down-trodden children of Israel long ago:—

"I AM the Lord who will bring you out from the work-prison of the Egyptians."—EXODUS, vi. 6.

ST. JOSEPH'S INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE,

14, *Richmond Avenue, Fairview, Dublin,*

(Removed from North Clarence street.)

The premises formerly rented, were found unsuitable in many ways for carrying out the objects of the Institution. A small house, with sufficient garden and play-ground attached, is now occupied by the two industrial classes. This change led to the discontinuance of the Infant School—which indeed was no longer a necessity in the old quarter, as the Sisters of Charity, North William-street, had completed their buildings for the accommodation of that very class.

The following is the account of receipts and expenditure from December 1st, 1857, to Nov. 20th, 1858 :—

	£	s	d.		£	s	d.
To cash received for				By cash paid in			
work sold ...	102	8	6½	wages ...	141	1	8
To cash in subscrip-				By do. for furnishing			
tions ...	69	1	2	house and repairs	25	6	8½
Balancedue to Trea-				By do. for materials	29	6	5½
surer ..	59	5	1½	By do. rent ...	35	0	0
	£230	14	9½		£230	14	9½

Most grateful thanks are returned for the following subscriptions and donations received and accounted for above as well as in last year's advertisement, and also to the gentlemen who have ordered shirts to be made in the Institution, and the ladies who have purchased and sold crochet work done by the children :—

1857—November and				Per Mrs. O'Farrell ...	0	2	6
December :—				James Gaynor, Esq.	2	0	0
John Spring, Esq.	£1	0	0	M. Reigh, Esq. ...	1	0	0
John Gaynor, Esq. ...	5	6	0	Rev. J. Faulkner ...	3	0	0
A Friend (Navan) ...	0	10	0	Mrs. Anderson ...	5	0	0
C. Bianconi, Esq. ...	1	0	0	M. S. O'Shaughnessy,			
N. Halbert, Esq. ...	0	10	0	Esq. ...	0	10	0
J. Martin, Esq. ...	0	10	0	James Egan, Esq. ...	0	10	0
P. Aungier, Esq. ...	1	0	0	Dr. S. ...	0	10	0
Michael O'Donnell, Esq.	1	0	0	Per do. ...	0	5	0
Per M. Merriman, Esq.	3	2	0	Mrs. Cahill, (Ballynoe)	1	0	0
Per do. ...	0	4	0	Catholic Cemeteries			
Rev. F. T. Dolan ...	1	0	0	Committee ...	19	4	2
Rev. J. J. O'Donnell	0	10	0	Mrs. Dolan ...	1	0	0
John Troy, Esq. ...	2	0	0	Anonymous ...	1	0	0
Anonymous, per <i>Tablet</i>	1	0	0	Miss Burke ...	0	10	0
Dr. Atkinson ...	2	0	0	Per Rev. F. T. Dolan	1	0	0
C. Moore, Esq. ...	1	0	0	Edward Stanley, Esq.	1	0	0
M. Aungier, Esq. ...	1	0	0	Alfred Hill, Esq. ...	0	10	0
The Misses Lenehan	1	0	0	Michael Teevan, Esq.	1	0	0
A Lady ...	0	5	0	Per Miss D'Alton ...	0	5	0
Michael Merriman, Esq.	5	0	0	Rev. J. Salmon ...	1	0	0
Per Mrs. S. ...	0	4	0	Mr. Halpin ...	0	1	0
Lady Bradstreet ...	0	5	0	Mrs. Stanley ...	1	0	0
1858—Jan. to 20 Nov. :—				Mrs. Pilsworth ...	1	0	0
Rev. R. B. O'Brien...	1	0	0	Miss Aungier ...	0	10	0
P. J. Murray, Esq. ...	5	0	0	Per do. ...	0	7	6

Subscriptions will be received and thankfully acknowledged by the Very Rev. J. Curtis, S. J., Upper Gardiner-street; the Very Rev. Dr. O'Brien, All Hallows; the Rev. J. Faulkner, 5, Cumberland-buildings, North Circular road; J. Gaynor, Esq., J.P., 3, Belvidere place; M. Merriman, Esq., 54, Eccles-st.; P. J. Murray, Esq., 1, Upper Pembroke-street; G. Atkinson, M.D., Richmond; T. Woodlock, Esq., 42, Dame-street; or by the Matron of the Institution.

A fine of five cents a day is incurred
by retaining it beyond the specified
time.

Please return promptly.

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STILL-STUDY
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